

T W O
T R E A T I S E S,

One of the
Christian Priesthood,
The Other of the DIGNITY of
The EPISCOPAL ORDER.

First Written, and afterwards Published to
obviate the *Erroneous Opinions, Fallacious Reasonings,* and *Bold and False Assertions,* in a late
Book, entituled,

The Rights of the Christian Church.

With a large PREFATORY DISCOURSE

In Answer to the said BOOK.

All written by GEORGE HICKES, D. D.

With an APPENDIX;

Whereto are added in this Edition *several New Tracts*, viz.

A particular TREATISE written by *Isaac Casaubon* of Geneva, entituled, *De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ*, of the Liberty (or free Estate) of the Church.

Mr. *Hughes's* PRELIMINARY DISSERTATIONS (to *St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio*) wherein the Authority of the CHURCH, as it is distinguish'd from that of the STATE, is explain'd and defended, and all the Objections of the *Erastians* answer'd, especially those of a late Author, who has publish'd a Book entituled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, &c.

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THE PATENT

Christianity

THE PATENT



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THE
DIGNITY
OF THE
Episcopal Order.

CHAP. I.

S I R,

I. **I** Am glad to find by your Answer to my Letter, that you object so little to *my Propositions*, and that the Objections you make against them affect neither the Truth, nor Order, nor Connexion of them. *First*, You object, that my way of speaking of Bishops as *Spiritual Princes*, and of their Dioceses as *Spiritual Principalities*, seems to you novel and uncouth, and will be apt to give Offence to some good Church-men, who do not think so loftily, as I write of the Episcopal Office; but that the Terms of *Princes*, and *Lords*, and *Principalities*, and *Lordships*, are fitter for Temporal Sovereigns, and Lords, according to what our Saviour saith to his Apostles, *Whosoever will be great among you let him be your Minister; and whoso-*

* Matth. xx. 26.

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ever will be chief among you, let him be your Servant. Indeed, Sir, I grant, that in a Church and Age wherein the *Episcopal Office* and its Authority, has been so many ways depress'd, some good People may be choqued at those Expressions; but when they shall have the same *Idea* of it, and of the Church, which I hope this Letter will help to raise in you, they will be no longer offended at them, but think them just, and proper, and such as the Nature of that high spiritual Trust and Office requires. It is the Unhappinefs of our Times, that Men have too mean and low Notions of the *Episcopal Authority*, and those who by Succession, and Ordination are advanced to it. But, Sir, if you had the same Notion of the Dignity, and Honour of the *Priesthood*, that the *Jews* had of it, I believe you would not think, I had spoken too *loftily* of the Archieratical, or Episcopal Office, or that the Terms of Princes, and *spiritual* Sovereigns, were so improper, or too high for it. ^b *Philo* in his first Book *πρὸς μοναρχίας*, saith, that God rewarded *Phineas* for his Zeal with the Honour of the Priesthood, or Service of the ^c Father; i. e. of God, whose Service was not only Freedom, but more excellent, than the Kingly Office, and ^d that it was the Intention of the *Jewish* Law, that the Priests should have equal Honour, and Veneration with their Kings. In his Book *πρὸς Γηγάντων*, he saith, that *Priests and Prophets* are the Men of God, who are of greater Dignity, than that they should be immersed in mundane Affairs, and become Citizens of the World, but that soaring above all sensible Things, they re-

^b Τὸ δολᾶν ἐκ ἐλδθεείας μόνον, ἀλλὰ ὃ βασιλείας ἀμεινον.

^c Father was a solemn Appellation of a Heathen Deity among the Greeks and Romans, as is observed by *Briffonius de Formul.* l. 1. p. 48, 49, &c. in the Edit. in Folio. Paris 1583.

^d Ἐξ ὧν πάντων ἐβίδῃλον ὅτι βασιλέως εἰς Σεμνότηα καὶ τιμῇ πείαπλῃ τοῖς ἱερῶσιν ὁ νόμος.

moved to the intellectual World, and dwelt there, being registred in the Society of the incorruptible and incorporeal Ideas. And King *Agrippa* in the Supplicatory Letter he sent to *Caligula*, in Favour of his Country-men the *Jews*, writes after this manner: *I was born a Jew, as your Majesty knows, and Jerusalem is the place of my Birth, in which is the Temple of the most High God. I have had Kings for my Progenitors, some of whom have been High-Priests, who thought the Regal Dignity inferior to the Sacerdotal, supposing, that as much as God was more excellent than Men, so much the High-Priesthood was more excellent than the Kingly Office, the Service of God being committed to that, but to this the Care of Men. And Josephus in the beginning of his Life, written by himself, to set forth his illustrious and most honourable Original, tells us he descended of a Priestly Race, which he saith was a proof of the Splendor of his Family, and then lets us know that his Descent was also of the first Rank, or Order of Priests, and in the last place saith, that he was also of the Royal Asmonæan Family, by the Mother's side. I hope, Sir, you'll allow the Christian Priesthood, and Priests to be at least, as honourable and venerable, as the Jewish. I am sure they are Ministers of a better Covenant, and a more perfect, and excellent Religion, and as nearly related to the Father, and his Son the Θεὸς ὁ λόγος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, as Philo calls him, as the Jewish Priests were, and perform as holy Ministrations under the New Law, as they did under the Old.*

And how great, and honourable the Priesthood was among the Heathens many have observed; particularly a late Author, whose Words I shall transcribe for your Use.

* Philon. Judæi lib. de Legatione ad Caium.

† Dr. Potter in his *Archæologia Græca*, or *Antiquities of Greece*, Book II. Ch. III. See also Sir John Hayward of Supremacy in Affairs of Religion, p. 22. &c.

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On this account the Priests were honoured with the next places to their Kings, and chief Magistrates, and in many places wore the same Habit. In most of the Græcian Cities, and particularly at Athens, as we are informed by Plato, and several others, the Care of Divine Worship was committed to the chief Magistrates, who were often consecrated to the Priesthood. Thus Anius in Virgil, was King of Delos, and Priest of Apollo,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

He also observes after Clemens Alexandrinus, that in Ægypt the Kings were all Priests, and if any one who was not of the Royal Family usurped the Kingdom, he was obliged to be consecrated to the Priesthood, before he was permitted to govern; and we are assured by Plutarch, ² that the Dignity of Priests was equal to that of Kings. At Sparta the Kings immediately after their Promotion took upon them the two Priesthoods of the Heavenly, and Lacedæmonian Jupiter, which was rather esteemed an Accession to their Honour, than any Diminution from it: with more to the same purpose. So Grotius in Genesis, cap. xv. v. 18. [*Erat enim Sacerdos Dei Altissimi*].

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phœbique Sacerdos.

Virgil III. Æneid.

Ubi Servius, sane Majorum erat consuetudo, ut Rex etiam esset Sacerdos, vel Pontifex. Hinc domus, in qua Pontifex habitabat Regia dicebatur, docente eodem Servio ad Æneid 8. Qui & saepe notat à Virgilio omnia jura Sacerdotalia tribui Aneæ.

In the first, and purest Ages of Christianity, all the Orders of Clergy were counted so honourable,

² Quæst. Roman. sub finem.

that the most noble of the Laity thought it an honour to be a Priest, or Deacon, and therefore the Governours of the Church to discourage *such*, and *such* blameable Practices, incapacitated those, who were guilty of them, to be Priests. And it was in reference to the three, honourable Orders in the that Church, St. ^h Ignatius said, τὸ πρῶτον μὴ εἶνα Φυσιῶται, *Let. no Mans place puff him up.*

II. I have set these things before you, Dear Sir, to raise your Conceptions to the full and just Height of the Sacerdotal Dignity, which the ⁱ Council of Sard. calls *divine*, and *most venerable*, and of that pre-eminent *unworldly* Power, and Authority, which the *Spiritual* Governours, and Magistrates have over their *Spiritual* Subjects in the Kingdom of Christ. I thought it proper for me to speak of them in such a Style, and such Expressions as I conceiv'd was fittest for my purpose in framing those Propositions in my former Letter, and useful at all Times, especially in ours, to help Christian Men, of all Ranks and Professions, to the right apprehensions of that Spiritual Superiority, to which God hath made them subject without Exception; and that being once rightly apprehended, to give them thereby a true Notion of the *free Estate*, or *Independent* Nature of the Church, and its *real^h Distinction*, as a Society from the State. This indeed by a Concurrence of unhappy Causes, among which I reckon the great Liberty of writing against the Church, especially by the *Deists*, is become a hard and almost unintelligible Doctrine to many of the Church of *England*, even to some of that Order, whose

^h Epist. ad Smyrn.

ⁱ Can. xx. Πλεονέκες διὰ τὴν ὀλίγων ἀναγκασίαν, τὸ Θεόν, καὶ Σεβασμιότητον ὄνομα τὸ Ἱερωσύνης εἰς καλῶς ὥσιν ἐληλυθῶναι.

^k If. Casaub. de libert. Ecclesiast. cap. 11. Postremo in rebus more Divinis, sacerdote plenariam potestatem obtinente, princeps ovīs eris.

Dignity I am defending; tho' it is a very familiar Notion, and clearly understood not only by the most ignorant of the Clergy, and Laity of the Church of *Rome*, but by the Ministry and People among Dissenters of all sorts, whose Practice I know it is to speak with Contempt of the Church of *England*, for being, as they conceive and object, so dependent upon the State, and against the Clergy, whom they love to blame without Distinction, for subjecting the Rights, and Authority of the Kingdom of Christ to the Kings, and Kingdoms of the World. One of the Causes why the Doctrine of the Churches being a Society distinct from the State, and independent of it, is so little known, and understood among us, is, and hath been the great Modesty of many of the Clergy, who have forborn to preach it, lest they should seem thereby to preach up themselves. Others of them have forborn to preach it, purely because they did not understand it: for employing themselves too much in the Study of other sorts of Learning external to their Profession, they have unhappily neglected the Study of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, which was more necessary for them to know. Others of them, who studied it, and made themselves Masters of it, have been silent, because they had little, or no Provocation for many Years to preach it. Others again, when there hath been occasion enough to preach it, have for fear of offending those, by whom they expected to be preferred, either been wholly silent, or shew'd it only by half Lights. And some, *Sir*, have wrote of it in such a dilute manner, as is hard to tell whether they wrote for, or against it. This, *Sir* was your own Expression to me, when we discoursed last together on this melancholy Subject, before the good *Lady*. Then I put you in mind of the Notions, and Doctrines, which some of the Gentlemen of *your Robe* have taught of the King's Supremacy, which

which you allowed to be another Cause, why the Doctrine of the Churches Independency, as a Society really distinct from the State, was so great a Stranger in our *Israel*; but because we then fully discoursed that Point together, I shall here say nothing more of it, than that Men, who have imbibed those later Notions, and Doctrines from these Writers, will be more apt than others to think the Expressions, in which I call Bishops Princes, and their Dioceses Principalities to be novel, and uncouth, tho' in Truth they are not. On the contrary, Sir, as they are very ancient, so are they the common Language of Primitive Christianity, as you may see by the following Authorities. St. Paul calls them, 1 *Theff.* v. 12. ἡγεταὶ κυρίου ἐν κυρίῳ, Presidents, Prefects, Rulers, or Governours in the Lord, and ἡγεσῶτες πρεσβυτέρων, ruling, or governing Presbyters. So in *Justin Martyr* they are frequently called ἡγεσῶτες, Presidents; and by *Gregory Nyssen*, πνευματικοὶ ἡγεσῶτες, Spiritual Presidents; and by St. Basil in *Psal.* xxviii. οἱ ἡγούμενοι τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεσῶτες, Præfects, or Presidents of the Flock of Christ. So St. Cyprian, *Epist.* lix. ad *Cornelium*, calls the Bishop *Ecclesie præpositum*, and *Præpositum* (Christi) *servum*; and the Bishops those, qui in *Ecclesia Catholica* fratribus præsumt. So in *Epist.* lxxiii. Qui se Schismaticis contra præpositos, & Sacerdotes miscuerint. *Epist.* lxxiii. Unde intelligimus non nisi in *Ecclesia* præpositis licere baptizare. St. Paul in *Hebr.* xiii. 7, 17, 24. calls the Bishops ἡγούμενος, a Word used to set forth our Lord's Spiritual Dominion,

¹ ἡγεταὶ κυρίου, ἡγεσῶτες, of the same signification with ἡγεσῶτης, præfectus, præses, qui alicui rei præest, eamque administrat, all from ἡγεταί, antesto, præsum, præfectus sum. See *Budei Commentar.* pag. 487. and *Stephani Thesaur.* in ἡγεταί, ἡγεσῶτα, ἡγεσῶτης. The Words, by which *Greg. Nazianzen* expresseth himself, in his first Apologetical Oration, when he speaks of Bishops, and the Episcopal Office.

Matth. ii. 6. ἐκ (ᾧ γὰρ ἔξῃσεται) ἡγεμῶν, for out of thee shall come a Governour, or Prince, who shall rule my People Israel. It is also used of the Apostles to whom Christ committed all his Power, and the Administration of his Kingdom; *Luke xxii. 26.* But ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you let him be as the younger, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμῶν, and he that is Chief, or Prince, as he that doth serve. *Clement Romanus* useth the same Word to distinguish the Apostles, and their Apostolick Successors from Presbyters in the Church of Corinth, §. 1. You did all things without respect of Persons, you walk'd in the Laws of God, being subject [τοῖς ἡγεμῶνις ὑμῶν] to your Chief Governours, or Princes, and giving due Honour [τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν πρεσβυτέρῳ] to the Presbyters among you. He also useth the same Word, §. xxi. for the Successors of the Apostles in the Church. ὦς Let us, saith he, worship our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Blood was offered for us, let us reverence our CHIEFS, let us honour our Presbyters, and instruct the new Disciples in the Fear of God. I call it the same Word though in composition, because it hath the same signification, and I have render'd NEOTIS new Disciples, as it certainly signifies, also in §. i. iii. And as Νεώτερος doth, *Acts v. 6.* and *1 Pet. v. 5.* But to proceed, so *Origen* on *Matth. xx. 20.* ὁ ὃ ἡγεμῶν, ἔτις ὃ οἶμαι ὀνομάζειν τὸν κοίτημον ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ ἐπισκοπον, the Prince, for so I think fit to call him, that is called a Bishop in the Churches. So *contra Celsum*, Lib. VIII. p. 428,

^m ἡγεμῶν, signifies as ἡγεμών. See the use of the Word in the Civil Signification, by prophane Authors in ἡγεύομαι, ἔμαι, ἡγεμών, ἡγεμονία, in *Stephani Thesaur.*

ⁿ Τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὃ τὸ αἷμα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐδόθη, ἐν ἡρώδῃ. καὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον αἰδεσθῶμεν. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ τιμήσωμεν. καὶ Νέας παιδῶν καὶ παιδείαν τὴν φρόνησιν.

where

where speaking of Bishops, as ° Archons of the Church, he saith, καὶ ἀναγκάως ἀμα καὶ δικαίως ἡγούμενοι, καὶ πάντων περιεργαζόμενοι — our Rulers, who are made so by Constraint, as well as for Merit, have the Care of all; of those within, that they may live better, and better every Day; and of those without, that they may bring them to Knowledge of true Piety, and Religion in Words, and Works, and to the Worship of the true God — and be united to God, who is Lord over all, by his Son God the Word, the Wisdom, the Truth, and the Justice, who unites all Converts to him, who live in all things according to the Divine Will.

And that this ° Word imports Greatness in its Signification, even Principality, or chief Rule, and Authority in all Communities, is evident from 1 Maccab. xiv. 4. καὶ ὅτι εὐδόκησαν οἱ Ἰσραῖται καὶ οἱ Ἰσραῖτες ὅτι εἶναι Σίμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ Ἀρχιερεα. Also that the Jews were well pleased that Simon should be their Governour, (or Prince) and High-priest. I have observed this, because the Word ἡγούμενος, like the Hebrew *Cohen*, carries so much Greatness, and Excellency of Power in its Signification; for Ἡγεμονία the Noun, signifies supreme Authority, both in sacred and prophane Writers, as Luke iii. 1. Ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπὶ Καίσαρος, in the fifteenth Year of the Reign, or Empire of Tiberius Caesar. And therefore Chrysostom in Hom. xxxiv. on the Epistle to the Hebrews, compares them to what is chief, and pre-eminent in every kind, as to the Præcentor and Governour of a Chorus, the General of an Army, the Captain of a Ship, and the Shepherd of a Flock. He calls them ἀρχοντας, which in Latin, and English too is familiarly translated Princes. It is so translated in both Languages, Matth. xx. 25.

° Usher vet. Testimonia de Ignatio, p. 4. Episcopatus dign.

° See Dr. Hammond, and Grotius on Hebr. xiii. 7.

Mark iii. 22. *Joh.* xii. 31. and in many other places, as *1 Cor.* ii. 8. *Eph.* ii. 2. And is also so rendered throughout the ancient Latin Version of the ^a Epistles of St. Ignatius, and almost wheresoever the LXXII translate by ἀρχόντες, where we use the Word *Princes*, as *1 Chron.* xxviii. 1, and 24. According to this Observation the same Father speaks of τῶ ἀξιώματι τοῦ μετέθου, the Greatness of their Dignity, and upon those Words, Salute those who have the Rule over you (ἡγεμόνας ὑμῶν, i. e. your Rulers, or Princes) and all the Saints: See, faith he, how he honour'd them, in writing to these for the sake of them.

But before I proceed farther, let me, Sir, observe to you, that it is no wonder such Titles are given to Bishops, and their Office, because to them is committed the Government of the whole Church throughout the World, even the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which as it is of greater extent, than any worldly Empire, was, or ever will be: So it is of greater Dignity than all the Kingdoms of the Earth. This vast spiritual Empire, which reaches from the rising to the setting Sun, is committed by God to the Bishops^r in general, as well, as particular, in whole, as well as in part, which is a Prerogative, that no temporal Prince can challenge, whose Authority is confined and limited to his Dominions. And, Sir, if you rightly consider this, you will see the reason of the Princely Titles which I shall shew the Fathers give them, and their Power. The^r Council of *Laodicea* calls their Power ἐκκλησιαστικῶς Ἀρχὴν. And by the 47th Apostolick Canon, a Clergyman who unjustly calumniates a Bishop is to

^a Edit. Voss. p. 5, 27, 31, 42, 49, 60.

^r See this most learnedly set forth by *Isaac Casaubon de Libertate Ecclesiastica* in the late Edition of his Epistles by *Almeloveen*, p. 206, &c.

^r Can. xii.

be deposed, because it is written, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the* ^r *Archon, the Ruler of thy People.* So ^u *Origen*, whom I cited before calls them ^w *Βε-
λδοτῆς καὶ* ^x *ἀρχόντων ἐκκλησίας Θεῆς*, *Senators, and
Princes of the Church of God.* And in ^y another
place, *We*, saith he, *knowing that there is another
Frame of Government in every City, ordained by the
Word of God, exhort those, who are fitted by sound
Doctrine, and holy Lives to govern, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν
ἐκκλησιῶν, to reign over, or be Rulers of the Churches.*
For the same Word is used, *Mark* x. 42. to signifie
the Princes of the Gentiles, οἱ δοκῶντες ἀρχεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν
they who are accounted to Rule over the Gentiles. And
what is more observable, it is used to signifie the
Power, and Greatness of our Lord himself; *Rom.*
xv. 12. *There shall be a Root of Jesse, and in him, who
shall rise ἀρχεῖν ἐθνῶν to Reign over the Gentiles, shall
the Gentiles trust.* Then he proceeds, *And our good
Princes, or Magistrates οἱ καλῶς ἀρχόντες ἡμῶν* are
forc'd to take upon them the Care of the Churches, by
the Command of the great King, whom we believe to
be the Son of God. So Church-Power, and Autho-
rity is call'd by *Gregory Nazianz.* *Epist.* xlv. p. 807.
ἀναιμάκλιος ἀρχὴ *an unbloody Dignity, or Power, be-
cause it hath not the Power of the Sword.* Τὸ
γὰρ ὁ ἀρχὼν ἐστὶ μοι φαίνεται, βόηθός ἀρετῆς δὴ ἀνταγο-
νιστὴς κακίας. καὶ τὸ ἀναιμάκλιον ἀρχὴ ἀρχὴ, καθάπερ
ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ξίφος, καὶ τελαμῶν, *For an Archon,*

^r *Principem Populi tui non maledices.*

^u *Contra Celsum. Edit. Cantab. pag. 129.*

^w The *Areopagites* are called *βέλδοι*, by *Lucian*, and in prophane Writers, *Βελδῆλικός* always relates to the Courts of Legislation, or supreme Judicature.

^x *Ἀρχων* from *Ἀρχω*, *I am Chief*, in prophane Authors signifies the chief Commander in any Society, as in that of *Aristotle*, *Ὅτιον ἐστὶν ἀρχὴς ἀρχόντι, ἢ πόλει, ἢ οἴκῳ.* See *Budæi Commentar.* p. 130, 152.

^y *Pag. 428.*

or Magistrate, seems to me to be nothing else, than an Encourager of Virtue, and an Enemy of Vice, whether he have an unbloody Power, and Jurisdiction, as we (Bishops) have, or the Power of the Sword, and Chains. So in his first Apologetical Oration, speaking of refusing a Bishoprick, saith he, ὡς εἴτε πάντες φάτοιν ταύτῳ ἢ εἴτε λειτουργίαν χεῖρ λείαν, εἴτε ἡγεμονίαν: which Billius renders thus, *Si omnes hoc sive ministerium dicere oportet, sive imperium, defugiant.* And then describing the Anarchy, and Confusion of the Church without a Bishop, saith he, ἡ οὐκ ὄντι βασιλείᾳ, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὄντι Ἀρχοντί, ὁ δὲ ἱεραλείᾳ, ὁ δὲ θυσίᾳ, Sic nec Rex, nec Archon esset, nec Sacerdotium, nec Sacrificium. And then speaking against promoting unqualified Persons to the Episcopal Office, It would be strange, saith he, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἀναλαμβάνειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαῆς, *è subditorum classe, ac ordine ad imperium evehere.* You see then, Sir, by what Princely Names the Rulers of the Church were then called. So St. Ignatius is introduced speaking in that pretended Epistle of his to the Antiochians: O ye Presbyters feed the Flock among you ἕως ἀναδείξει ὁ Θεὸς ἢ μέλλοντα ἀρχεῖν ὑμῶν, until God shall shew, whom he will have to rule over you. In the Apostolick Constitution for electing Bishops we find these Words: ὁ δὲ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐρωτάτω πρεσβυτέρους καὶ λαόν, εἰ αὐτὸς ὄσιν, ὃν αὐτῶν εἰς ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑ καὶ ἐπισκόπον, προσεπερωτάτω εἰ μὴ ὑρεῖται πᾶσι τῶν ἀξιῶν ἢ τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης, καὶ λαμπρᾶς ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ. The chief of the rest [that is of the Bishops presiding in the Election] shall ask the Priests, and the People, if that be the Person, whom they desire to have for their Ruler, or Prince. And they signifying their Consent: he shall ask them again, if they all testify that he is worthy of this great, and glorious

² Exarch. Habert. 586.

³ Constit. Apost. Lib. viii. cap. iv.

Principality. And so St. Chrysostom, Hom. xv. on 11 Corinth. calls it ἀρχὴ πνευματικὴ, a Spiritual Principality, of which he speaks in this manner, If the Civil Empire, or Government is an Art or Science better than all others; how much more is this of ours? Which truly is so much more excellent than that, as that is more excellent than others, yea, and much more excellent — For there are two sorts of Empire, or Government, one relating to civil Life, by which Men govern People, and Cities, of which St. Paul speaks, when he said, Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; and another more sublime than that, I mean that of the Church, of which St. Paul speaks, saying, obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit your selves; because they watch for your Souls, as those that must give an Account. This Government is as much more excellent than the Civil, as Heaven is than the Earth: Yea, and much more. For it takes Care chiefly, that Crimes may not be committed, rather than punish them when they are committed; and when they are committed, it doth not destroy the Criminal, but takes Care that his Crimes be taken away. And it hath little regard to the things of this Life, but all its Concerns are for heavenly things. For our Conversation is in Heaven, and our Life is there hid with Christ, in God. Moreover, there are the Rewards for our Labours, and here we run for the Crowns that are there; for this Life is not extinguish'd by Death, but then shines with greater Lustre. Wherefore those to whom this Empire is intrusted, have a greater Honour committed to them, not only than the Governours of Provinces, but those who are incircled with the Imperial Diadem, as being ordained to form, and fit Men for greater, and more excellent things. Farthermore, those who are Governours in this Life, are as much inferiour to them, who have the Ecclesiastical Government, as it is more excellent to have

the Authority over the Willing, more than the Unwilling; for the Former is a natural Empire, but the Latter is full of Fear, and Force, This is the Effect of Compulsion, but That of Election, and Free-will. Again, that Empire is more excellent than this, because it is not only an Empire, but a Paternity, as having all the Gentleness, and Sweetness of a paternal Government, commanding greater things, than the Civil Government, and at the same time persuades. For the Civil Magistrate saith, If thou committest Adultery thou shalt die; but the Ecclesiastical threatens the greatest Punishment that can be, to him who looks on a Woman with a wanton Eye. This then is a venerable Tribunal, which arraigns the Body, and reacheth the Soul; and therefore, there is as much Difference between this Empire, and the other, as between the Body and the Soul. Moreover, he that is a Judge in the one, can only sit in Judgment upon open Crimes; and not of all open Crimes neither, but only of such as are prov'd. But on the contrary, our Court informs all who appear in it, that he who sits Judge with us will lay open all things, and manifest them upon the Stage of the whole World; and that it will be impossible for any Man to hide himself from him. And in his Homily on Acts 15. he commends St. James, Bishop of Hierusalem, that he let Peter and Paul speak before him in the Council, seeing (τὸ ἀρχὴν ἐκτελεῖν) he was placed in the supreme Power. For it becomes those, who were (ἐν μεγάλῃ ὁ δυνάμει) in great Power, or Principality, to be more humble, and gentle, &c. So then the Church hath an Empire, and is a Principality, as well as the State, of which the Bishops are Archons, or Princes under Christ Jesus, as the Apostles were. So, Isodorus Peleniota, in the Case of Zosimus, Maro, and Eustathius: There is this dif-

^b A Word often used in his Book de Sacerdotio.

ference (saith he) betwixt ^c ἀρχὰς κοσμητικὰς, and ἀρχὰς πνευματικὰς, the Ecclesiastical Ministers, or Magistrates, and Ministers, or Magistrates of State: If these offend, the whole World can distinguish betwixt their Persons, and their Functions; no Disparagement falleth upon any, but the Offenders. But if Ecclesiastical Persons become obnoxious, then they confound their Persons, and their Functions; and transfer the Shame of the Faults of some, even upon all, yea upon the whole Order it self. We, who live in these latter Times, wherein Church-Authority, and the Spiritual Power of Church-Governours is so little understood, and so much despised and depressed, must not wonder that the ancient Writers stiled the Church a Spiritual Principality, and the Bishops the Spiritual Princes thereof. For they taught, that the Church, as the Scriptures represent it, was the Kingdom, or Empire of Jesus Christ, whose Vicegerents they were to govern it, as I have before observed, jointly, as well as severally, in part, as well as in whole. Thus St. ^d Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians, calls Christ, Τὸ σκήπτρον τῆς Μεγαλωσύνης τοῦ Θεοῦ, the Scepter of God's Majesty, proposing him as an example of Humility to those, who with Pride, and Haughtiness, exalted themselves over his Flock. And ^e St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians saith, that he received a perfect (ἀρχὴν) Principality, or Empire from God; which Principality is the Church, called in the Scripture-phrase by St. Barnabas, his (Βασιλεία) Kingdom, or Empire, of which he is the supreme Head, and Governour, and the Bishops the subordinate Governors of it under him, as the worldly Emperors, and Kings are also under God. I suppose, that this Scepter or Principality did not

^c St. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, hath the same distinction.

^d Cap. xvi.

^e Ἀρχὴν ἣν ἐλάβανεν τὸ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς.

cease when the Imperial Scepter, and Civil Empire submitted to it, and owned the Church as a spiritual Society, of which Christ Jesus was the Head. And according to this great spiritual Authority, and Dignity of the Church, and its Rulers under Christ, *Eusebius* setting down the Successions of these *Archons*, the Bishops in the several Churches according to the common Appellation then in use, calls their Chairs *Thrones*. So he saith of ^f *Simeon*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, that he was worthy of his Throne; and of ^g *Iustus* his Successor, that he succeeded him in the Throne of the Bishoprick of *Hierusalem*. And *Lib. VII. Cap. xxii.* he calls the See of *Hierusalem* *Θρόνον Ἀποστολικόν*, the *Apostolick Throne*. And *Lib. VII. Cap. xiv.* he saith, that after the Death of *Mazaban* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, *Hymeneus* obtained the Episcopal Throne. This way of speaking is taken from the Words of our Lord, who said unto his Apostles: *Verily, I say unto you, that ye, who have followed me in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.* Among the false Accusations of *St. Athanasius* in the Synod of Tyre this was one, that ^h [Ἐπισκοπικόν καθεῖλε Θρόνον] he pulled down the Bishops Throne. ⁱ And that Father speaking of an *Arian*, who in pulling down the Bishop's Throne, was killed by it; saith, *Καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Θρόνος, &c.* The Throne rather destroyed him, than he the Throne. *Greg. Nazianzen*, in his valedictory Oration, speaks thus: *Farewel, O my Chair, for they do not lose God, who cede from their Thrones, but shall have more sublime, and stable Chairs above.* *St. Chrysostom* saith, in *Hom. 86.* on *St. John's Gospel*, Christ did invest his Apostles

^f *Lib. III. cap. ii.*

^g *Ibid. cap. xxxv.*

^h *Sozom. lib. II. cap. xxv.*

ⁱ *Epist. ad Solitarios.*

with Power, καθάπερ τις βασιλῆς ἀρχοντας ἀποσέλλων, as a King sends forth his *Archons*, i. e. Princes, and Governours with power immediately from himself. And * accordingly as a Viceroy sits upon the King's Throne, he saith, that the first Action of a new Bishop is τὸ θρόνον ἀναβαίνειν, to mount into his Throne, or as we say, to be *thronized*. And in the beginning of his third Homily to the *Antiochians*, saith he, ὅταν εἰς τὸ Θρόνον τέτον, &c. When I look upon this empty Throne I both rejoice, and weep. This was said in the absence of the Bishop upon a sad Occasion, when he was gone to the Emperor to intercede for Mercy in behalf of the People of *Antioch*. And in the pack'd Synod, *ad Quercum*, it was one Article of Accusation against him, that he robed, and unrobed himself in his Throne. So † *Neilus*, Archbishop of *Thessalonica*, transcribes these Words out of the Acts, and Subscriptions of the sixth General Council, *Peter Presbyter, and Vicar of the Apostolical Throne of the Metropolis of Alexandria*. And so the ‡ five Patriarchal Sees were called καθολικοὶ, καὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ θρόνοι the Catholick, and Oecumenical Thrones. Here I cannot but put you in mind, that *Hierarchy* from the Greek ἱεραρχία signifies an *holy Government*, and the Word *Bishoprick*, which is the Word for a Diocese in our Mother Tongue, signifies a Bishop's Principality; a Word which § *Irenaeus* used of the Church of *Rome*, which being the most powerful of all Churches, when he wrote, he speaks thus, *Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorum Principitatem; Unto this Church, upon the Account of its more powerful Principality, every Church must resort*. Every Church then was a ° Principality.

* Orat. de S. Meletio.

† De Primatu Papæ.

‡ Theophan. in Chronographia, & in vita Constantini Cæsarum.

§ Lib. II. cap. iii. cum Johannis Ernesti Græbe Notis in Locum.

° See A. B. Laud's Conference with Fisher the Jesuit, p. 110.

ty, though this then was the greatest. But to return to the ancient Writers, who called the Bishops Chairs *Thrones*, they are so called by *Epiphanius*, *Heres. 78.* Paragraph 7. who speaking of *St. James* our Lord's Brother, who was first Bishop of *Hierusalem*, he saith : Καὶ πρῶτον ἐτάθη εἰλεφε ἡ καθέδρου τῆ ἐπισκοπῆς, ἣν ἐπέθηκε κύριος τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς πρῶτον. *He first received the Episcopal Chair, being the Person to whom Christ first committed his Throne upon Earth.* So in the Prayer at the Consecration of a Bishop in the Greek Ordinal, set forth by *Habertus* : O Lord our God, who because human Nature cannot bear the Presence of thy Godhead, in compassion to it, hast in thy Dispensation constituted Doctors for us to sit upon ^p thy Throne, and to offer Sacrifice, and Oblations for all thy People. Do thou, O Lord, &c. The Chair of every Bishop then is the Throne of Christ, and therefore are the Bishops Chairs called *Thrones* by the Emperor *Justinian* in the *Code* and *Novels*, as when he calls the See of *Constantinople* the Throne of *Epiphanius*. Sir, you may see more cited to this purpose out of *Justinian's Code*, in pag. 119, 120. of a most exact Book, entituled, *Of the Subject of Church Power*, written by the Learned Dr. *Simon Louth*, and printed in the Year 1685 against the *Erastians*, *Latitudinarians*, and Mongrel Church-men of this Age. And you need not wonder that their Chairs are called *Thrones*, since as ^q *Ignatius* saith, they preside, εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, in the place of God, according to *Acts xx. 28.* Take heed to your selves, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you, ἐπισκόπους, Bishops. In the Latin Version, *Attendite vobis & universo Gregi, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos.* ^r So *Greg. Nazianzen* speaks to the Bishop he had consecrated, Come O most excellent

^p Τὸν Σὸν ἐπέχοντες θρόνον.

^q *Epist. ad Magnes.*

^r *Orat. 30.*

Pastor, and with us, and before us, receive thy People which the Holy Ghost hath committed to thee. Hence, Sir, proceeded the ancient Subscriptions of the Bishops in Council, *In Christi nomine*; and that of St. Basil, Epist. 393. to *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium*; *Quit thy self like a Man, and be strong, and precede before the People, which God hath committed to thy trust.* But to return to these spiritual Archons, or Princes who sit on our Lord's Throne, I must add what St. Hierom writes in his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, in the LX. Chapter and v. 17. as the Words are in the Greek Translation, *I will give ' thy Archons, or Princes in Peace, and thy Bishops in Righteousness.* Upon which Words saith that Father, *In quo Scriptura sanctæ admiranda Majestas, quod Principes futuros Ecclesiæ Episcopos nominavit, quorum omnis Visitatio in pace est, & vocabulum dignitatis in Justitia.* In which the admirable Majesty of the Scriptures appears in that he call'd the Bishops, who were to be in the Church Princes, whose Visitation is all in Peace. The Version of the ancient Greek, and the Sense in which St. Jerom explains it, was follow'd in the Primitive times, and so understood as you will see by the following Words out of ' St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. xlii. *The Apostles preached the Gospel from the Lord Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent from God, and the Apostles from Christ, and both their Missions were in order from the Will of God; wherefore having receiv'd the Command, and being full of Assurance by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and being confirmed by the Will of God, and the full Assurance of the Holy Ghost; they went out to publish the good News of the Kingdom of God, which was to come. Therefore preaching in all Countries and Cities, they ordain'd their first Converts Bishops, and Deacons of those, who were Be-*

† Τῶς ἀρχόντας ἑ.

† Oxford Edition in 120. 177.

lievers, trying and proving them by the Holy Ghost. And this not without Authority, for Bishops, and Deacons were written of many Ages before, for the Scripture somewhere saith, I will constitute your Bishops in Righteousness, and your Deacons in Faith. The Scripture which this Father citeth is the Scripture of the Old Testament; for he is the same St. Clement whom St. Paul calls his Fellow Labourer, and who, when he wrote this Epistle, or shortly after, was Bishop of Rome. But there is no place of the Old Testament but this of *Isaiah*, Ch. lx. v. 17. to which his Words can refer; which, as the Annotators on this Epistle rightly observe, he apply'd to the Church Christian, changing the Order of the Words, and reading the Original Word in the *Hebrew* and that in the *Greek* Version, which signifies *Peace*, not without Reason, *Faith*. In the place above cited, you see, St. Clement expressly saith, that the Apostles ordain'd or constituted Bishops: And so saith *Irenæus advers. Hæc. Lib. III. cap. 3.* The Tradition of the Apostles is evident in every Church to those who desire to know the Truth; for we can produce those who were ordain'd Bishops by the Apostles, and their Successors, to our own Time, who neither taught nor knew any such thing. And *Tertullian, de Præscript. Hæreticor. cap. 32.* challenging Hereticks to appeal to the Time of the Apostles writes thus: *Let them publish the Original of their Churches, and unfold the Successions of their Bishops in Order from the beginning; so that it may appear that the first Bishop had one of the Apostles, or Apostolick Men, who liv'd with the Apostles, for his Predecessor. For thus the Apostolick Churches report, as that of Smyrna affirms Polycarp, to be placed there by St. John, and that of Rome reports Clement to have been ordain'd by St. Peter. In like manner other Churches shew them, whom being made Bishops by the Apostles, they had Propagators of the Apostolick Do-*

ctrine.

Strine. And let the Hereticks shew the like. And can you, Sir, when you consider that Bishops are appointed to succeed the Apostles, and like them to stand in *Christ's place*, and exercise his Kingly, Priestly, and Prophetical Office over their Flocks, can you, when you consider this, think it novel, or improper, or uncouth, to call them Spiritual Princes, and their Dioceses Principalities? When they have every thing in their Office that can denominate a *Chief*, or *Prince*? For what is a Prince, but the principal or chief Ruler of a Society, that hath Authority over the rest to makes Laws for it, to challenge the Obedience of all the Members, and all Ranks of Men in it, and Power to coerce them, if they will not obey? And now, Sir, I pray you attend to what follows, and then tell me, if the Office of Bishops contains not every thing that is in the Definition of a *Chief*, or *Prince*. St. Ignatius, who was St. John's Disciple, writes of them as such. So in his Epistle to the People of *Smyrna*, *All of you " follow the Bishop, as Christ follow'd the Father, and the Presbyters as the Apostles, and reverence the Deacons, as the Ordinance of God.* This regards the Subjection, and Obedience of the Laity to the Bishop and Presbyters; but what follows concerns the Subjection of the Clergy to the Bishop. *Let no Man do any thing in Church Matters without the Bishop, and let that be a valid Eucharist that is administer'd by the Bishop, or by one licens'd by him. For where the Bishop is there let the Church be, as where Christ is, there is the Cathplick Church. Without the Bishop (i. e. with-*

* Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε. Here it is to be observed, that St. Ignatius, as the other Apostolick Fathers, useth the Words of the New Testament in the sense of the New Testament, so he here uses the Word ἀκολουθεῖτε, which denotes the highest Fidelity, and Obedience; as in *John* x. 27. xxi. 22. *Mark* viii. 34. x. 21. *Luke* ix. 23. xviii. 22. *John* xii. 26. *Luke* xviii. 28, *Rev.* xiv. 4.

out the Bishop's License) it is neither lawful to baptize nor celebrate the ^w Love Feast, but that which he approves, that is pleasing to God, that whatsoever is done may be secure and firm. Again, it is good to ^r have regard to God, and the Bishop, and ^r who honours the Bishop, shall be honour'd of God; but he that doth things clandestinely without the Bishop, doth Service to the Devil. In the interpolated Epistle of this Martyr, his Precepts are paraphrased out of the Apostolical *Constitutions* in these Words, according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church: "Honour
 " God, as the Creator, and Word of all Things, and
 " the Bishop, as the High-Priest representing God;
 " representing God as a Prince, and Christ, as a Priest.
 " After (or next to) God, you are to honour the
 " ^z (King) Emperor. For there is nothing more excellent than God, or like unto him, or in the whole
 " Creation, nor is there any thing greater in the
 " Church than a Bishop, who is consecrated to God
 " for the Salvation of the World; neither among
 " ^a Princes (or Magistrates) is any like to an Emperor, (or King) who administers, and governs for
 " the Peace, and Happiness of his Subjects. He that
 " honours the Bishop, shall be honoured of God, in
 " like manner as he that dishonours the Bishop shall
 " be punished by God. For if he that riseth up against Emperors is justly thought worthy of Punishment, as violating the good Legal Order, and Constitution, of how much more grievous Punishment

^v i. e. The Holy Eucharist, which was then administer'd at the Conclusion of the Love-Fests, 1 Cor. chap. ii.

^x Θεὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι; where εἰδέναι signifies to acknowledge, value, esteem, and regard, as in 1 Thess. v. 12. We beseech you Brethren, to know them (εἰδέναι) who labour among you, and are over you in the Lord. See 1 Cor. ii. 2. ὁ τιμᾷ ἐπίσκοπον.

^y To honour in the Scripture signifies all Submission, and Obedience of an inferiour to a superiour, as of a Child to a Father, Matth. xv. 4, 6. John viii. 14. a Subject to his Prince, 1 Pet. ii. 17. Fear God, Honour the King.

^z Βασιλέα.

^a Ἐν ἁρχαῖς.

do

“ do you think him worthy, who dares presume to do
 “ any thing without the Bishop breaking the Unity,
 “ and confounding the good Order of the Church.
 “ For the ^b *Episcopat* is the top of all the Honours
 “ among Men, which whosoever doth furiously op-
 “ pose, he dishonours not Man but God, and Christ
 “ Jesus the First-born, who alone by Nature is the
 “ High-Priest of the Church to mediate for us with the
 “ Father. Let all things therefore be done by you
 “ in Christ with orderly Subordination. Let the La-
 “ icks be subject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the
 “ Presbyters, the Presbyters to the Bishop, the Bishop
 “ to Christ, as Christ is to the Father. So in the in-
 terpolated Epistle to the *Trallefians*, his Precept of the
 Peoples Obedience to the Bishop, and Presbyters,
 and Deacons is also paraphrased out of the *Apostolical*
Constitutions in these Words: *For what else is*
the Bishop, but one that hath ^c all Power and Authority
above all Men, as much as a Man can have, that re-
resents the Person of Jesus Christ, and what is the
Presbytery, but a holy Meeting, in which the Presby-
ters are the Counsellors, and Assessors of the Bishop?
And what are the Deacons, but Representations of the
Angelical Office, ministring a holy, and unblameable
Ministry to the Bishop, as St. Stephen to James the
Blessed, and Timothy, and Linus to Paul, and Ana-
cletus, and Clemens to Peter. In his Epistle to
Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna, saith he, Let nothing be
done without thy Will (or Pleasure) nor do thou any
thing but what is the Will of God; and then to the Peo-
 ple, ^d *Take heed to the Bishop that God may regard you;*

^b *Ἐπισκοπὴν* generally used καὶ *ἑποχὴν* for the Episcopal Dignity, as *Sacerdos* in Latin for a Bishop.

^c *Πᾶσις ἀρχὴς, καὶ ἑξουσία.*

^d *Τῷ ἐμμανότῳ προσέχεται.* where the Word *προσέχεται* signifies to have regard, or give heed to an eminent Person, and of great Authority, as in *Acts* viii. 6, 10, 11.

my Soul shall answer for theirs to God, who * obey the Bishop, Presbyters, and Deacons, and let me have my part with them to enjoy God. In his Epistle to the Ephesians, you ought to regard the Bishop Onesimus as the Lord. For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the House sends into his House for the Government of it, as him that sent him; and therefore we ought to regard the Bishop as God. And God resisteth the proud; let it therefore be our Care and Study not to † resist the Bishop, that we may be subject unto God. To the Magnesians, You ought not to despise the Age of your young Bishop, but to give him Reverence according to the Ordinance of God, as I know the Presbyters do ——— submitting to him, and not to him (only) but to the Bishop of all, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore for his Honour, 'tis our Duty to obey without Dissimulation, because no Man deceives the visible Bishop, but he goes about to put Fallacies upon the invisible Bishop, who knows all secret things. Again, I exhort you to do all things in Divine Unity, the Bishop presiding in God's place; and the Presbyters in the place of the Apostolick College, and the Deacons as those to whom is committed the Service of Jesus Christ. To the Philadelphians: As many as are of God and Christ, they are with the Bishop. To the Trallesians; ‡ Being subject to the Bishop as to Christ Jesus, you seem to me not to live after the man-

* Τῶν ὑποτασσάμενων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. which is the very Word of the Apostle where he commands Subjection to the Higher Powers, Rom. xiii. 1. πάντα ψυχὴ βεστίας ὑπερέχουσας ὑποτασσέσθω. Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers. He uses the same Word ad Magnes. ὑποτάγεις τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. So ad Tralles. ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, where ἐκκλησίᾳ also signifies the Commandment of God, as in Matth. xix. 7. xxii. 38. x. 19. Luke xxiii. 56.

† Μὴ ἀντιτάσσασθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, not to rebel against the Bishop. ad Ephes. This is the very word the Apostle useth for not resisting the secular Potentates, Rom. xiii. 2.

‡ Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσασθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

per of Men, but according to Jesus Christ, who died for us: In another place, which I translate thus; *In like manner reverence the Deacons as the Order of Jesus Christ, who is the Son of the Father; and the Presbyters as the Senate of God, and the Constitution of the Apostles: For without these there can be no Church.* Again, *It behoves every one of you to ^h refresh the Bishop, to the Honour of Jesus Christ, and the Apostles.* Again, *Honour the Bishop as Christ according to the Commandment of the Apostles.* Lastly, *Farewel in Christ Jesus, being subject to the Bishop, as to the Commandment of God; likewise to the College of Presbyters,*

^h Ἀναψύχειν τῷ ἐπίσκοπον. See 2 Tim. i. 16. But besides these there are many other emphatical Words in St. Ignatius's Epistles, which emphatically set forth the Duty of the People to the Bishop, and the Clergy, as ἐπιταγόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, commanded by the Bishop, ad Ephes. ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χεῖρὶ Θεοῦ. To obey the Bishop, as the Commission of God, or according to the Commission given him from God. ibid. ἐπακούειν. ad Magnes. Ἀγαπᾶν καὶ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐπίσκοπον, to love the Bishop in Jesus Christ, ad Ephes. Δέχεσθαι πάντα ὃν πέμψει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν ἕως δὲ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν καὶ πέμψαι. Whomsoever the Master of the House sends to be over his Household, we ought to receive him in such manner, as we would receive him that sent him. Συγχωρεῖν, ὡς φερόμενος ἐν Θεῷ συγχωρεῖν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἐκ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ πάντων ἐπισκόπῳ. Submitting to him, as those who have wisdom from God, or rather not to him, but to the Father of Jesus Christ the Bishop of us all. ad Magnes. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ * γνώμη. ὡς καὶ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ καὶ τὰ πέρατα δευδέντες ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ γνώμη εἰσὶν. for even as Jesus Christ is sent by the Will of the Father, so the Bishops are appointed unto the utmost parts of the Earth by the Will of Jesus Christ. Wherefore it will become you to concur according to the will of the Bishop. Ad Ephes.

* See Rev. xvii. 17. Philem. 14. Γνώμη Placitum, Decretum, Sententia.

All the words I have here observed to set forth the eminent Spiritual Power, Authority, and Dignity of Bishops, and their Office are in the New Testament, except one, and I desire those to consider the Emphasis of them, and the Expressions, in which they are used, who object that I have carried the Notion of the Episcopal Dignity too high, and in too high Expressions.

or,

or, as other Copies have it, *to the Presbyters*, who were Governours of the Church under the Bishop, as under their Prince, or Chief.

You see, *Sir*, how this Saint and Martyr speaks of Bishops and their Office. They stand in God's and Christ's stead over their Flocks, the Clergy as well as the People are to be subject to them, as to the Vicegerents of our Lord. Nothing was to be done without them in the Church. But all Laws and Orders in their respective Districts had their Sanction from them, they presiding in all Meetings of the Clergy, as Christ did among the Apostles. Several such Precepts, Orders, and Directions occur in the Epistles of St. Paul to the Churches of his Foundation; in this holy Martyr's Epistles; in that of St. Polycarp to the *Philippians*; and in that of St. Clement to the *Corinthians*, all which express that Authority, with which St. Paul spoke to the *Corinthians* in these Words: *If any Man among you think himself to be a Prophet, or Spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things, which I wrote to you (as your Apostle) are the Commandment of the Lord.*

III. And as they had Power to make Laws and Orders, and give Directions for the Regulation of the Church, and all Orders of Men in it: So had they Power to *coerce* or compel their Subjects of the Clergy and Laity without Distinction of Persons to obey them by Spiritual Censures and Punishments; particularly by Excommunication, which in the most holy and pure times was ever accounted more dreadful than Death it self. This Power of spiritual Coercion was promised by Christ to the Apostles in those most solemn Words, *Whatsoever you shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.* This is the Power which he promised to

ⁱ Matth. xviii. 18.

give St. Peter, Matth. xvi. 18. *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.*

Thus, our Lord, who instituted the Apostolical Office, gave Authority therewith not only to instruct, command, and direct, but to punish and compel, yea to extirpate, and cut off those who were rebellious and contumacious, and would not submit to their Orders, and the Censures of the Church. They were actually invested with this coercive Power after his Resurrection, when he said unto them, *Peace be unto you, as my Father sent me so send I you: Whosoever's Sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever's Sins ye retain, they are retained.*

When he said, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, according to the common Import of the Words, as well as the received Sense of them in the Catholic Church, he was to be understood, as if he had said, with the same Power, and Authority, that my Father sent me into the World to constitute, and govern my Church, I send you, and your Successors, *i. e.* with all spiritual Power and Authority directive and coercive, which is necessary to your Office and Charge, in gathering, fixing, and governing Churches unto the end of the World.

This Power was exercis'd in various Corrections and Punishments by the Apostles, as by St. Peter on * *Simon Magus*, when he said, *Thy Money perish with thee — Thou hast neither Part nor Lot in this Matter, for thy Heart is not right in the sight of God.* By these Words he was cut off from the Church, and all Spiritual Benefits belonging to it, which, as a Father observed, was a more dreadful Punishment than to be burn'd, or drown'd, or pierc'd

* Acts viii.

thro' with a Temporal Sword. It was variously exercis'd by St. Paul, as ' where he commanded the Faithful not to keep Company with Christian Fornicators; and to note those ^m who behaved themselves disorderly, and wou'd not obey his Word, and to have no Company with them that they might be ashamed. So in ⁿ the Name of Christ, and his own Apostolick Authority, though absent, he order'd the incestuous *Corinthian* to be separated and cut off from the Communion of the Church, and thereby deliver'd up to the power of the Devil till he should repent. *I have already judg'd, as tho' I were present, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and my Spirit, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh, that his Spirit may be saved in the Day of our Lord Jesus.* The same Discipline he exercis'd on *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, 1 Tim. i. 20. according to what he wrote, 2 Cor. x. *The Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong Holds, casting down Imaginations, and every thing that exalts it self against the Knowledge of God, &c. And having in readiness to revenge all Disobedience.* So in the 1 Cor. iv. 21. faith he, provok'd by the Disobedience of some that were puff'd up with spiritual Gifts, *What will you that I come unto you with a Rod, or in Love, and in the Spirit of Meekness?* By the Rod is here to be meant some of the greater spiritual Punishments, and in all appearance Excommunication, of which he faith, 2 Cor. x. 8. *Though I should boast somewhat of our Authority, which God hath given us for Edification, and not for Destruction, I should not be ashamed.* It was with some of these spiritual Censures, and likely with Excommunication, that St. John ^o threatned *Diotrephes* for prating

^l 1 Cor. v. 9.

^a 1 Cor. v.

^m 2 Thess. iii. 14.

^o John iii. 9, 10.

against him with malicious Words, and for not receiving the Brethren himself, and forbidding others that would.

And the Successors of the Apostles, the Bishops, like Spiritual Princes, exercis'd the same Authority, the same ^p coercive Authority that they did in inflicting spiritual Censures upon their disobedient Subjects. It would require a Volume to shew you the various Punishments, with which they corrected their Disobedience. They suspended, and deprived Clergymen, or degraded them from their Order; and as for the People they put down those who were in the uppermost Class of Communion into the Station of Penitents, and Prostrators; others they forbid to come farther than the Church-doors; and those whom they did not so disgrace, they often suspended from the Sacrament, some for a longer, some for a shorter time, and some till their last Hours. The Contumacious, both of the Clergy and Laity, they punished with Excommunication; from which, after very long, and very severe Penances, as I have mention'd, they absolv'd some; and others, who were enormous, and very frequent Lapsers, they would not absolve, and reconcile to the Peace of the Church, but at their last Breath, or perhaps not at all, leaving them to the Mercy of God at his *own Tribunal*. I need not tell you how much the ancient Christians stood in awe of the *Apostolick Rod* in the Hands of their Bishops, as well after as before the Empire came to the Church, when she as a distinct Society ^q inflicted her Censures upon the same Christian

^p Tertull. Apol. 6. 39. *Disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, Castigationes, & Censura Divina. Nam & judicatur magno cum pondere ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumq; futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à Communicatione Orationis, & Conventus, & omnes Sancti Commericii religetur.*

^q See the Canons of St. Basil the Great, *Ad Amphilochem Iconii Episcopum.*

Criminals, and for the same Crimes, which the Empire punished by its Laws, as likewise upon others for Crimes which the Empire did not punish but allow, as in the ^r *Habessin Ethiopia*, where though the State allows *Polygamy*, or having many Wives at once, the Church punishes *Polygamists* with Deprivation of the Holy Communion, which was look'd upon as a great Dishonour, and grievous Punishment in the pure Ages of Christianity, as to be repelled from their Sacrifices was among the Heathens; and it was called the lesser Excommunication to distinguish it from the greater, which the ancient Christians look'd upon as the spiritual *Ax and Sword* to the Soul, and thought more terrible than Death.

Sir, I have wrote all this to help you to a just Idea of the Episcopal Office, and Power, and to shew you what Reason I had in my Letter to call them Spiritual Princes, and their Dioceses Principalities, which I did not rashly, or by chance, but upon thought, knowing how the Ancients wrote of it, as you shall see in a few more Examples.

Constantine the Great, in his Speech to the Bishops

^r *Jobi Ludolphi Hist. Æthiopica, Lib. iii. cap. vi. 99, 100. Lib. v. cap. iv. 1, 2, 3.*

^r *Cujus, ut gladium Spiritualem, & venturum judicii diem unusquisque fratrum possit evadere omni consilio providere, & elaborare debemus. — Interfici Deus jussit Sacerdotibus suis non obtemperantes, judicibus à se ad tempus constitutis non obedientes; sed tunc quidem gladio occidebantur, quando adhuc & Circumcisio Carnalis manebat. Nunc autem quia Circumcisio Spiritualis esse apud fideles servos Dei cœpit, Spirituali gladio superbi, & contumaces necantur, dum de Ecclesia ejiciuntur.* *Cyprian. Epist. IV. Edit. Oxon. Ἐδὲς ὡς καὶ ἔϊφθ' ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, &c.* *Joh. Chrysost. Serm. de utilit. Lect. Scripturarum. Phineas Sacerdos adulteros inventos ultore ferro transfixit. Quod ubique de degradationibus, ex excommunicationibus significatum, est faciendum in hoc tempore cum in Ecclesia disciplina visibilis gladius fuerit cessaturus.* *August. de fide & operibus. Cap. II. Galat. V. 12. I would they were cut off that trouble you. 1 Corinth. IV. 21. Shall I come unto you with a Rod? See Is. Casaub. de Libert. Eccles. lib. ii. Th. iv.*

of the Catholick Church assembled in the first General Council, speaks to them in these Words ; ' God hath appointed you [*ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἀρχόντας*] to be Priests, and Princes to judge the People, and determine Causes, and hath described you to be Gods, as being more excellent, than all other Men. According to what is written, I have said ye are Gods, and all the Sons of the most High : And again, God standeth in the Congregation of Gods. That this place was applicable to Christian Bishops, as Priests, is plainly to be proved from the Exposition of it in the Commentary of ^u *Eusebius Casariensis*, I have said ye are God, &c. ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβὶς, &c. God the Word, Judging the Presidents of the People, to wit, the Priests, and High-Priests, and the other ^w Rulers, or Princes, declareth these things ; and therefore it is said, God standeth in the Congregation of Gods, &c.

In the XIth Chapter of the II^d Book of the Apostolical Constitutions, ^x which were of great Authority in the Church, the Bishop is thus described, " Wherefore, O Bishop, study to be pure, and to " make known thy Conversation, and Dignity, as " one that ^y represents God among Men ^z, in presiding over all Men ; Priests, Kings, Princes, Fathers, " Sons, Doctors, and all, who in like manner are thy " Subjects ; and so preach from thy Seat in the " Church, as one who hath Power to judge Offenders ; " for it is said to you Bishops, Whatsoever you bind " upon Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever you loose upon Earth shall be loosed in Heaven. So in the XIth Chapter of the same Book, The Bishop

^{*} Gelasius Cyzicenus Hist. Conc. Nic. cap. viii.

^u Printed at Paris MDCCVI.

^w Τὸς τε λοιποῖς ἀρχόντας.

^x See Canon. Apost. lxxxv.

^y ὡς Θεὸς τύπον ἔχων ἐν Ἀνθρώποις.

^z Τῷ πάλῳ ἀρχὴν Ἀνθρώπων.

is the Minister of the Word, the Keeper of Knowledge, the *Mediator in the divine Worship betwixt you, and God*; the Teacher of Religion; the Father in God, who regenerated you by Water, and the Spirit, unto Adoption; the ^a Prince, and Governour; the King, and Potentate; under God the Earthly God whom you ought to honour: For of him, and those like him, God saith, *I said ye are Gods, and all of you are Children of the most High, and thou shalt not speak ^b evil of the Gods.* Therefore let the Bishop so preside over you, as honour'd with Authority from God, by which he governs the Clergy, and all the People. So Chap. 28, 29, 30. *Honour God by those who ^c preside over you, esteeming the Bishops as the Mouth, or Oracles of God.* For if Aaron was call'd a Prophet for speaking the Words of Moses to Pharaoh, and Moses was call'd the God of Pharaoh, as being King, and High-priest, as it is written, *See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy Brother shall be thy Prophet,* why then do you not esteem the Messengers, and Ministers among you as Prophets, and honour them as Gods? For the Deacon, or Minister is as Aaron to you, and the Bishop as Moses. If therefore Moses was called a God by the Lord, let the Bishops be honour'd among you as God, and the Deacon as his Prophet. For as Christ doth nothing without the Father, so let not the Minister do any thing without the Bishop. So Chap. 33, 34. *If you honour your Fathers according to the Flesh, how much more ought you to honour your spiritual Fathers, as your Benefactors, and Mediators unto God, who regenerated you by Water, and replenished you with the Holy Ghost, &c.* Wherefore fear and honour them who have received Power of Life, and Death from God in judging Sinners,

^a 1. Ἀρχων. 2. Ἡγούμενος. 3. Βασιλεύς. 4. Διδάσκων.

^b See Chap. xxxi.

^c Πρεσβύτων.

and condemning them to eternal Fire, and absolving those who repent from their Sins. Esteem them therefore as your *Archons*; esteem them as your Kings, or Emperors, and offer Tribute to them as Kings, for they, and their Families ought to be maintained by you. For as *Samuel* ordained that the People should maintain the King, and *Moses* that they should^d maintain the Priests: So we command that you should maintain the Bishops, &c. For if they administer'd in so many things to the King, who administer'd Peace, and War for bodily Safety, how ought they not to administer more liberally to him, who administering the Priesthood towards God, secures both Body, and Soul from Danger by his Prayers? Wherefore, by how much the Soul is more excellent than the Body, by so much is the Priesthood more excellent than the Kingly Power; for he binds, and also looses from Punishment those who are worthy of Absolution, therefore ought you to love the Bishop as a Father; to fear him as a King, or Emperor; to honour him as a Lord; offering to him your Fruits, and the Works of your Hands, and your First-fruits, &c. To these Testimonies add what is said in the xxvth and xxvith Chapter of this Book; ὡς Ἐπίσκοποι — ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἐσεὶ περιφῆται, Ἀρχόντες, καὶ ἡγέμενοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς. O Bishops, ye are to the Laity, or People, Prophets, Princes, Rulers, and Kings. So in the xxvith Chapter. He that is a Bishop is a Minister of the Word, the Keeper of Knowledge — after God your Father, who regenerated you into the Adoption of Sons by Water, and the Holy Spirit, ἵνα ὡς Ἀρχων, καὶ ἡγέμενος ὑμῶν. ἵνα ὡς βασιλεὺς, καὶ Δωδύτης. ἵνα ὡς ἐπίγειος Θεὸς μὲν Θεὸν. He is your Prince, and Governour, he is your King, and Lord, he is under God your God upon Earth, whom

^d Philo.

you ought to honour; for of him, and such like, God hath said, *I have said ye are Gods, and the Sons of the most high, and thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy People.* To these may also be added the xxxivth Chapter, and to the same purpose is the ii^d Chapter of the sixth Book, *If any who rose up against Kings, deserved Punishment, tho' a Son, or a Friend; how much more he who rises up against the Bishops?* For as the Priesthood is more excellent than the Kingly Office, as labouring for the Soul's Health: so is he worthy of greater Punishment, who dares move his Eye against it. Sir, you ought not to wonder that the Ancients equal Bishops in their Spiritual Office to Kings; for in the ancient Glossary of *Hesychius*, Bishop is explained by King, ἐπίσκοπος, βασιλεύς, because as Kings are Bishops of the State, so Bishops are as Kings in the Church. The comparison between them, and their Offices is properly, and elegantly expressed by St. *Fulgentius* in these Words: *Quantum ergo pertinet ad hujus temporis vitam, constat quia in Ecclesia nemo pontifice potior & in seculo nemo Christiano imperatore celsior invenitur;* and this comparison of the two Offices in their several Spheres, as it seems to be just; so it seems to be grounded in Scripture, not only in that of the *Psalms*, *I have said ye are Gods*, but in *Rev. v. 10.* *Thou hast redeemed us unto God by thy Blood, and hast made us Kings, and Priests*—Sir, all these Terms, even that of *King* it self were applied to Bishops, as spiritual Princes by the best Christian Authors, as you may observe by other Authorities cited in this Letter, and as strange, as this magnificent way of speaking of them may appear unto you, or others not conversant in the ancient Ecclesiastical Learning, yet you see it was the common Language of ancient Christianity, and therefore I have made no difficulty

^c Cap. xxii. lib. ii. de verit. prædest.

to lay it before you out of the *Apostolical Constitutions* so called, though I own they have suffer'd by Interpolations, and Corruptions, as it was the Lot of some primitive Tracts to do, for which reason, but chiefly upon the account of some *Arian* Expressions in them, they were censured by the sixth General Council, Can. II. But what I have cited out of them in honour of the Episcopal Order, and Office, hath the Air of Primitive and Catholick; and as *lofty*, as at first sight it may appear, perhaps you will not think it so, when you rightly consider the Holiness of their Ministry, the Greatness of their spiritual Power, and by whom, and whose Authority they were made Bishops, as *Greg. Nazianz.* sets it forth at the latter end of his fifth Oration in the following Words: *Ὁ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἱερεὺς ἔστιν Ἀρχιερεὺς, &c.* Therefore you anoint me Bishop, and put the Robe of the Ephod upon me, and the Miter upon my Head, and bring me to the Altar of the spiritual Holocaust, and slay the Bullock of Consecration, and consecrate my Hands to the Holy Ghost, and lead me to the sight of the Holy of Holies, and make me a Minister of the true Tabernacle, which the Lord hath pitched and not Man. But whether he, whom you have anointed, is worthy to be anointed by you, and for what he is anointed, and of him to whom he is anointed: the Father of the true, and proper [Son of God] Christ, whom he hath anointed with the Oil of Gladness above his Fellows, knows, having anointed the Manhood with the Godhead to make both one. And he that is God, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have obtained Reconciliation knows it, and also the Holy Spirit, who hath appointed us to this holy Ministry, on whom we stand, and rejoice in the hope of the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever. Amen. It is evident from this mystical Description of an Episcopal Consecration, in which this Father alludes to the

xxviiith, and xxixth Chapters of *Exodus*, that He thought a Christian Bishop equal in Dignity to a Jewish High-Priest. And so in his ixth Oration, he speaketh thus to *Julian the Apostate* Emperor, *What do you say to these things? or what will you write? O! you who were the greatest of our Friends, and Contemporaries! You who had the same Preceptors that we had, and were instituted, as we were, though God hath raised us to a more excellent, I am loth to say, a more troublesome Station to teach you, who are the higher Powers.* And in the xviith Oration, p. 158. he speaketh thus of Bishops, and the Episcopal Power, *And now, O ye Potentates, and Prefects, I come to speak to you, lest I should seem partial in speaking what was meet for the People, but passing by your Dignity, or Pre-eminence, for Shame, or Fear, or to take Care of them, and forget you, of whom I ought especially to take Care.* — *What say ye then? or how shall we treat one another? Allow me then Liberty of Speech, for the Law of Christ hath subjected you to my Power, and Tribunal. For we (Bishops) have an Empire, or Magistracy also, and that greater, and more excellent than yours, except you'll say the Spirit is inferiour to the Flesh, and Heavenly things to Earthly: With more to this purpose. In the Decretum, pars I. dist. x. c. vi. This Passage is translated thus, *Suscipitisne libertatem verbi? Libenter accipitis, quod Lex Christi Sacerdotali vos subjicit potestati, atque istis Tribunalibus subdit. Dedit enim & nobis potestatem, dedit & principatum multò perfectiorem principatibus vestris. Aut nunquid justum nobis videtur, si cedat Spiritus Carni, si terrenis Cœlestia superentur, si divinis præferantur humana?* Upon which the Canonists have grounded this false, and most arrogant Maxim, *Tribunalia regum Sacerdotali sunt potestati subiecta*; False, I call it, because the Ecclesiastical Power, and Jurisdiction*

is * distinct from the Temporal, or Civil, which are ordained by God not to hurt, or invade, or destroy, but to aid, assist, and help one another. To this purpose writes a good Author in bad, and a learned Author in dark times, *Hugo Floriacensis*, of whom more hereafter: *Regiam & Sacerdotalem dignitatem Deus in terris ordinavit non absque magno, ac saluberrimo Sacramento. Unde congruit, & valde conveniens est, ut hæc duæ potestates sibi invicem fraternâ charitate semper adhæreant, & ut se mutua sollicitudine ducantur, &c.* Dupin in his *Preloquium* before the viith Dissertation, of his Book *de Antiqua Ecclesia disciplina* also shews, that the Regal, or Civil Power is of a different, and distinct Nature from the Sacerdotal, or Ecclesiastical, and the Sacerdotal, or Ecclesiastical, of a different, and distinct Nature from that; and that these two Powers, and Jurisdictions cannot be subject each to other, tho' the Persons using these two different Powers, and Jurisdictions are mutually subject to one another: And the learned Bishop *Beverege* in the *Prolegomena* to his *ΣΤΝΟΔΙΚΟΝ*, or *Pandectæ Canonum*, demonstrates the real difference between these two Powers, and Jurisdictions, and their Administrations, and how the Church, and Empire are not to hurt one another, but that each ought to give the other his due; and that every Man in a Christian Nation is in a different respect a Member of both Societies, and ought to be subject to the Laws of both.

* 24 Hen. 8. Cap. xii. Preamble. Upon whom a Body Politick compact of all sorts, and Degrees of People divided in Terms, and by Names of *Spirituality*, and *Temporality*.— *The Body Spiritual*, whereof having Power, when any Cause of the Law divine happened to come in question, or Spiritual Learning, &c. Judges, and Ministers of the other part of the said Body Politick, called *The Temporality*, and both their Authorities, and Jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due Administration of Justice, the one to help the other.

To the same purpose, with Gregory, doth St. John Chrysostom speak in his fourth Homily, *de Verbis Esaia*, Ozias being King, wou'd usurp the Empire of the Priest. I will, saith he, offer Incense, because I am worthy. But remain, O King, within thy Bounds, for there are other Bounds of the Regal, and others of the Priestly Power. This is greater than that — The King hath the Administration of Earthly things, but the Law of the Priesthood is from above; for whatsoever they shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven. To the Emperor are committed things here, but Heavenly things are committed to me. — And when I say to me, I speak of my self as a Priest. — To the Emperor are committed Bodies, to the Priest Souls; he remits Temporal Mults, the Priest remits Sins; he useth Fleshly Weapons, the Priest Spiritual; he makes War with the Barbarians, I make War with the Devils; greater is this Principality, and therefore the Emperor submits his Head to the Hand of the Priest, and every where in the Old Testament Priests did anoint Kings. So in his third Homily *ad pop. Antioch*, 'Εὐχὴ τῶν ἁγίων Ἰσραήλ, &c. For if a Woman interceding for the Jews could appease the Anger of a Barbarian, how much more shall our ^h Master supplicating for so great a City, and so great a Church be able to prevail with so indulgent, and merciful an Emperor. For if he have received Power to remit Sins committed against God, much more will he be able to remove, and blot out Crimes against Men. For he is a ⁱ Prince, and a Prince more ^k honourable than He; ^l for the holy Latros have subjected the Emperor's Head to his Hands; and when any Blessing is to be asked from above, the Emperor is wont to come to the Bishop, and not the Bishop

^h Flavian Bishop of Antioch.

ⁱ Ἁγίων ἁγίων ἁγίων.

^k Σεμνότερον.

^l This alludes to the ancient Custom of Emperors bowing their Heads to receive the Bishop's Blessing.

to the Emperor. So in his second Homily *de Fide Anna*, speaking of the great Reverence David had for King Saul in the Cave, considering his Dignity as a King, and not his Unworthiness, as a wicked Man, *Let those hear this* (saith he) *who despise* ^m *Bishops, let them observe how great Reverence he shewed to a King, whereas a Bishop is more to be honoured, and revered, than a King, by how much he is called to a more* ⁿ *noble Empire.*

Wherefore let them learn not to judge Bishops, but to be subject, and obedient to them. For thou likely dost not know the Life of the Bishop, though it is wicked, and vile, but David knew very well all the Evils Saul had done; but nevertheless he revered the Supreme Power which was given him by God. So though thou knewest the Wickedness of their Lives exactly, thou hast no Excuse, or Permission to despise ^o Bishops, or disobey their Commands. For hear (I pray thee) how Christ hath obviated this pretence, by what he hath said in the Gospel. The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's Chair, all therefore whatsoever they command you to observe, that observe, and do, but do not ye after their Works: Dost thou not see, how he would not have them slight the Exhortations, or reject the Doctrine of those, whose Lives were so corrupt, that they deserved to be censured by their Disciples? I speak this not with any Reflection on the Bishops, God forbid, (for you are Witnesses of their Conversation, and Godliness) but that we should give them the more abundant Reverence, and Honour.

So in his Sermon, Of the Benefit of reading the

^m Ἱερέων. Ἱερέας, and Sacerdos, in the Latin and Greek Fathers are used to signify a Bishop, and ἱερωσύνη, and Sacerdotium, the Order, and Office of a Bishop.

ⁿ Ἐπὶ μείζονα ἀρχῇ. From this Passage it is plain, that these two Powers, or Principalities of the Emperor, and the Bishop were distinct, and independent of one another.

^o τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.

Scriptures, there are many things to the same purpose: Σήμερον ἀνατρεῖται, &c. Now it is necessary to explain the rest of the Inscription, and shew what the Name of Apostle signifies. For it is not an empty Name, but a Name of ^p Principality; of the noblest Principality; of the most spiritual Principality; of a Principality on high. Attend, I pray you, diligently; for as in this World there are ^a many Governments, or Principalities, but not all of the same Dignity, but some are greater, and some less; as to begin with the inferiour, a Mayor of a City; the Governour of a Country is above him, over whom there is also a superior Governour, and so in several other Gradations, as the General, Proconsul, and the Power of the ^t Consuls, which is above them, and all these Governments are not all of the same Dignity: So are there many Spiritual Governments, or Magistracies, but not all of the same Dignity, the Dignity of the Apostolat being greater than all. And as you are to be led by sensible to spiritual things: ——— So coming to discourse of ⁱ Government, I did not first speak of spiritual, but temporal Government, which is the Object of Sense, that from this I might lead you, as it were by the hand to that. You have heard how many secular Powers or Dignities I have reckoned up, of which some are greater, and some less, and how the Power of the Consul is the Top, and Head of the rest. Now let us see what ^u spiritual Powers, or Dignities there are; the Power of a Prophet is a spiritual Power; the Power of an Evangelist is another spiritual Power. So is the Power of a Pastor, of a Doctor; of Gifts, and Healings; of interpreting of Tongues. These indeed are all Names of Gifts, but the things signified by them

^p Τῆς ἀρχῆς προσηγορία, ἀρχῆς μεγίστης, ἀρχῆς τῆς πνευματικαίας, ἀρχῆς τῆς ἀνω. See also his XVth Homily on 2 Cor. Cap. VII. Tom. V. p. 648.

^a Ἀρχαὶ πολλαί.

ⁱ Περὶ ἀρχῆς.

^t Τῶν ὑψίστων ἀρχῶν.

^u Ἀρχαὶ πνευματικαί.

imply

imply Dignity and Power. With us a Prophet is a ^w spiritual Dignitary, or great Officer ; so is a Caster out of Devils ; so is a Pastor, and a Doctor ; but the Apostolical Dignity is greater than them all. But how doth this appear, that an Apostle is above the rest, and that as a Consul among temporal Powers, so an Apostle among spiritual is the Chief. Let us then hear Paul reckoning up the (Spiritual) ^x Powers, and putting the Apostolical Dignity in the first, and highest place. Saith he, God hath set some in the Church ; first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, &c. Here you see the top of spiritual Dignities, the Apostle sitting on high, none before him, none higher than he ; for he first names Apostles, &c. Neither is the ^y Office of an Apostle only the Chief of all other Dignities, but the Root, and Foundation of them. And as the Head which is the highest is the ^z supreme Governour, and Ruler of the Body, yea and the Root of it, forasmuch as out of the Brain arise the Nerves, and Spirits, which actuate, and guide the whole Animal : So the Apostolical Office is not only more excellent than all other Gifts, as being the chief Dignity, and Power, but it comprehends, and unites in it the Roots of them all. So that (for Example) though a Prophet is not an Apostle, and Prophet too, yet an Apostle is a Prophet in Perfection, and hath the Gifts of healing, and of Diversity of Tongues, and interpreting Tongues, &c. Did you then heretofore think the Name of Apostle a mere Name ? Now then understand what a Depth of Signification there is in that word, &c. Wherefore we had reason to call the Apostolical Dignity a ^a spiritual Consulship, because the Apostles were chosen, or ordained Archons, or Magistrates by God, who had not only different Cities, and Provinces severally, but the whole

^w Ἀρχων πνευματικὸς.

^x Ἀρχαί.

^y Ἡ Ἀποστολή.

^z Ἀρχὴ καὶ ἑξουσία.

^a Ὑπατίαν πνευματικῶν.

World in common committed to their Charge. I will now proceed to shew you, that they are Spiritual Archons, that you may thereby understand, how much more excellent they are than Temporal Archons, even as much more excellent, as these are than Boys, who in Play imitate their Power, &c. We have Respect for Temporal Magistrates from their Ensigns of Honour, as the Girdle, the Voice of the Cryer, their Guards, their Habits, and the Sword. Let us now therefore see if the Apostolical Magistracy hath the like Marks, and Signs of Honour; indeed it hath, but much more excellent than those, by which you may understand, that the one hath the Name and Shadow of which the other hath the Truth, and that there is the like difference between the two Powers, as between little Boys acting the Parts of Magistrates, and Magistrates themselves. Let us, if you please, first compare the two Powers, as to Prisons; for as I said before, the Magistrate hath Power to bind, and loose, and see I pray you, how the Apostles have the same Power: Whomsoever you shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whomsoever you shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. Thou seest the Power of Prison, and Prison, and indeed the Name is the same to both, but the thing signified by it is not the same. Here's Bonds, and Bonds; Bonds on Earth, and Bonds in Heaven; for the Apostles bind in Heaven. Learn therefore the Greatness, and Extent of their Jurisdiction; They being on Earth pronounce Sentence, and the Force of it pierceth Heaven. And as when Emperors being in one City give Judgment, or make Laws, the Force thereof goes through the whole Empire: So at the same time if the Apostles, being resident in one place did decree any thing, the Force of their Laws, and particularly the Sentence of these Bonds, did not only go through this habitable World, but mount up unto Heaven. Here you see binding, and binding; binding on Earth, and binding in Heaven, binding of Bodies,

dies, and binding of Souls; or rather both of Souls, and Bodies, &c. Would you also understand how it was in their Power, as Lords to forgive Debts, where there is also a great Difference, for they did not forgive Debts of Money, but Debts of Sins, according to what he said, Whosoever's Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever's Sins you retain, they are retained.

After this he shews at large, how, as Magistrates, they had the Power of the Sword, the Sword of the Spirit, and could by a Word kill, as well as make alive again. And that they had their Girdles also not of Leather, but Truth, that holy spiritual Girdle, with which they had their Loins always girt. He also shews how they had Executioners to chastise, punish, and torment, not Men, but Devils; as it is written, *To deliver such an one to Satan, for the Destruction of the Flesh, and whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.* I must also observe unto you, that he set forth in this manner the great Dignity, and Excellency of the Apostolical Office, and Authority; to revive in the People a *just Idea* of the Dignity, and Excellence of the Episcopal Order; it being a received Principle in the Church, that Bishops succeeded the Apostles in their spiritual Magistracy, and Authority; and were under Christ, as this Father saith they were, *Spiritual Archons, and Consuls of the Church.*

In his fourth Homily on the 2d Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, after he had threaten'd to excommunicate those, who after the idolatrous Custom of the Heathens hired Women to weep at Funerals, he speaks thus: *But if any one is so arrogant, as to contemn the Bonds, wherewith we bind, let Christ again be his Instructor, who saith, whatsoever things ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever things ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed*

in Heaven. For though we are miserable Men, and despicable, as indeed we are, yet it is not to avenge our selves, or wreck our Anger, [that we do this] but that we take care of your Salvation, and therefore I exhort you to demean your selves with Modesty, and Reverence. ——— Neither say I these things to shew my Authority, who do not desire to put it in practice, but out of grief, and trouble for you. Pardon me therefore, let no Man despise the Bonds of the Church: For it is not Man who binds, but Christ, who gave us this Authority, and invests Men with this Honour. — For we would willingly have none bound; — but when we are compelled to bind, you must not take it ill; for we never bind with pleasure, and willingness, but grieving more, than they, who are bound. But if any despise what I say, let him know the Day of Judgment will come, when he shall find it to be true.

So in the second Chapter of his third Book *de Sacerdotio*, he thus compares the Power of a King, and a Priest; *It is true that Earthly Princes have a Power to bind, but Bodies only; but the binding of the Priest toucheth the Soul, and reacheth unto Heaven. So that what the Priests do here below, God ratifies above, and confirms the Sentence of his Servants. And what is this else, but that God hath given all Heavenly Power unto them? for, saith he, Whosoever's Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever's Sins ye retain, they are retained. What Power, I pray you, can be greater than this? God hath given all Power of Judgment unto the Son, and I see it all delivered from the Son to them; who as if they were translated into Heaven, made something above Men, and exempt from human Affections, are advanced to this Princely Power. To be short, if a King gives Power to any of his Subjects to cast Men into Prison, and set them free again, he is counted honourable, and regarded by all. But he that receives Power from God, so much greater, as Heaven is more*
excellent

excellent than the Earth, or the Soul than the Body, he seems to some but to have receiv'd a little Honour, because he knows that some of those to whom this Honour is committed, despise the Gift of God. Oh Shame of this Madness! For it is manifest Madness to despise this so great Princely Power, without which we can neither obtain Salvation, nor the Blessings promis'd by God, &c. Upon which account Priests ought to be feared more than Princes, and Kings, and had in more Honour than our Parents that begat us of Blood, and of the Will of the Flesh; but to them we are beholden for our Birth from God, that blessed Regeneration, and true Liberty, and gracious Adoption, whereby we become the Sons of God.

So in his fifth Homily *de Verbis Isaia*: Wherefore it is a Duty to restrain that unreasonable Passion with religious Reason, which OZIAS not doing, transgressed against the supreme Power of all. For the Priesthood is a Princely Power, greater and more venerable than that of the Empire. Do not tell me of the Purple, or Diadem, or golden Apparel of Kings, for these are all Shadows, and more vain than Spring-Flowers. ——— But if you would see the difference between them, and how much the King is inferior to a Priest; consider the Measure of Power delivered to them both, and you shall see the Priest placed much higher than the Emperor: For tho' the Emperor's Throne seems glorious to us from the Gems, and Gold with which it is adorn'd, yet he has only the Administration of Earthly Things, nor hath he any other Authority; but the Throne of the High-Priest is placed in Heaven, and he hath Power to judge of things there. And who saith this? The King of Heaven himself, in these Words, *Verily, Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. What Honour is comparable to this? Heaven receives the Power of judging from Earth, for the Judge sits upon*

Earth,

Earth, and the Lord complies with his Servant, and ratifies the Sentences above, which he pronounceth below. Wherefore the Priest stands Mediator betwixt God, and Man, bringing down Blessings from him to us, and conveying our Petitions to him, by which God hath put the Emperor's Head under the Hands of the Priest, teaching us that he is a greater Prince, than he.

So in his lxxxiii^d Homily on the xxvith Chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, shewing that the Priest ought to deny the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to prophane Persons, saith he, *Let no Judas, no Lover of Money be present at this Table. He that is not Christ's Disciple let him depart from it. Let no inhuman, no cruel Person, no uncompassionate Man, or who is impure, come thither. I speak this to you that administer, as well, as to you, who partake; for it is necessary I speak these things to you, that you may take great Care, and use your utmost Diligence to distribute these Offerings aright. For your Punishment will be great, if knowingly you suffer any wicked Person to partake of this Table; for his Blood shall be required at your Hands. Wherefore if any General, or Governour, or the Emperor himself be not worthy, repel him, for thou hast a greater ^b Power (or Authority) than he. This reminds me of what the holy Patriarch said, in Answer to the Demand of the Emperor, when he required him to leave his Church. ^c *Palladius* tells us he refused to do it, saying, *I received this Church from Christ, to take care of the Souls thereunto belong-**

^b Hence these Rules of Canon-Law, *Lex Imperatorum non est supra Legem Dei, sed subtus. Non licet Imperatori aliquid contra divina mandata presumere, Imperiali judicio non possunt Ecclesiastica jura dissolvi. Imperium non debet usurpare, quæ Sacerdotibus Domini solum conveniunt.*

^c *De Vita Chrysof.* p. 81.

ing, and I^d must not relinquish it. But the Care of the City is yours; and if I must be gone, force me hence by your Authority, that I may have an Excuse for quitting my Post.

Thus these two Fathers, Gregory, and John, who were Bishops of Constantinople, spake, and wrote of the Dignity of the Priesthood, or Episcopal Office, and Power in the Imperial City, where the Emperors were resident: And yet was this Doctrine never objected against either of them, because it was the Doctrine of the Church. Had it been a new Doctrine, or injurious to the Emperor, or against his Prerogative, or any part of it, it would certainly have been taken notice of, especially to prosecute the latter; against whom the Court was ready to take any Advantage, for the Liberty he took in taxing the Vices of the Great, which procured him the Emperor's, and Empress's Displeasure, and some of the greatest of the Clergy. This Doctrine, and these Principles were answerable to his Conduct; and the struggle he had with the Court, and his Court-Enemies for his Sacerdotal Rights, and the Rights of the Church. In this Contest a great part of his Flock, called from his Name *Joannites*, and almost all the Bishops, and Churches of the Empire adhered to

^d So the Rule of the Canon-Law, d. 2. c. 7. c. viii. *Suo jure quis cedere non debet. Quam periculosum sit in divinis rebus, ut quis cedat jure suo, & potestate, Scriptura sancta declarat, cum in Genesi Esau primatus suos inde perdiderit, nec recipere id postmodum potuerit, quod semel cessit.* Cyprian ad Jubaianum Epist. *Quid ergo, quia & honorem Cathedra Sacerdotalis Novatianus usurpat, num idcirco nos Cathedra renunciare debemus? An quia Novatianus altare collocare, & Sacrificia offerre contra fas nititur, ab altari, & Sacrificiis cessare nos oportet, ne paria, & similia cum illa celebrare videamur.* Ibid. Epist. xlv. ad Confessores. *Nam cum unanimitas & concordia nostra scindi omnino non debeat, quia nos Ecclesiam derelictam foras exire, & ad vos venire non possumus, ut vos magis ad Ecclesiam matrem, & ad nostram fraternitatem revertamini, quibus possumus hortamentis, petimus, & rogamus.* See Epist. xlvii.

him, when he was proscribed, and deposed by the Imperial Power.

To the Authorities of these two great, and holy Men, give me leave, *Sir*, to add, what is said by * *Sozomen* the Ecclesiastical Historian, who was not of *our*, but *your* Profession, who speaking of the Interment of *Constantine* the Great in the Church of the Apostles, concludes thus : *from this time it became the Custom for the Christian Emperors, who died at Constantinople to be buried there, and likewise for the Bishops ; the Sacerdotal Office [or Dignity] being of equal Honour with the Regal, and in holy Places superiour thereto.*

IV. But from the Bishops of the *Greek* Church let us go to those of the *Latin*, and see how they speak of the Episcopal Office, and Power. *Cyprian* Bishop, and Martyr, in his LIXth Epistle to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, against the Schismatics *Felicissimus*, and *Fortunatus*, hath this Expression, † *There's an end of Episcopacy, and of the supreme, and divine Power of governing the Church, if the Violence of wicked Men becomes terrible to Bishops, &c.* In another Passage he applies to Schismatics, who reject their lawful Bishops, the Words of God to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me.* And the Words of our Lord to the Apostles, *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.* There he also equals the Bishop in Place, and Dignity to the High-Priest among the *Jews*, applying to him the Words of *St. Paul*, *Acts* xxiii. 4. *Principem populi tui non maledices*, in the *Latin* Translation of that Church, *Thou shalt not revile the Prince of thy People.* In

* Lib. II. cap. xxxiv.

† *Actum est de Episcopatus vigore, & de Ecclesie gubernanda sublimi ac divina potestate, &c.*

another Passage he speaks of the Bishop; as the ^s *Vicar of Christ*, and saith, that *he who makes himself Judge of the Bishop, makes himself Judge of God.* He also calls Bishops the Stewards of God, and saith, that *he who is the Adversary of the lawful Bishop, is the Adversary of God*, with more to this purpose. I recommend the serious perusal of this Epistle to you to inform you better about the Nature of those things, which have been in Dispute between you, and me.

St. ⁿ *Ambrose* saith the Office of a Bishop is such an Honour, and a Dignity so sublime, that it cannot be matched by any Comparison; and that to liken it to the Splendor, and Diadems of Princes, is a more inferior Comparison than to compare Lead to splendid Gold. In his ⁱ Epistle to the Emperor *Valentinian I.* as a Bishop he conjur'd him by the Christian Faith not to hearken to the Petition of his Heathen Subjects, who desired leave to set up Altars to their Gods, upon which they might sacrifice to them; and said if he did grant their Petition, ^k *the Bishops would neither suffer, nor connive at it, and that come to the Church when he would, he should either find no Priest, or a Priest to withstand him. What wilt thou answer the Bishop when he shall say, The Church desires none of thy Offerings, who hast adorn'd the Temples of the Gentiles with Gifts? The Altar of Christ refuseth thy Offerings, who hast made an Altar to Idols. Thy Speech, thy Hand, thy Subscriptions are Evidence against thee: Our Lord Jesus refuses, and rejects thy Worship, because thou hast served Idols; for he hath told you, You cannot serve two Masters.* In another

^s *Nec unus in Ecclesia Sacerdos, & Judex vice Christi cogitatur, &c.*

ⁿ *Lib. de Dignitate Sacerdotali Cap. ii.*

ⁱ *Epist. xi.*

^k *Non licet Imperatori, vel cuicumque pietatem custodienti aliquid contra divina presumere, aut quicquam, quod Evangelicis, Prophetis, aut Apostolicis regulis obviet, agere. d. 1. 9 c. ii.*

¹ Epistle to his Sister *Marcellina*, he shews what he did, when the great Officers of the Court brought him that Emperor's Decree to deliver up his Church to the *Arians*: I answered, saith he, as became my Order, that a Church of God ought not to be given up by a Bishop. The next Day, being the Lord's Day, they came again, when I was officiating, and continuing in my Office, I began to ^m administer the Holy Eucharist; and while I was offering, I understood that one *Catulus* an Arian Presbyter was seiz'd by the People; I began to weep bitterly, and beseech God in the very Oblation, that by his help, no Man's Blood might be shed in the Cause of the Church, but that my Blood rather might be shed, not only for the People, but for the Wicked themselves. They told me the Emperor did but use his own Right, because all things were in his Power, and that I should presently deliver up the Church. I answer'd, That if they asked me for any thing that was mine, I would not refuse it; but things that were God's were not subject to the Emperor's Power. — With these Sayings they went away. — It was peremptorily demanded, Deliver up the Church; I answered, It is neither lawful for me, O Emperor, to deliver it up, nor for thee to receive it. Thou that hast no Right to invade a private Man's House, dost thou think to seize the House of God? To this it was reply'd, That all things were the Emperor's: I answer'd, O Emperor, do not hurt your self so much as to think, that you have any Imperial Right to the things that are God's. Do not exalt your self, if you would reign long, be subject to God, for it is written, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's: With much more to the same purpose.

¹ Epist. xiv. *Paulinus in vita S. Ambrosii*, Col. 81, 82.

^m *Missam facere cœpi*.

When the young Emperor cited him to dispute with *Auxentius* the *Arian* Bishop, before him, and his Counsellors, he sent him a ⁿ Letter, in which he speaks thus, *In Answer to your Summons, I think I may very fitly return what the Emperor your Father, of glorious Memory, not only answered in Word, but established by Laws, that in a Cause of Faith, or relating to any Ecclesiastical Order, he ought to judge who is rightly qualified by his Office, i. e. That Priests should judge of Priests. Moreover, that if a Bishop should be called in Question for his Manners, the Judgment likewise should belong to Bishops. Which then of us did answer perversely, he that would have you like your Father, or be that would have you unlike him? And when did you hear, most gracious Emperor, that Laicks judg'd of Bishops in Causes of Faith? I am not so deprav'd with Flattery that I should be unmindful of my Sacerdotal Right, and give up that to another, which God hath given to me. If a Bishop must be taught by a Lay-man, it will follow that a Bishop must learn of a Lay-man, and the Lay-man dispute, and he hear. But if we will consider the Scriptures, or ancient times, no Man can deny but that in Matters of Faith, I say in Matters of Faith, Bishops used to judge Christian Emperors, and not Emperors Bishops. When by God's Blessing, you are older, you'll be able to judge what a kind of Bishop he is, that will subject the Right of the Priest to Laymen. Your Father, who by God's Blessing, lived till riper Years, said, It belongs not to me to judge among Bishops; but your Grace now saith, I ought to be Judge. — ° The Life of Ambrose is not of that Moment, that for it he should betray the Priesthood; one Man's Life is not of that value, as the Dignity of all the Bishops, by whose Advice I have wrote all these things.*

ⁿ Epist. xiii.

^e Paulinus in Vita Ambrosii.

To the same Effect, but more at large, speaks another Bishop, who had the Spirit of St. *Ambrose*, to *Justinian* the Emperor; I mean *Facundus Hermianensis*, in the three last Chapters of his twelfth Book, in which he plainly distinguishes between the Office, and Authority of the Bishop, and that of the Emperor, shewing that it belongs not to the latter to determine in Matters of Faith. I wish you would read those Chapters, out of which, till you have leisure, let me present you with two, or three Passages: *Cognovit ille [Martianus Imperator] quibus in causis uteretur principis potestate, & in quibus exhiberet obedientiam Christiani — sicut qui meminerat exitus Ozia. — Ob hoc itaque vir temperans, & suo contentus Officio, Ecclesiarum Canonum executor esse voluit, non conditor, non exactor. — Verum non solum Ozia Regis exitu Martianus Imperator potuit tum moveri, sed Chore quoque Dathan, & Abiron, quorum Chore licet de filiis esset Levi, qui ex omni populo Israel electi sunt, & sacro Templi ministerio fuerant deputati, tamen quoniam omnes usurparunt Officium Sacerdotum, ut immolari Deo audent, quod multo minus est, quam de fide Christi decernere, terra dehiscens absorpti voratu, novo & singulari suo exitio stupendum cunctis exemplum praesumptoribus reliquerunt. Quomodo ergo sibi Laico religiosus, & sapiens imperator crederet impune cessurum, vel sanctorum Patrum, quae de fide jam decreta fuerant, retractare, vel nova ipse decernere. — Idcirco igitur pie memoriae Leo, [Imperator] quietem non perturbavit Ecclesiae, quia non suo arbitrio, ac potestate praesumpsit doctrinae dominicae decreta statuere, nec quicquam solis creditum Sacerdotibus usurpavit. — Ea verè, quae postea Zeno Imperator, calcata reverentia ordinis Dei, pro suo arbitrio, ac potestate decrevit, quis accipiat?*

But to return to St. *Ambrose*, the same excellent Bishop, resolving to animadvert upon the Emperor

Theodosius

Theodosius the Great, by his spiritual Authority, for delivering up the People of *Thessalonica*, without Distinction, to the Slaughter of the Soldiers, did it in this manner, *First*, he wrote him an excellent ^p Letter, with great Apostolical Freedom, as it became a Bishop, but with that Submission, and Respect, which was due to his Prince. In his Letter he vehemently exhorts him to Repentance for the *Thessalonian* Massacre, and plainly tells him, if he did not, he could not administer the Holy Eucharist if he were present; nor should he himself be admitted to offer, before his Offering was acceptable to God. But the ^q Emperor presuming to come to Church before he had done Penitence, the Bishop met him at the Porch, and after setting before him the greatness of his Sin, thus address'd himself to him, *O Emperor, there is one Lord, and Emperor of all, who made all things. With what Eyes can ye behold the Temple of our common Lord? With what Feet can you tread upon holy Ground? Or how can you lift up your Hand, dropping with the innocent Blood of the slain? How can you receive with such Hands the blessed Body of our Lord? Or how can you bear his precious Blood to your Mouth, who shed so many Mens Blood with the Words of it, when you spoke in Fury? Be gone therefore, and do not aggravate your Crime with a new Sin; but take upon you this Band, which the Lord of all doth confirm above.*

^r This Command, saith the Historian, the Empe-
ror

^p Epist. lix.

^q Theodor. Eccles. Hist. Lib. V. Cap. xv. 3 Edit. Paris 1673.
& Sozom. Eccles. Hist. Lib. VII. Cap. xxv.

^r This Reproof of the Emperor *Theodosius*, and Penance imposed upon him by St. *Ambrose*, is approved by our Church, in Her Homily of the right Use of the Church. Part 2.

^s Per idem tempus causa Thessalonicensis civitatis non minima successit tribulatio Sacerdoti, cum civitatem pene deletam comperisset.

ror obey'd ; for being well instructed in the Divine Oracles, he knew very well what was the Duty of the Bishop, and what was the Emperor's, and returned with Sighs, and Tears to his Palace. Eight Months pass'd, and on the next *Christmas-Day*, as the Emperor sat in his Palace all in Tears, *Rufinus*, one of his great Officers, who was familiar with him, came to him, and ask'd him why he wept so much ? The Emperor with bitter Sighs, and more Tears, answered, *Rufinus*, *You are not sensible of my Misery, I sigh, and lament considering my Calamity, in that the Church of God is open to Slaves and Beggars, but its Doors, and Heaven are shut up against me ; for I well remember the Words of our Lord, who plainly said, whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven.* Sir, said *Rufinus*, *I will run, if you please, to the Bishop, and entreat him to loose the Bands.* The Emperor reply'd, *You'll never persuade Ambrose to do it ; I acknowledge his Sentence is just, nor will he ever transgress the Law of God, for fear of the Imperial Power.* But *Rufinus* pressing to go, the Emperor gave him leave, hoping he himself should follow. But as soon as the Divine *Ambrose*, as the Historian calls him, saw *Rufinus*, he severely rebuked him, as one of the Authors of the Massacre : But *Rufinus* continuing to supplicate, and telling him that the Emperor was

*Promiserat enim illi Imperator se veniam daturum civibus supra-
dictæ civitatis, sed agentibus comitibus occulte cum Imperatore, igno-
rante Sacerdote, in horam tertiam gladio civitas est donata, atque
plurimi interempti innocentes. Quod factum ubi comperisset Sacer-
dos, copiam Imperatori ingrediendi Ecclesiam denegavit, nec prius
dignum judicavit cœtui Ecclesiæ, vel sacramentorum communioni, quam
publicam ageret pœnitentiam. Cui Imperator contra asserebat, Da-
vid simul homicidium, & adulterium perpetrâsse. Sed Responsum
illico est, qui secutus es errantem, sequere corrigentem. Quod ubi
audivit clementissimus Imperator, ita suscepit animo, ut publicam
pœnitentiam non abhorreret. Paulinus in vita S. Ambrosij. Col. 82.*

ready

ready to come ; the Divine *Ambrose* being warm'd with Zeal said, *I tell you, Rufinus, before he comes, that I will hinder him from entring into the Church ; and if he turns his Power into Tyranny, I will receive my Death with Pleasure.* *Rufinus* hearing this, dispatched a Messenger to the Emperor, to pray him to stay at home, but meeting him in the *Piazza*, I will go, saith his Majesty, and bear my just Reproach. And coming to the Bounds of the Church, he did not offer to go into it, but coming to the Bishop who was in the Chapter-House, he prayed him to absolve him from his Bands ; *Ambrose* told him that his coming in that manner was tyrannical, and that he had been transported with Fury against God, and trodden his Laws under Foot. To whom the Emperor reply'd, *I dare not transgress the (Church's) Laws, nor contrary to them do I desire to enter within the holy Doors, but I come to beseech you to loose me from my Bands, and to consider the Mercy of our common Lord, nor to keep that Door shut against me, which our Lord hath opened to all that repent :* To whom the Bishop thus reply'd, *What Penitence will you then shew for so great a Crime ? and by what Medicines will you heal so great a Wound ? It is you part, saith the Emperor, to prescribe that.* Then saith the Bishop, *Make a Law, that the Execution of the Imperial Sentences should be deferr'd for thirty Days, that the Anger of the Emperor may have time to cool, and that their Passions being moderated by time, they may then consider whether Orders are just, or unjust.* The Emperor liking this Proposal, presently enacted it into a Law, and sign'd it with his Hand. When he had done this, *Ambrose* absolv'd his Majesty from his Bands ; and he went into the Church, and neither standing, nor kneeling, but prostrating his Body to the Earth, he spoke the Words of *David*, *My*

Soul ^a cleaveth to the *Dust*, but quicken thou me according to thy *Word*. Then tearing his Hair, and beating his Forehead, and weeping very much, he begged Absolution. Then the time coming when the *Offering* was to be made upon the holy Table, he got up, and went up weeping to the Altar.; and when he had offer'd, he staid within the Rails, as he was wont to do at *Constantinople*. But the Great *Ambrose* sent his Arch-deacon to him, to know what he meant; and when he reply'd, he only staid there to receive the holy Mysteries; he sent him word again, that the Place within the Rails was only for the Priests, and none else; and therefore bid him go into the common Station without the Rails, and communicate with the rest, for the Purple made Emperors, but not Priests. This most faithful Emperor took this Admonition with Meekness, and bid the Arch-deacon tell the Bishop, that he stay'd there not out of any Presumption, but because he had been wont to do so at *Constantinople*. So much Grace, saith the Historian, shone both in the Bishop, and the Emperor; who told *Nectarius* afterwards, that of all the Bishops of the Empire, *Ambrose* alone was worthy of that Name. This great Example of *Theodosius*, *Facundus* Bishop of *Hermiane* in *Africa* proposed to *Justinian* the Emperor, as worthy of his Imitation, with a Courage like that of *Ambrose*, becoming a Bishop of God, and the Church. ^w *Si princeps quoque pro suis peccatis intercessorem vult habere sacerdotem — Quod metuens beata recordationis major Theodosius Imperator, cujus semper memorabilis erit in Ecclesia Christi memoria, quanquam saepe de magnorum barbarorum praeliis, & de maximorum tyrannorum triumphaverit: Non tamen ex hujuscemodi victoriarum fre-*

^a Adhasit pavimento Vers. Lat.

^w Lib. XII. Cap. ult.

quentia, in quibus Trajano filio Gehenna comparari non potest, verum meruit gloriam, sed de supplici, & publica peccati sui pœnitentia, quam expugnato regali fastigio, placide atque humiliter, antistite Ambrosio castigante, suscepit, & indictum sibi debita satisfactionis tempus, ab Ecclesia Communionem remotus implevit, piè admodum credens, & sapienter intelligens, quod non ex temporali potestate, qua fuerat etiam sacerdotibus Dei præpositus, sed ex eo pervenire posset ad vitam, quod illis erat ipse subiectus. Unde credendum est, quod si nunc Deus aliquem Ambrosium suscitaret, Theodosius non deesset. If the Emperor (saith he) would have the Bishop intercede to God for his Sins, he must not disdain to let him chastise him for them; so that when he makes Intercession for his Majesty, he may be heard, and that God may not say unto him as he did to the Prophet Jeremiah, Pray not thou for this People, neither lift up Cry, or Prayer for them, neither make Intercession to me, for I will not hear thee. The Emperor Theodosius the Elder, of blessed remembrance, (whose Memory will alway be celebrated in the Church) although he triumphed over the greatest Tyrants, and won many Battles over great barbarous Princes, yet deserved he true Glory, not from the Frequency of such great Victories, in which he may not be compared to Trajan the Son of Hell, but that dreading this, he did humble, and publick Penitence for his Sin, to which, upon the Censure of his Bishop Ambrose, he submitted his regal Greatness, and in Suspension from the Communion of the Church fulfilled the time of due Satisfaction, that was imposed upon him; very piously believing, and wisely understanding, that he was to attain Life eternal, not by his temporal Power, in which he was Superior to the Bishops, but by Subjection to them. From whence it is reasonable to believe, that if it would please

please God now to raise up an Ambrose, we should not want a Theodosius.

V. You see, Sir, by this Story, that the great *Theodosius* look'd upon himself as one of the *Laity*, or *People*; and by Consequence as a Subject of the Church, as much as any other *Man*; according to what I laid down in my former Letter; and that St. *Ambrose* treated him, and *Valentinian II.* as such. Nay, *Valentinian I.* calls himself a *Lay-man*, when he refused to preside in Conference between the Catholick Bishops, and the *Arians*: * *For me, saith he, who am but one of the Laity, or People, it is not lawful to examine such things, but let Priests to whom the Care of those things appertain, meet to determine them where they please.* So *Facundus*, the forecited Bishop, spoke of *Zeno* the Emperor, as a *Lay-man*, as you may see by the ^y Words in the Margin, as well as by those above-cited by me: And the ^z Church treated *Philip* the Emperor in no other manner than as a common *Lay-man*, after he turn'd Christian, for *Babylas* the Bishop of *Antioch*, afterwards Martyr, refused to let him come to Church, to pray with the rest of the People, till he had made a solemn Confession of his Sins, and stood in the Order of Penitents, and the Emperor obeyed. So *Constantine* the Great, mindful of his Relation to the Church, sat as a *Layman* in the great Council of *Nice*, in a little ^a Throne below the Bishops, in which he

* Ἐμοὶ μὲν μὴ λᾶς τελευτῶ. Sozom. Eccles. Lib. VI. c. vii. & Hist. Tripart. Lib. VII. C. 12.

^y Quod si ea tanquam Concilii decreta susciperent, qua unius Laici essent composita voluntate, statueret omnia, cui de talibus causis judicare non competit, illi vero nihil decernerent, quibus competit judicare. *Facundus Hermianensis*. Lib. XII. Cap. iii.

^z Eusebius Hist. Eccles. Lib. VI. Cap. 12.

^a Theodoret. Lib. I. Cap. vii. Geladius Cyzicen. in Hist. Concilii Nicen. Lib. II. Cap. vi.

would not sit down till the Synod desired him. He consider'd what kind of Court, and whose Tribunal that was where he did appear, as it is evident from the Speech he made to the Bishops, upon receiving the Accusations, which many of them presented to him against one another, in these Words, part of which I cited before: *God hath appointed you as ^b Priests, and Princes, to judge, and determine Controversies; and thought fit to stile you Gods, as being more excellent than other Men, according to what is written, I have said you are Gods, and the Sons of the Most High; and God standeth in the Congregation of Gods, he judgeth among the Gods. Wherefore it is your Duty to pass by these common Matters, and study divine things.* Thus the Rubrick of our Liturgy, which distinguisheth the Priest from the People, or Laity, supposes the King to be one of the latter, as much as any other Man of the Congregation. And in Statute 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 17. after he was declar'd Head of the Church of England, he is spoken of as a Lay-man in the Preamble of the Act. So I take the King to be comprehended among Lay-men, in a Parl. of Edw. I. *Lay-men have no Authority to dispose of the Goods of the Church, but (as the Holy Scriptures do testifie) they are committed only to the Priests to be disposed of.*

I remember, Sir, you were once a little choaked at my Discourse, in using these Words *Laity*, and *Lay-man*, and making such a Distinction between the Clergy, and the People, though *Laity* is but another Word for *People*, and then you said, you had heard that this Distinction was first used in the *Romish Church*, in order to subject Kings, and enslave the People to the Clergy. This, Sir, is a

^b Ἱερεῖς τε δὴ ἀρχοντες. Ibid. Cap. viii. Theodoret Lib. I. vulgar

vulgar Error, as I have found in Conversation, especially among the Scepticks, Deists, and Latitudinarians of all sorts, who commonly affirm it with malicious Reflections upon the Clergy, though this distinction is necessary in the Order of Church-Government, and was in use among the Jews, in whose Writings the *Priests* and *People* are distinguished, both in the Law, and the Prophets, and in the Apocryphal Writers. The Writers of the New Testament use the same distinction, calling the Jewish People by the Name of ΛΑΟΣ from whence our Word LAITY comes. To omit other Places, the Apostle makes the distinction, *Heb. 5. 3.* *By reason hereof the High-priest ought as for the People* [ὡς ἔτι ἡ λαὸς] *so for himself to offer for Sins.* So the People of the Jews were not only distinguished from the Priests in the Temple, but from their Doctors, and Ministers in the Synagogue, as in *Acts xiii. 15.* *And after the reading the Law, and the Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue said unto them, ye Men and Brethren, if ye have any word of Exhortation* [ὡς ἔτι ἡ ΛΑΟΝ] *for the People, say on.* So John as a Prophet, and Minister of Baptism to the People is distinguished from them, *Acts xix. 4.* *Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the Baptism of Repentance* [πρὸς λαῶν λέγων] *saying unto the People* This distinction between the Ministry, and the People is as necessary in the Christian, as it was in the Jewish Church. And therefore in the New Testament the People, or Laity are distinguished from their *Presbyters* by the Name of *Flock*, according to the Notation of which Word, St. Cyprian defines a Church thus: *Ecclesia est plebs Sacerdoti suo adunata & pastori grex adherens.* Wherefore if the Enemies of Priesthood please, they may

as well inveigh against us for calling our People, our *Flocks*. For *Flock* is a Word, which distinguishes their People from their Spiritual *Pastors*, as much as *People* distinguishes them from their *Priests*. This distinction between the *Clergy*, and *Laity* is plainly to be seen ^d *Acts* iv. 32. where the People are called τὸ πλῆθος: ἧ ἡ πλῆθος ἧ πεισθ. πάντων, &c. *The multitude of those that believed*, that is, *the People which believed were of one heart*. So St. *Clement* calls the *Laity* πλῆθος, 1 *Epist.* 9. §. 6. There speaking of the Apostles he saith, τῆτοις τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις — (σωτηροῖσιν πολλὸν πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, to these Men were joined a numerous elect People, or a numerous People of Believers. So in the same ^e *Epistle* he saith: *The Chief-priest hath his proper Office, and to the Priests their proper Place is assigned, and to the Levites belongs their proper Ministraton, ὁ δὲ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπων, but the Lay-man is confined to Lay-matters.* This distinction of *Laity*, and *Clergy*, at which our Enemies are so offended, descended from these early Times to all other Ages of the Church, as is plain from almost all the *Epistles*

^d So *Acts* vi. 5. Καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν πλῆθους κν. 12. ἐσίγησεν ἡ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, 30. Συναγόντες τὸ πλῆθος κχι. 22. πάντως δὲ τὸ πλῆθος (σωθῆν. κχν. 24. τὸ πλῆθος ἧ Ἰουδαίων. *Henr. Stephan. Thesaur.* πλῆθος, multitudo, i. e. multitudo popularis, seu turba, plebs, vulgus. *Thucyd.* lib. v. p. 191. πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐκ ἡγάγον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὁλίγοις λέγειν ἐκείλδον πρὸς ὧν ἦκυσιν.

^e *Cap. XL.* where Dr. *Fell* writes most judiciously, and learnedly on the Place: λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπων, nulla tam addicta, tam misera servitus est, quam δαδόντος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. *Alias viri doctissimi Salmasius, & Seldenus, ut alios minorum gentium criticos præteream Calvinii aut Erasmi placitis addictos, nunquam tam graviter in arre, quam profitebantur, lapsi essent, at dicere sustinerent olim Presbyteros fuisse Laicos, & Laici vocem, quatenus Clero contradistinguitur, serius in Ecclesia obtinuisse. Ignatii loca non affero, siquidem novatores quando ejus auctoritate premuntur se expediunt, dicendo ἃ δὲ ἐπίγραφον eum, aut interpolatum.*

of St. Ignatius, where also the People of all Ranks in distinction from the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are called *πληθ*, which *Hesychius* glosses by *Δῆμ* the People, as in *Aristotle's* Politic. vii. Τέσσαρα ὃ μέρη τῆς πληθῆς, &c. there are four sorts of the People. In his Epistle to the Ephesians where there were great numbers of Christian People, he calls them *πολυπληθίαν*, the numerous Laity. He likewise calls them *πλήρωμα*, as the Word signifies a Body of People in a City, or of Men in an Army, for so the Word is used by *Arist.* in Politic. III. εἰ πλείους μὲν εἰσι, μὴ μῦται δὲ οὐαλοὶ πλήρωμα πόλεως, though they are more, yet they are too few to make a just number of People for a City. Thus in the Prayer of Intercession at the Holy Eucharist extant in the twelfth Chapter of the *Apost. Const.* after interceding for all the Ecclesiastical Orders, as Bishops, &c. then follows the Intercession of the Church [*πρὸς τὸ ΔΑΙΚΩΝ.*] for the Laicks. And at the latter end of the twelfth Chapter in the Directions for the orderly Distribution of the Holy Mysteries : it is said. After this let the Bishop receive, then the Presbyters, &c. and then let [*πᾶς ὁ ΛΑΟΣ*] all the Laity receive in order with Reverence, and Devotion. In this Chapter also we find *πλήρωμα* used, as in *Ignatius's* Epistles for the People, as distinguished from Church-Ministers in this Prayer. Let us pray for this Church, and [*πρὸς τὸ ΛΑΟΥ*] the People of it, for the universal Episcopat, and the whole Presbytery, &c. and [*παντὸς τῆς πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας*] and for all the People

^f Ad Smyrn. ὅπως ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τὸ πλήθος. Ad Ephes. τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ἐθέροντα ἐν πίστι, καὶ Ἀγάπῃ. Ad Trall. πολυπληθὴς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὗτος — ὥστε μὲν τὸ πᾶν πλήθος οὗτος ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρεῖται. Μὴ ἀφορμας δίδοις τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἀφροντας τὸ ἐν Θεῷ πλήθος βλασφημῇ. ibid.

^{*} In Inscript. Epist. ad Ephes. ad Trall.

of the Church. But to give an Example, or two more, we read in St. Cyprian's 30th Epistle, *Cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus, pariter, ac adstantibus Laicis*. So Epist. 59. p. 135. *Vide-rint Laici hoc quomodo curent; Sacerdotibus major labor incumbit*. In other Epistles he calls the Laity, as distinguished from the Clergy, *Plebs*, and *Populus*, as in Epist. 55. *Cum Trophimo pars maxima plebis abscefferat*. So in Epist. 49. *Ceteros cum ingenti populi suffragio recepimus*. So before him Tertul-lian, *de præscript. Heret. c. 31. Hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus, nam & Laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt*. So *de fuga in persecutione c. 11. Sed quem Diaconi, Presbyteri, & Episcopi fugiunt quomodo Laicus intelligere potest, quâ ratione dictum fugite de Civitate in Civitatem*. So *de Monogami 11. Si non hæc Disciplina præcedit in Laicis*. You may also find this distinction in the Descriptions of the most ancient Christian Churches, where there were distinct Places for the Clergy, and the People, and the Throne in which the Bishop sat in the midst of the Clergy, was esteemed the most sacred, and honourable Seat, and of greater Dignity, than that of the Emperor, as you may see in *Du Fresne's Constantinopolis Christiana*, Lib. III. Cap. xlii, xlix. Sir, I the rather observethis, because you, and I knew one of the twelve Judges, who took it ill, that he was not placed in the Bishop's Seat to hear Sermon, as being the most honourable in the Body of the Church. And as this Distinction hath been used in all the Ages of Christianity; so it is just, and founded in the Constitution of the Church, which, as I have shewed by a Cloud of Witnesses, is a spiritual Society, in which, by Christ's Appointment, the Clergy are Superiors, and the Laity, or People of all Degrees Subjects: And as it is no Diminution of the Clergy, and their Spiritual Dignity, to be reckon'd, as indeed they are, a part of the People,

as

as the *People* are distinguish'd from the *Prince*; so it is no Diminution of the Dignity of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, and Temporal Magistrates to be reckon'd among the Laity, or People, as the People are distinguish'd from the Clergy, whom Christ hath set over them in his Kingdom. If it were not to enlarge too much upon this distinction, I could shew it abundantly out of the.^b Councils, as where they speak of the *Clergy*, and *People* together, or reducing the former to *Lay-Communion*; but I hope I have said what is sufficient to convince you of the Reason, and Antiquity of it, and then I have said enough.

VI. I might, to justify my self, proceed to examine St. *Hierom*, and St. *Augustin*, as particularly as I have done St. *Ambrose*; but hoping I have said enough in my Vindication, I will only tell you that they both interpret the 16th Verse of the 45th Psalm, of the Apostles, and their Successors, the Bishops: *Instead of thy Fathers, thou shalt have Children whom thou may'st make Princes in all the Earth. Pro Patribus tuis nati sunt tibi Filii, constitues eos Principes super omnem Terram.* Upon which words, saith the former, O Church! the Apostles were thy Fathers, because they begat thee, but now because they are departed this World, thou hast in their place thy Sons the Bishops, whom thou hast constituted, and these are also thy Fathers, because thou art govern'd by them. And they are Princes of the Church in all Parts of the Earth, whithersoever the Gospel is come. So the Latter, What doth this mean, instead of thy Fathers, thou shalt have Sons? The Apostles were sent as Fathers unto thee, and instead of the Apostles Sons are born to thee, who are made Bishops. This is the Catholick

^b Can. Apost. 10. 17, 40, 43, 49, 61. and so in the other Canons, which are not of equal Authority, viz. 52, 75, 76.

Church, whose Sons are made Princes in all the Earth. Optatus Milevit. calls Bishops *Apices* & *Principes* of the Ecclesiastical Oeconomy, Lib. I. p. 15. And so Symeon Thessal. de Græcorum Ordinatio. which is in Morinus de sacris Ecclesia ord. Pars II. p. 106. Καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὅ, &c. and Bishops, [or chief Priests] upon the account of their Power, and Principalities are anointed with the Grace of the holy Spirit: Saith the Scripture, thou shalt make them Princes over all the Earth. And he (the Archbishop) sanctifies him [the consecrated Bishop] as the ancient Chief Priests, Melchisedeck, Aaron, and Samuel, and as those Hierarchs of Grace, &c. But to carry this spiritual Sense of this place unto a much higher Original, Eusebius Casariensis in his Commentary on Ps. xlv. 17. saith, *Aquila* renders it thus: *Instead of thy Fathers thou shalt have Sons*; But Symmachus thus: *Instead of thy Fathers thou hast had Sons*. But this is the meaning of the place: Thy Sons, who are born in thee, and from thee, shall be to thee for Fathers. For thou shalt have those for thy Fathers, whom thou thy self hast begotten. But you will understand how this was fulfilled, if you consider how the Gentile Strangers coming to the Church, and regenerated in her, become her Sons, and growing great Proficients, are constituted her Fathers, being promoted to places of Government in her, and chosen to the Sacerdotal Office. And in what sense thou art to have them for Fathers is more plainly expressed in these Words: *Whom thou shalt make Princes in all the Earth*. In which words the Prophet speaks to the Church upon the Earth, which reaches from one end of it to the other, and which makes her

¹ The Place is thus paraphrased by Apollinarius: Ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων ὑοὶ γέθεν ἡβώουσι, πᾶς ὃ καλασθήσεαις ὅλησ χθονὸς ἡΓΕΜΟΝΗΑΣ.

own Sons her Fathers, and Princes. I was willing, Sir, to add this more ancient Testimony of *Eusebius* to that of St. *Hierom*, and *Augustin* in the Latin, to shew you, that this sense of those Words in *Psalms* 45. was in all appearance the sense of the Catholick Church. And the Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth's* time seems to have been no Stranger to these Notions, which, 8 of *Eliz.* in the Preamble to the Act, declares the State of the Clergy to be one of the greatest States of this Realm. And before the Conquest every one knows the Bishop sat with the Count in the County-Court to administer Ecclesiastical Law, and Justice, according to the *Canons*, as he did the Secular, according to the Customs, and Laws.

Sir, I hope I have now said enough to shew you that my speaking of Bishops as *Princes* is not novel, or uncouth to any, but such as are not conversant in the ancient Records of the Church, and if there be any good Church-men, as you say, among your Friends, who think I have written too loftily of the Episcopal Office, in my former Letter to you, I pray you to shew them this for my Vindication. Many of them, who are true to their own Order, and never betray'd the Church in their Sermons, or Writings, yet with great numbers of the People, have been set wrong in their Apprehensions of the Church, and Church-power by some Gentlemen of your Profession, who have written otherwise of the Church, than as of a Society founded by Christ Jesus in a manner independent on the Powers of the World: And have so explain'd, and magnified the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of Kings, as is not consistent with it in reality, or in the Conceptions of Men. You cannot but call to mind what I told you some said upon occasion. Really, Sir, one would wonder that Men born and bred Christians should say things so reproachful to the Priesthood, so
dispo-

dishonourable to Christ our High-priest in Heaven, so derogatory, and opprobrious to the Power of the Keys, which he hath committed to his Priests, and so repugnant to the Constitution of the Catholick Church. Certainly, Sir, these Men had no right Idea of the two Powers, Spiritual and Temporal, Ecclesiastical and Regal, nor of their different Origins, and mutual Subordination of the one to the other. *Solvimus quæ sunt Caesaris Cesari*, saith St. ^k Ambrose, *We pay unto the Emperor the things which belong to the Emperor, and we give unto God the things are God's.* Is it the Emperor's Tribute that is demanded, we deny it not? Is it the Church of God? That ought not to be given up to the Emperor; for the Temple of God cannot be his Right; which no Man can deny to be spoken to the Emperor's Honour; for what is more honourable for him, than that he should be a Son of the Church? For a good Emperor is within the Church, but not above it, and seeketh help of the Church, and doth not refuse it. This, as we speak with Humility, so with Constancy we declare it; and tho' some threaten us with Fire, and Sword, and Deportation, yet we being Christ's Servants have learn'd not to fear, and no Terrors are formidable to those who do not fear. ¹ Justinian the Emperor confesseth, *That the greatest Honours God of his Mercy hath conferred upon Men are Sacerdotium & Imperium, the Priesthood, and the Regal Office, the former to administer in divine things, and the latter to preside in human Affairs, and long*

^k *Concio de Basilicis non tradendis Hereticis, aut Gentilibus, ad Mediolanensem populum.* So the Civil Law of the Empire. *Quod Divini Juris est nullius in bonis est. Ulp. l. 9. ult. π de rerum divinis: Nullius sunt sacra, & religiosa, & sancta res per Pontifices Deo consecrata, veluti ades Sacra. Institut. Lib. 11. T. 1.*

¹ N. VI. Tit. VI. *Quomodo oporteat Episcopos.*

before his time, ^α ὁ Ἀβραμικὸς Πατριάρχης, ὁ ἀληθινὸς Ὁσιος, The Abrahamic old Father, the truly holy Hosius put the Emperor Constantius in remembrance of the Distinction of these two Powers, and the Independency of the one on the other, in these words: Do not you meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs, nor command us [Bishops] what to do in them, but rather learn of us what ye are to do therein. God hath delivered the Empire to you, and the care of the Church to us, and as he who secretly invades your Authority, resists the Ordinance of God, so be you afraid lest by drawing the Affairs of the Church upon you, you make your self guilty of a grievous Sin. For it is written, Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Therefore neither is it lawful for us to take upon us to command in Civil Matters, neither, O Emperor, have you Authority over the ^α Incense. And truly out of the Care I have of your Salvation, I write these things. This great Bishop, and Confessor, for the Rights of the Catholick Church, as well as for the Catholick Faith, by Power or Authority over the Incense, figuratively meant the Sacerdotal Office, as distinguished from the Regal, the Powers of the Church, which could not belong to the Empire, and the Administration of Matters Spiritual, which belonged to the Bishops, the Delegates, or Vicegerents of Christ in his Kingdom upon Earth. So Pope Gelasius, who was advanced to the See of Rome in the Year of our Lord 492, in his VIIIth Epistle to Anastasius the Emperor, writes thus: Duo quippe sunt, Imperator Au-

^α In his Epistle to Constantius the Emperor. Opera Athanasii. Edit. Paris. MDCXXVII. p. 840.

^α The holy Father here alludes to the Story of King Uzziah, Chron. Ch. xxvi. 16, 17, 18.

^α Tom. Concil. IV. Col. 1182. & d. 1. 95. c. 10. & 12.

guste, &c. For there are two things, Great Emperor, by which principally this World is govern'd, the Holy Pontifical Authority, and the Regal Power. Of which the Sacerdotal Charge is much the greater, because the Bishops at the Day of Judgment must give an account to our Lord of Kings. For you know, ^p most gracious Son, that altho' you are set in Dignity above all Men, yet you are devoutly subject to those, who preside over Spiritual Affairs, and desire those things from them, by which you expect to be saved; and in receiving the Holy Mysteries, and ordering them as is meet, you know that by the Rank you hold in Religion you are to obey, rather than command. Therefore in things of this nature, you know that you are to submit to their Judgment, and that they are not to be govern'd by your Will. For if the ^q Rulers of the Church, knowing that the Empire is given to you by God's Appointment, obey your Laws; with what Affection, I beseech you, ought you to obey them, who are appointed to dispense the venerable Mysteries? — And if the Faithful ought to be obedient to all Bishops, who rightly manage holy things, how much must it be your Duty to comply with the Bishop of that See, whom it has pleas'd God to advance in Dignity above all Bishops, and the Piety of the Catholick Church hath in all times honour'd, and esteem'd? So in his ^r Tome de Anathematis vinculo: But if they are afraid to attempt these things, which they know come not within the Measure of your Power, to whom it is permitted only to judge of human Affairs, and not to preside over the Divine, how dare they presume to judge of them, who administer Divine Things? These things were

^p Fili Clementissime.

^q Religionis Antislites.

^r Du Pin de antiqua Ecclesia disciplina, Dissert. VII. G. IV.

So before the coming of Christ, as some say by way of Figure, tho' Kings and Priests were both appointed in the Administration of Secular Affairs; but after the coming of Christ, who was in one Person the true King, and Priest, neither the Emperor assumed the Title of Priest, nor the Priest pretended to his Royal Dignity. ——— ' Christ knowing the Frailty of Human Nature, and ordering things by his Royal Dispensation, as most conduced to the Salvation of his People, he separated the Offices of both Powers by their proper Actions, and distinct Duties, willing to save his People by a medicinal Humility, and not to beset them with Human Pride; so that Christian Emperors [and Kings] should have need of Bishops, in order to obtain eternal Life; and Bishops, according to the Nature of Temporal Affairs, should make use of the Imperial [or Regal] Administration, as far as the difference between Spiritual, and Carnal Actions will permit. So that on the one hand the Soldier of Christ should not meddle in Secular Business; and on the other, he to whom Secular Businesses belong should

' Quoniam idem mediator Dei, & hominum homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis, & dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, propria volens medicinali humilitate hominum corda sursum efferri, non humana superbiâ rursus in inferna demergi: ut & Christiani Imperatores pro eterna vita Pontificibus indigerent, & Pontifices pro cursu temporallum tantummodo rerum imperialibus legibus uterentur, quatenus Spiritalis actio a carnalibus distaret incurfibus; & ideo militans Deo minime se negotiis secularibus implicaret ac vicissim ne ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur, qui esset negotiis secularibus implicatus, d. I. X. C. VIII. See also d. I. 96. C. VI. Where the same words are cited, without any difference, but in the beginning, which in the latter is thus: Cum ad verum ventum est, ultra sibi nec Imperator jura Pontificatus arripuit, nec Pontifex Nomen Imperatorium usurpavit, quoniam, &c. See more Authorities in the same place to prove the Independency of the Church upon the State, and the difference betwixt the Ecclesiastical, and Civil Power.

not pretend to Authority in Divine Affairs, but that both Orders should modestly, and carefully observe their Bounds, &c.

Here you see the difference between Church, and State, and the Bounds which Christ hath set between them; and that Bishops are in that, what Kings and Emperors are in this, and that both are mutually subject to one another. Religious Emperors of old, made no difficulty to own Bishops for their Ecclesiastical Fathers, and Superiors, and pay all Reverence, and Submission to them as such. ^t *Eusebius* tells us, how *Constantine the Great* personally sent for them to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest Veneration, and Honour, as Persons consecrated to his God, and was pleased to behold God honour'd in each Person, though their outward Garb, and Dress was contemptible, and that he took them along with him in all his Journeys, being fully persuaded that God for this very Reason would be propitious to him. ^u He would hear them speak, though never so long, in a standing Posture, though they supplicated his Majesty to sit in his Throne. ^w He gave his Sons in charge before all things, that they should take particular charge of God's Church. ^x When he resolved on his Expedition into *Persia*, he prepared a Tabernacle in the Form of a Church, in which most richly furnished, he resolved with the Bishops, who accompanied him to offer up Supplications to God the Giver of Victory. And therefore it is no wonder that following Christian Emperors looked upon the Church as a Society distinct from the Empire, of which Christ was

^t Lib. I. de V. Constant. Cap. xlii.

^u Euseb. de V. Const. Lib. IV. Cap. xxxiii.

^w Ibid. Cap. lii.

^x Ibid. Cap. lvi.

The Dignity of

Founder, and the Bishops, the Rectors, who presided in it under Christ, and that they themselves were not the Governours, but the Defenders of the Church. So Pope Symmachus, who was made Bishop of Rome in the Year of our Lord 498. ^y In his Apologetical Epistle to the same Emperor, who was involved in the ^z Excommunication of the ^a Eutychians in the Cause of Acacius: *Let us compare the Honour of the Emperor with the Honour of the Bishop, between whom there is as great a difference, as there is between him who hath the Charge of Human, and him who hath the Charge of Divine Affairs. Thou, O Emperor, receivest Baptism, takest the Sacrament from the Bishop, entreats him to pray for thee, hopes for his Benediction, and begs him to absolve thee after Repentance. Lastly, Thou administers human Things, and he dispenses divine Things to thee. Wherefore if I may not say his Honour is greater, it is certainly equal to thine. Do not think the better of your self, because you excel in worldly Pomp and Splendor; for the Weakness of God is stronger than Men. — I beg leave to remind you that you are but a Man, that you may use the Power that God hath given you, well — But perhaps you'll say, let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers. Truly we acknowledge the human Powers in their Bounds, till they set up their Will against the Will of God. But if all Power is of God, that is more especially so, which presides over divine Affairs. Do you submit to us*

^y Tom. Concil. IV. Col. 1298.

^z Nos non te excommunicavimus sed Acacium. Tu recede ab Acacio & ab illius Excommunicatione recedis. Tu te noli miscere excommunicationi ejus, & non es excommunicatus a nobis. Si te mices, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es. Ita fit ut in utroque sive discedas non es excommunicatus a nobis. Sive non discedas, non es excommunicatus a nobis.

^a An Benefactus essem si Eutychianis faverem, si Acacii nomine communicarem.

for God's Sake, as for God's Sake we submit to you. But if you will not submit for God's Sake, you can have no Favour from him whose Laws you despise. One of the greatest Men, and Lawyers, that England ever bred (whom I believe his good Sense, and Integrity, had he not been cut off, would have engaged in a Reformation) understanding this Doctrine ^b, bore his Testimony, like a faithful Confessor, to the Distinction, and Independency of the two Powers, unto Death, in the Reign, which you know some Writers call the Tyranny, of Hen. VIII. who first to the ^c Astonishment of Christendom, took upon him the Title of the only supreme Head upon Earth of the Church of England.

Albeit (saith the ^d Statute) The King's Majesty justly, and rightly is, and ought to be the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and is so recognized, by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, yet nevertheless for Corroboration, and Confirmation thereof, and for encrease of Vertue in Christ's Religion within this Realm of England, and to repress, and extirpate all Errors, Heresies, and other Enormities, and Abuses heretofore used in the same, Be it Enacted by Authority of this present Parliament, that the King our Sovereign Lord, his Heirs, and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia, and shall have, and enjoy, annexed, and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the Title, and Stile thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, and Preheminences, Jurisdictions, Privileges,

^b History of the Reformation, Part I. B. III. p. 345, 354.

^c Martin Chemnit. Epist. ad Elector. Brand. Calvin in Cap. vi. Amos, & in Epist. ad Mycon.

^d 26 Hen. VIII. Cap. i.

Authorities, Immunities, Profits, and Commodities to the said Dignity of Supreme Head of the same Church belonging, and appertaining; and that our said Sovereign Lord, his Heirs, and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full Power, and Authority, from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Offences, Contempts, and Enormities whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual Authority, or Jurisdiction ought, or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the Pleasure of Almighty God, the Increase of Vertue in Christ's Religion, and for the Conservation of the Peace, Unity, and Tranquillity of this Realm, any Usage, Custom, Foreign Laws, Foreign Authority, Præscription, or any thing, or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding.

Sir, I do not doubt, but you are of the same Opinion you were of when we discoursed together, viz. that the latter part of this Act is *exegetical* of the former, and that the Words of it restrict, and limit the Sense, and Intention of it to such a sound Christian Sense, as is consistent with the original, inherent Rights of the Church, which She derives from Christ, and his Apostles; and that it was chiefly intended to secure the Rights both of Church and State, against the usurped Jurisdiction, both Temporal, and Spiritual, which the Popes took upon them to exercise in this, as in other Kingdoms. I doubt not also but it is your Opinion, that this Act, and all others relating to the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy, are to be interpreted in a Sense consistent with those other Acts of Parliament, which confirm the Book of *Common Prayer*, and *Administration of the Sacraments*, and other Rights, and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Church of England; and
the

the Form, and Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. In those Offices the sacerdotal Power, as distinct from the Civil, and derived from Christ, is clearly expressed, and asserted. We baptize, and admit into the Body of Christ's Church, as our Lord authorized us to do, not in the Name of the King, or in the Name of King, and Parliament, but In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And by the Authority of our Lord committed to us, we have Power to absolve Penitent Sinners after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left Power to his Church to absolve Sinners, who truly repent, and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thine Offences, and by his Authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. I am sure you will acknowledge, that all the Kings, and Senates upon Earth, cannot give such a Power, or take upon them, without Sacrilege, to say, Take thou Authority to execute the Office of a Deacon in the Church of God, committed unto thee in the Name of the Father, &c. Or, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office, and Work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the Imposition of our Hands. Whose Sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose Sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments, In the Name of the Father, &c. Or, Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office, and Work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our Hands, In the Name of the Father, &c. To these I might add the Epistles, and Gospels of these Offices, and some of the Prayers, and the Preface to them; in Consistency, and Agreement with which the very Oath of Supremacy, which every Person ordained

to

to any of those holy Offices is to take, and by Consequence every other Act relating to the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy, I humbly conceive, ought to be interpreted, I mean in a Sense, which saves, and not which destroys the Distinction, and Difference of the Sacerdotal from the Civil Power, and the Spiritual Rights, and Powers which belong to the Priesthood of the Christian Church. I may also I hope without Offence say, that they are to be explained in a Sense agreeable to the Injunctions of *Edw. VI. 1547.* where it is said, *that the Office, and Function of the Ministers of the Church is appointed by God; To the Articuli per Archiepisc. Episc. Cantuariensis Provinciae 1584.* And to Queen *Elizabeth's Injunction 1559. Art. 28.* where it is likewise declared, *that the Office, and Function of the Ministers of the Church is appointed by God.* All which agrees exactly to the Prayers to be said in the *Ember-weeks: Almighty God, the Giver of all good Gifts, who of thy Divine Providence hast appointed divers Orders in thy Church, give thy Grace, we humbly beseech thee, to all those, who are to be called to any Office, and Administration in the same — And who they are that have Power to admit those who are so called to serve in the Sacred Ministry, is evident from the other Prayer: Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who hast purchased to thy self an universal Church by the precious Blood of thy dear Son, mercifully look upon the same, and at this time so guide, and govern the Minds of thy Servants, the Bishops, and Pastors of thy Flock, that they may lay Hands suddenly on no Man, but faithfully, and wisely make choice of fit Persons to serve in the Sacred Ministry of thy Church, and to those, who shall be ordained, &c.* Perhaps, Sir, I might also say, that they are to be interpreted in a Sense consistent with the first Article of *Charta Magna*; for in the Books written for the Church, during the time of the

the great Rebellion, that Article was produced, as well as other Laws in her Defence. To speak plainly, I believe you think, as I do, that the Act of Supremacy, which was made by *Henry VIII.* ought to be taken in a Sense consistent with the *Spiritual Power of the Keys*, as it was exercised by the Apostles, and their Successors in the most Pure, and Primitive Times; and with the Preamble of 24 *Hen. VIII.* which was made against Appeals to *Rome*, and as I observed before, distinguishes between the Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction, and secures their respective Rights unto both, against the Papal Usurpations. This Law, as I have heard, was not long ago pleaded in Court. And Sir *Edw. Coke*, Instit. Part. 4. Cap. lxxiv. asserts the Distinction in these Words, *Of what things the Clergy hath Spiritual Jurisdiction is evident in our Books, and particularly in Cawdrey's Case, whereof there is no question. And certain it is, that this Kingdom hath been best governed, and Peace, and Quiet preserved, when both Parties, that is, when the Justices of the Temporal Courts, and the Ecclesiastical Judges, have kept themselves within their proper Jurisdictions, without encroaching, or usurping one upon another.*

But King *Hen. VIII.* went beyond all these Measures, as if after the Act of Supremacy, this Distinction had been swallowed up, and an end put to the difference between spiritual and temporal Persons, and Power. For not long after that Act was made, he set forth a *Latin Bible* with this Title, *Sacra Biblia Tomus primus, in quo continentur quinque Libri Moysis, Libri Josue, & Judicum, Liber Psalmorum, Proverbia Solomonis, Liber Sapientiae, & Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi.* At the end of the Book are these Words, *Excudebat*

* This Bible is in the Possession of Mr. *Humphry Wanley*.

Thomas Bartholetus Reginus Impressor, Anno MDXXXV. Mense Jul. In the King's Preface, which is inscribed *Pio Lectori* in general, are these following Words, the like whereof were never used by any Christian King before, and which sound something like those in which the ^f King of *Assyria* said in his Heart, *I will exalt my Throne above the Stars of God.*

Nos itaque considerantes id erga Deum officii nostri, quod suscepisse cognoscimur, ut in Regno simus sicut anima in Corpore, & Sol in mundo, utque loco Dei Judicium exerceamus in Regno nostro, & omnia in potestate habentes, quoad Jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam Ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus, ac tueamur, & disciplinæ ejus sive augeatur, aut solvatur, nos ei rationem reddituri simus, qui nobis eam credidit, & in ea Dei vicem agentes, Deique habentes imaginem: quid aliud vel cogitare, vel in animam inducere potuimus, quam ut eodem confugeremus, ubi certo discendum esset, ne quid aliud vel ipsi faceremus, vel faciendum aliis præscriberemus, quam quod ab hac ipsa Dei lege ne vel transversum quidem digitum aberrare convinci queat.

But before I proceed farther, to observe in what manner this Prince exercised his modern Supremacy, let me recite what was afterwards enacted by Statute 1 of *Edw. VI.* Chap. 11. There, Sir, it is enacted, and declared, that the Election of Archbishops, and Bishops by *Conge d'eslire* to the Dean, and Chapter, should be taken away, as derogatory, and prejudicial to the King's Prerogative; that all

^f *Isaiah xvi. 13, 14.*

Authority of Jurisdiction, Spiritual, and Temporal, is derived, and deducted from the King's Majesty as Supreme Head of these Churches, and Realms of *England*, and *Ireland*, and so justly acknowledged by the Clergy of *the said Realms*, and accordingly it is enacted, that all Summons, Citations, and other Process Ecclesiastical, within the said two Realms, in all Suits, &c. should be made in the Name, and with the Style of the King, as in Writs original, or judicial of the Common Law, and that the TESTE thereof be in the Name of the Archbishop, or Bishop, or other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, who hath the Commission, or Grant of the Authority Ecclesiastical immediately from the King's Highness, and that his Commissary, &c. shall put his Name in the Citation, or Process after the TESTE. And §. IV. it is also enacted, That all Ecclesiastical Persons, who have the Exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall have the King's Highness's Arms decently set, with certain Characters under the Arms, for the Knowledge of the Diocese, and use no other Seal of Jurisdiction, but wherein his Majesty's Arms be ingraven. But then again there is a *Proviso* in §. VI. by which certain Cases are excepted, wherein the Archbishop, and Bishop may use their own Seals, which had this good Effect to help to keep up the Distinction between the spiritual and temporal Authority, or Jurisdiction, though that, as well as this, was declared to be deducted, and derived from the King, as supreme Head of the Church.

VII. *Sir*, This Derivation of the Original of Spiritual Power from Kings, is a new Discovery not known, or understood by former Ages; and I presume you will grant there is nothing like it in what I have produced in this Letter out of ancient Christian Writers. But however, without any retrospection to old Principles, the *King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy* in Virtue of these Laws, was put in Ure, and exercised

cised to such a heighth, and in such a degree, as many then thought, and some think at this Day, is not to be reconciled with the spiritual Supremacy of Christ in his Kingdom upon Earth, and the most solemn Commission he gave to his Apostles, and in them to their Successors, in his last Words, a little before he ascended into Heaven.

King *Henry VIII.* was so fond of it, that he caused a golden *Medal* to be struck, with his *Effigies* half faced in his usual Bonnet, furr'd Gown, and invaluable Collar of Rubies, which was since sold abroad, to give the *Royal Family* Bread. I have caused it to be engraven in the *Appendix*, Numb. 3. as it is done according to Dr. *Sloan's* Original, in the 88th Page of Mr. *Evelin's Numismata*, printed in Folio, London MDCXCVII. The *Legenda* take up a double Circle. In the outward Circle HENRICUS OCTA. ANGLIÆ. FRANC. ET HIB. REX. within the Inner IN. TERR. ECCLE. ANGL. ET HIB. SUB. CHRIST. CAPUT. SUPREMUM. In these Circles the *Rose*, *Portcuse*, *Fleur de Lis*, and *Harp* are crowned. On the *Reverse*,

• H. R.

הנריכוש
שמיני. נ. מלך. באמור
סגן. וכערה. אנגליא
והיברניא. מתחת. מתחת
ראש. עליון

ΕΝΡΙΚΟΣ. Ο. ΟΥΔΟΟΣ. ΤΡΙΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΠΡΟ-
ΣΤΑΤΗΣ. ΕΝ. ΤΗ. ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ
ΤΗΣ. ΑΓΓΛΙΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΙΒΕΡΝΙ.
ΑΣ. ΥΠΟ. ΧΡΙΣΤΩ. ΑΚΡΗ
* Η. ΚΕΦΑΛΗ. *

Londini 1545.

Thus

Thus, Sir, triumphed this King in his new *Stiles* and Title, from whence he derived his Ecclesiastical Supremacy, making an Inscription of it in Letters of *Greek*, and *Latin*, and *Hebrew*, as *Pilate* did that over our Lord upon the Cross, THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS. I never yet heard any Man talk of this *Medal*, but who made this Observation, viz. that King *Henry* crucified the Church, as *Pilate* did her Saviour with the Solemnity of three Superscriptions, and I have so much Respect for his Memory, because he delivered us from the *Pope's Supremacy*, as to wish he had given less Occasion for such a severe but obvious Reflection, by exercising his Ecclesiastical Supremacy with more Moderation to the Pleasure, and Honour of God, and the Conservation, and Benefit of the Church. But he presently proceeded to excess; for the ^s first Exercise of his Supremacy, as Supreme Head of the Church, was naming *CROMWELL* his *Vicar-General*, and General-Visitor of all the Monasteries, and other Privileged Places, longing to get their Treasures, and Lands, which by the just Judgment of God did not prosper with him, who of a Member would be the *Head* of the Church.

The next was his making him Lord *Viceregent* in Ecclesiastical Matters, by which he had Authority over the Bishops, and Precedence next the Royal Family; being cloth'd with a compleat Delegation of all the King's new Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs. From this Supremacy it also proceeded that *Cromwell* was made Dean ^b of *Wells*, and that other secular Men had Prebendaries and Benefices without Cure, conferr'd upon them in the Reign of *Edw. VI.* From this rigorously exercis'd Supremacy, which our Princes have since explain'd into a founde

^s Bishop *Burnet's* History of the Reformation, Part I. Book III. p. 181.

^b History of the Reformation, Part II. Book I. p. 8.

Sense, it also proceeded, that Bishops were forced to take out Commissions for their Bishopricks from the King to hold them only during his Pleasure, and to exercise their Episcopal Office as his *Delegates* in his *Name*, and by his *Authority*.¹ In these Commissions all Jurisdiction as well Ecclesiastical, as Secular, is said to flow from the King, as Supreme Head, and that the Bishops were his *Commissaries*, and *Vicegerents*, and licensed by him to ordain Priests, and to admit them to Spiritual Cures, to keep their Courts, visit, inflict Spiritual Censures, and finally do all things that any way belong'd to the Episcopal Authority and Jurisdiction. Sir, pray consider as you read the following words if they are for the Honour, or Pleasure of Almighty God, or well consistent with the original Rights of the Church. *Quandoquidem omnis Jurisdicendi Auctoritas, atque etiam Jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam Secularis a Regiâ potestate, velut a supremo capite, primitus emanavit. — Nos per Dilectum Commissarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell — Nostrumque ad quas-cunque Causas Ecclesiasticas nostra Autoritate uti supremi Capitis dictæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand: sive ventiland: vicemgerentem, vicarium Generalem — Nos tibi (Episcopo) vices nostras sub modo & formâ inferius descriptis commitendas fore, Teque Licentiaudum esse decernimus ad Ordinandum, &c. Et alia quæcumque Autoritatem & Jurisdictionem Episcopalem quovis modo respiciend: & concernend: præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris Literis commissa esse dignoscuntur, Vice, Nomine & Autoritate nostra exequendum tibi Tenore presentium committimus.* In this Form of Commission the two Kings successively took upon them almost

¹ History of the Reformation, Part I. Book III. p. 267. Collect. N. 15. Part II. B. I. p. 6. N. 2.

the whole Power of the Keys, and the Power of licensing Bishops to ordain Priests, and instituting and inducting them to their spiritual Cures, and that Clause *præter & ultra ea*, &c. which seems to except some spiritual Power, it may be that of absolving Penitents, and administering the Holy Sacraments, yet in effect excepts nothing, if you consult the whole Tenour of the Commission, especially those words of it, wherein is declared that those Bishops who had formerly exercised their Power *precariously*, ought thankfully to acknowledge that they had it only from the King's Bounty, and to declare that they would cheerfully surrender it to him again, whensoever he should require them to do it. Thus did two of our Kings, without Example, the one out of Pride and Ambition, the other in Nonage, and ignorantly set themselves in the Throne of our Lord. And the Bishops of the Church of *England* in those two Reigns, before, and after the Reformation, overawed thro' Human Weakness by terrible Penalties gave up the Cause of Christ and the Church, for which they ought to have died Martyrs, and by their Compliance have left a Blot upon their Memories, which no Apology can wipe off, unless it be that humble one of Father *Paul*, who with Sorrow said, *God has not given me Luther's Spirit*. Their Compliance brought a Blemish upon the Church, which our Adversaries, making no Allowance for human Frailty, seldom fail to put us in mind of with Insolence enough, as often as they have Occasion, without any Reflection, and sometimes, when they have none at all. And from that rigid practice of this new *Ecclesiastical* Supremacy in those Reigns, it hath also proceeded in great part, that the true Notion of the Church, as of a Society distinct from the World, and all the temporal Kingdoms of it, and of her spiritual Power, and Authority invested by Christ in his Ministers, hath been too much for-

gotten, and neglected among us, to the great dishonour of God, the unspeakable Damage of Religion, and Contempt of the Church and Clergy, which are every Day more, and more insulted by every vile *Mescroyant*, and every blaspheming Tongue, and Pen. I must here beg leave again to tell you without Offence, that the Opinions, Judgments, and Cases written by some Gentlemen of your Profession, have not a little contributed to the perplexing of that plain primitive Notion of the Church, and the Ecclesiastical Power. You'll easily imagine I have Sir *Edward Coke's* fifth Part of Reports in my Eye, from whom I have heard you, and some other excellent Lawyers assert, that by the Statute made in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby there is given to her, and her Successors *all Power, and Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, as by any Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Power hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be executed with full Power, and Authority to assign, name, or authorize* any Person, or Persons being natural born Subjects to exercise, and execute *any manner of* Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction: I say I have heard you, and other Lawyers affirm, that this Statute was not introductory of a new Law, but only declaratory of an old one. So that if that Act had never been made yet, the Queen had had that Authority, and might have given it to whom she thought fit. But, *Sir*, I leave it to your second Thoughts to consider, if this late Doctrine, which affirms that the Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Power belongs to our Kings, and Queens *as such*, and by consequence is inherent in the Crown, be agreeable to the Preamble before mentioned of 24 *Hen. VIII. Cap. xii.* or to the favourable Sense, and Intendment of 26 *Hen. VIII. Cap. i.* as restricted by the Words at the latter end of it, or to the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy as it hath been explained by our Kings, and Queens since that

time,

time, or by other Persons by their Consent, or Permission, as I have hereafter observed, in a Sense not contrary to the original, and inherent Power of the Church. Nay, I beseech you to consider, if it is reconcileable to the Sense, and Language of former Ages of Christianity, and the Doctrines, Reasonings, and Authorities, which I have produced out of the best Christian Writers. For if it be inherent in the *Crown*, then, as I conceive, it must belong to it, whether it be Christian, or not Christian, and when it is Christian, it also matters not in what Sense it is so, or of what sort, or kind of Christians, Kings and Queens, and let me add, Sovereign States, shall be. For according to your Opinion if I mistake not, they may execute all Ecclesiastical Power, and Jurisdiction without any new Law, but if it be not so inherent in the Crown, then I pray you to consider how much wrong the Church of God may come to suffer by that Doctrine, when it is taught and received in a Christian Kingdom, or State.

This, and other Assertions of Sir *Edward Coke* are in my humble Opinion thoroughly refuted in a Book entituled, *An Answer to the fifth Part of Reports lately set forth by Sir Edward Coke, Knight*, printed 1606. Sir *Edward* then Attorney-General never made any Reply to it, but only in a Preface before the sixth Part of his Reports, which I believe you'll think scarce deserves the Name of a Reply, or that it is worthy of Sir *Edward's* mighty Name. His Adversary did not fail to return him, I think, a full and solid Answer to what he hath said in that Preface, in the 8th Chapter of his Answer to Mr. *Tho. Moreton*, entituled, *A quiet and sober Reckoning with Mr. Tho. Moreton* which was printed MDCIX. Nor hath any Lawyer that I have heard of, since reply'd to either of those Answers in the defence of that

great Man. And, if it were not Presumption in a Man of my Profession, I would recommend them to your Reading, for your better Information in this Controversy, which however it hath been long laid asleep, I take to be of greater Moment, and Importance to Christianity, than most Men seem to think it is. I must acknowledge there are two great Errors in them, whereof one is, that the Author being a Roman Catholick, makes the Pope, and Papal Hierarchy exclusive of all others, the governing Church, contrary to all sound Doctrine, and Tradition; and the other is, that he endeavours to exempt the Persons, and Goods of the Clergy from the Temporal Powers, and your Tribunals, asserting that when they offend against Temporal Laws, they are first to be judg'd, and condemn'd by the Ecclesiastical Judges, and not before to be deliver'd up to the Secular Power to inflict upon them the Punishment of the Temporal Laws; which are intolerable Usurpations of the Church in any Christian State, and contrary to that Code of Canons, which Pope *Adrian I.* sent to *Charles the Great* under the Name of *Codex Canonum Ecclesie Romanae*.

VIII. I have now, I think, fully answered the first Objection, except that I have not yet said any thing to the Text, *Matth. xx. 25, 26, 27.* which you thought did not favour the calling Bishops *Lords*. But that Text, and the whole Context only, shews the Differences that were to be between Spiritual, and Temporal Princes: *But it shall not be so among you, as among the Princes of the Gentiles, but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whosoever will be Chief among you, let him be your Servant;* after my Example, who, tho' I am a King, and have a Kingdom, and am exalted above all Principalities, and Powers,

and

and even King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, yet I came not to be ministred unto, but to minister, and give my Life a Ransom for many. Wherefore as this Place supposes Christ to be a King, tho' not of such a Nature as Temporal Kings are: So it supposes the Apostles to be Princes under him, tho' Princes of another Intention, and very unlike the Princes of the Earth. The very Name of an *Apostle* is a Name of Grandeur, and Honour, and Princely Trust, as I shew'd before out of St. *Chrysostom*. For what can be more great, and honourable upon Earth, than to be Legate, and Vicegerent of our Lord in Heaven, who sits at God's Right-hand, who hath given him a Name above every Name, that at the Name of Jesus every Knee shou'd bow, and of whom he hath said by the Prophet *David*, *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a Scepter of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom?* As his Father sent him, so sent he them, and by virtue of their Mission they acted, and transacted with Men in his Name, Which made St. *Hierom* write ¹ on these words, *Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ*: on this manner he begins with the Authority of that Name and Office for your sakes to whom he was to write; and upon *Titus*, 1. saith he, *stiling himself the Apostle of Jesus Christ, it seems such a way of Speaking, as Præfectus Prætorio Augusti Cæsaris, Magister exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris.* For as the Judges of this World, that they may seem the more noble, take Names from the Kings they serve, and from the Dignity of the Office unto which they are exalted; so the Apostle, challenging to himself great Authority among Christians, did signifie beforehand that he was the Apostle of Christ, that by the Authority of the Name he might create Reverence in his Readers, and thereby shew

¹ 1 Tim. 1.

that all Believers in Christ ought to be subject to him. And as *Apostle*, so is *Bishop* a Name of no less Honour and Dignity, for Christ under God is the Shepherd, and Bishop of our Souls, and as he deputed that Trust, and Office to the Apostles, so they, and he by them committed it to their Successors. He is our High-Priest in Heaven, and they under him our High-Priests upon Earth. Nay they represent him both as King and Priest; in both these Capacities they preside over us, and in the former they are no less than his Viceroys in the several Principalities of his Kingdom. To this purpose speaks an Author, who lived in the time of K. Henry I. or K. Henry II. (who both had Differences with the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Anselm*, and *Becket*,) and as it were arbitrates the Difference between both Parties in a Book intituled, as in the ^m Margin, which he dedicates *Henrica Regi Anglorum Gloriosissimo*, and as far as he then could, favours the King's Side. He shews himself to have been a Learned Man for those dark times, and well versed in the Latin Fathers, and thus he writes: *Nam & Regalem dignitatem habere Sancta Scriptura testimonio videtur Episcopus. Ait enim Dom. Jesus Christus Apostolis suis, eorumque sequacibus: Ego dispono vobis, sicut disposuit mihi pater meus regnum. Et Apostolus: Vos estis genus electum, Regale sacerdotium.— Vices enim Christi filii Dei summi in terra videtur obtinere — unde inter nos & Deum mediator debet existere. Ipse est sanctus sanctorum Clericorum scilicet, ac Presbyterorum, quibus omnibus eminet, ac praeclit. Hic est Ecclesia sponsus, hic Christi vicarius — Honorandi igitur sunt omnes Episcopi, sicut regni Caelestis clavicularii, &c. Cap. ix. p. 34. Nunc autem sanctorum prophetarum vicem in Ecclesia Christi retinent*

^m Hugonis Floriacensis tractatus de Regia potestate, & sacerdotali dignitate. In Miscellaneorum Steph. Baluzii Libro quarto. Parisiis MDCLXXXIII.

Sacerdotes. Sic enim Dominus ad ipsam loquitur: Ecce constituam principes tuos sicut antea, & consiliarios tuos sicut ab initio. Et Psalmista: pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii; constitues eos Principes super omnem terram. Igitur Regiam & sacerdotalem dignitatem Deus in terra ordinavit, &c.

This indeed is an Author of Popish Times. But long before the beginning of Popery they spoke of Bishops in this manner, as of Spiritual Lords. Not to repeat what was cited above out of the xxth Chapter of the 11th Book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the Title of which is this, ὅπως χερὶ τὰς ἀρχομύνας παθαρχῆν τοῖς ἀρχαῖσι ἐπισκόποις, *How the Subjects [of the Church] ought to obey their Governours the Bishops*: In that Chapter we read thus: *Let the Layman honour, Love, and fear a good Shepherd, as his Lord, and Despot, and the High-Priest of his God, and his Preceptor in Religion. For he that hears him, hears Christ; and he that doth not obey him doth not obey Christ, and he that doth not receive Christ, doth not receive his Father, as it is written, He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* The first of those Titles Κύριος is a Title of great Dignity, both in its secular, and sacred Signification. In its secular Signification, it is used to denote the Emperor; and in its sacred Signification, it is given to God, and to Christ, whose Legates, and Vicererents the Bishops are, and to the Holy Ghost whose Dispensers they are. In like manner Δεσπότης is a Title of God, and the Emperor, and his Regal Relations, and the great Princes, and Magistrates under the Emperor in the Greek Writers; and upon the Principles I have laid down, they were given to the Bishops upon the Score of their great spiritual Dignity, and Pre-eminence in the Kingdom of God, and Christ, who is King of Kings, and

and Lord of Lords. Thus ⁿ Arius begins his Letter to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia: Arius unjustly persecuted by Alexander my Bishop, to my most desired Lord Eusebius.

The same Eusebius, writing to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, begins thus: ° Eusebius sendeth Greeting in Christ τῷ δεσπότῃ μῶ to my Lord, or Despot Paulinus, This shews what the Custom was before the Council of Nice. Not long after which, the Bishops who came out of Egypt with ^p Athanasius, inscribed a Letter to the Bishops assembled at Tyre, To our most honoured Lords. The ¹ Synod of Jerusalem in their Letter to the Clergy of Egypt, and Lybia, tell them, They could never be thankful enough to God, who had restor'd unto them their Pastor, and Lord Athanasius. So Valens, and Ursacius, writing to Julius Bishop of Rome, in their own Vindication, thus address to him, To the most blessed Lord Pope Julius. Where I must observe to you, that Papa was then a Title common to all Bishops. Gregory Nazianzen, in a Letter to Gregory Nyssen, hath these Words, Let no Man speak untruth of me, nor of my Lords the Bishops. And St. Chrysostom superscribes his Letter to Pope Innocent τῷ δεσπότῃ μῶ Ἰννοκέντιῳ, to my Lord, or Despot Innocent, Peace in the Lord. Palladii dial. p. 10. In the same Epistle mentioning several Bishops, he calls them τῶν κυρίων μῶ τιμολίτας, my most honourable Lords. And a Letter of ^r George, Bishop of Laodicea, hath this Superscription, To my most honoured Lords, Macedonius, Basilus, Cecropius, Eugenius, George sendeth Greeting in the Lord. The Bishops of the second General Council, To the most honourable Lords Damasus, Ambrose, &c. In a ^r Synodical Epistle sent

ⁿ Theodor. Eccles. Hist. Lib. I. C. iv.

° Ibid. Cap. vi.

^p In Apol. 2.

^q Sozom. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. C. xxii.

^r Sozom. Hist. Eccles. Lib. IV. C. xiii.

^r Theodorit Histor. Eccl. Lib. IV. Cap. ix.

by the Bishops, who met in a Council in *Illyricum*, to the Bishops of *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Cataphrygia*, and *Pactiana*, they stile *Elpidius* Bishop of *Illyricum*, by whom they sent the Letter, τ κύριον ἡμῶν κ' (συλ-
λέτμενον ἐλπίδιον, *Elpidius our Lord and Fellow-Minister*. So they also stile *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*; and the same *Eustathius*, *Silvanus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, and *Theophilus* Bishop of *Castabala*, in the Inscription of their Letter to Pope *Liberius* write thus: *Eustathius, &c.* send Greeting in the Lord, to our Lord, and Brother, and *Fellow-Minister Liberius*. So St. *Ambrose* holding a Synod with other Bishops, wrote a Synodical Epistle to *Syricius* Bishop of *Rome*, which *Aper* a Presbyter, subscribed for his Bishop in these Words, *At the Commandment of my Lord Bishop Geminianus*. In the 3^d Tome of *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Edit. 4. may be seen abundance of Letters inscribed to Bishops with the Title of *Lord*, which were written towards the end of the Fifth Century; which they who have not those Volumes, may see collected, *Lib. xvi. Cap. i.* of Dr. *John Forbe's Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*. *Clodoveus*, King of *France*, so inscribed his Letter to the Bishops met in Council at *Orange*, *Dominis Sanctis, &c.* to my holy Lords the Bishops, and in the end of his Letter (saith he) *Orate pro me domini sancti, &c.* Pray for me, my holy Lords. They were his Lords in Spirituals, as he was theirs in Temporals; his Superiors under God the Son, as he was theirs under God the Father. Lastly, this was the usual Style of Priests, when they subscribed Councils for their Bishops. Thus were Bishops styled * Lords, and Despots upon the Account of their great Dignity, Power, and Pre-eminence to which they were advanced by our Lord in his Kingdom; and therefore, *Sir*, my way of

* Sozom. Lib. VI. Cap. xl.

u Dr. Downam's Defence, B. III. Cap. vi. Pag. 148, 149.

* See more Instances, *Habert. Pontif. Græc. p. 539.*

speaking

speaking of them in my Propositions, was not new, or insolent; and it will never be well with Christianity, till Men think of Bishops, as I have written of them, till they reverence them more for their spiritual, than any temporal Dignity, and be as afraid to assail their Thrones, as the Thrones of Kings. Sir, I protest to you, as a Divine, I know nothing that can be objected against my lofty way, (for so you call it) of speaking of Bishops, as Princes; but the xxxixth Canon in the Book of the Canons of the *African* Church, which forbids the Metropolitan, or Primat of any Province to be called Prince of the Bishops, or supreme Bishop. The Words are these, *Ut prima sedis Episcopus non appelletur Princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquod hujusmodi, sed tantum prima sedis Episcopus, i. e.* That the Bishop of the prime See be not called Prince of the Bishops, or supreme Bishop, or by any such Name, but only Bishop of the prime See. But this Canon hath no relation to Bishops, either severally considered, as spiritual Chiefs, or Princes in their proper districts over the Clergy, and Laity; or as collegiat Princes over the whole Church of God, but only to Metropolitans, Primats, or Patriarchs; and particularly, to the Metropolitans, or Primats of *Rome*, who began betimes to behave themselves like *Episcopi Episcoporum*, contrary to the collegiat Equality of Bishops; and therefore to prevent that, this Fast and Arrogance which began to appear in the oriental, and occidental Churches, should not come among the *African* Primates, they would not have them called *Princes of the Bishops*, lest they should think themselves as much superior to their Fellows, and Colleagues in the Episcopal Office, as

^w *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ab obsequendi necessitatem Collegas suos adigit.*
 Conc. Carth. de bapt. Hæret. apud Cyprianum.

Bishops were to Presbyters, or the first to the second Order of Priests. For this reason they would have them only called *Primats*, or *Bishops of the prime See*: Though as Superiors to Presbyters, Bishops were called *Principes sacerdotum*, and *Summi sacerdotes*, according to that of *Tertullian de Baptismo, dandi quidem baptismi jus habet supremus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus*, and that of *Facundus Hermianensis, Quid commemorem Laicos — Quid ministros plurimos? Quid Diaconos in tertio? Quid Presbyteros in secundo Sacerdotio constitutos? Ipsi apices, & Principes omnium Episcopi*. Bishops therefore are Princes of the Clergy, and Laity, Princes of the Church in its several Districts, as a spiritual Society, though Primats, and Metropolitans, and Patriarchs are not Princes of the Bishops, who are of the * same Order with them, and their Brethren, and Colleagues.

CHAP. II.

1. **Y**OUR next Objection against my Propositions is for containing a Doctrine so like that of the Presbyterians concerning *Church-Power*, and *Independency*, by which they have endeavour'd to enslave the State to the Church.

To which I answer, that there are few Sects that do not retain some Truths, one of which is the *Distinction of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power*, and the *Independency of the Church on the State*, and as far

* Hieronymus in Epist. ad Evagrium, *Ubique fuerit Episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandria, sive Tanis ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est & Sacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem, vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum successores sunt.* See also *Balsamon*, and *Zonaras* on Canon xlii. Concil. Carth.

as the Presbyterians have abused, and misapply'd this Doctrine to the Wrong, or Disturbance of the secular Potentates, and invading their Rights, so far it is to be condemn'd, and abhorr'd by every good Christian in the Presbytery, as well as in the Pope. But then that abuse of the Doctrine which is Catholick and Primitive, is purely the Fault of the Men. But as I have taught and explain'd it in my Letter, it can never hurt the State, or secular Sovereigns, and those put in Authority under them, otherwise than by their own Fault, when they bring the Judgments of God upon themselves, and the People for acting contrary to it, and their Duty to Christ, and his Church. According to my Propositions the Church hath no Sword, but the spiritual one of Excommunication, nor any Arms to defend it self against the Oppression of the State, but spiritual Censures, Prayers, and Tears. Its Rights, as a Society founded by Christ Jesus, are no otherwise to be maintain'd, than its Faith, and Worship, by Patience, and Suffering, commonly call'd *Passive Obedience*; and so far am I from enslaving the Laity to the Clergy, or the Church to the State, that in my Propositions I make them subordinate, and subject to one another; the Church to the State in all temporal Matters, and the State to the Church in purely spiritual Matters: And in this divine Harmony doth the Peace of the Church, and a Christian State consist. My Doctrine condemns the Church's going beyond its Bounds, and invading the Rights of Princes in *Ordine ad Spiritualia*, as much as the States transgressing its Bounds, and violating the Rights of the Church in *Ordine ad Temporalia*; but more especially if Church-Magistrates go beyond their Bounds in disturbing the Peace, Order, Frame, or Government of the State, I would have them undergo more severe, and exemplary Punishments than other Men.

Thus,

Thus, Sir, you see the Doctrine of *Church-Power*, and *Independency* is to be distinguished from the Abuse of it ; and the Abuse of it, whether by Presbyterians, or the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, is no Reflection upon the pure, and innocent Doctrine, but upon them, who make so ill use of it, contrary to the Intention of our blessed Lord, and the Ends for which he gave it to the Church. Wherefore I say of this Doctrine, as *St. Paul* said of the Law, it is *spiritual, holy, just, and good* ; tho' like the Law, it hath been much abused with Mixtures, as other Doctrines have been. But in my Propositions, you know, it is delivered in its primitive original Purity, without Presbyterian, or Popish Mixtures, and secured as much as it can be in Writing, from being perverted, and abused. If you would see how much it is corrupted with Presbyterian Mixtures, you need but consult the sixth Book of *Spotswood's Church-History*, from pag. 289 to pag. 302. But nevertheless there are many Truths asserted there concerning the Church, and Church-Government, to which I give my full Assent. They are such as these. *The Church, as it is taken for them who exercise the spiritual Function (i. e. for the Church-Governours) hath a certain Power granted by God, according to which, it useth a proper Jurisdiction, or Government. This Power Ecclesiastical, is an Authority granted by God the Father, thro' the Mediation of Jesus Christ. ——— to be put in Execution by them, unto whom the spiritual Government of the Church, by lawful Calling, is committed.*

This Power, and Polity is different, and distinct in its own Nature, from that Power, and Polity which is call'd the Civil Power. For this Power Ecclesiastical floweth immediately from the Mediator Jesus Christ, and is spiritual, not having a temporal Head in the Earth, but only Christ, the only spiritual King, and Governour of the (Universal) Church.

As

As the Ministers, and others of the Ecclesiastical State are subject to the Magistrate civilly, so ought the Person of the Magistrate to be subject to the Church spiritually.

The Civil Power is called the Power of the Sword, and the other Power the Power of the Keys.

The Civil Magistrate getteth Obedience by the Sword, and external Means; but the Minister by the spiritual Sword, and spiritual Means. As Ministers are subject to the Judgment, and Punishment of Magistrates in external things, if they offend, so ought the Magistrates to submit themselves to the Discipline of the Church, if they transgress in matters of Conscience, and Religion.

It pertains to the Office of a Christian Magistrate to fortifie, and assist the godly Proceedings of the Church; to assist and maintain the Discipline of it, without confounding the one Jurisdiction with the other; or usurping any thing that belongs not to the Civil Sword, but belongs to the Offices merely Ecclesiastical, as the Ministry of the Word, and Sacraments, using Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Execution thereof, or any part of the spiritual Keys which the Lord Jesus gave to the Apostles, and their true Successors.

*So in the Westminster-Confession, Chap. xxv. §. 3. Christ hath given to the Catholick visible Church the Ministry, as well as the Oracles, and Ordinances of God. So Chap. xxx. §. 1. The Lord Jesus, as King, and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a Government in the Hand of Church-Officers, distinct from the Civil Magistrate. §. 2. To these Officers the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven are committed, &c. Not to transcribe many other Passages out of that Confession, and two or three Presbyterian Books more, viz. *jus divinum regiminis Ecclesiastici* & *jus divinum ministerii Evangelici*; *jus divinum ministerii**

ministerii Anglicani, which assert *Church-Power* to be seated in *Christ the Head of the Church*, and from him committed to the *Apostles*, and from them to *Church-Officers*, and that they alone who received it from the *Apostles* (which I have shew'd were *Bishops* superior to, and distinct from *Presbyters*) can derive, and transmit it to others; and that this transmission, and derivation of *Church-Power* by continued lineal Succession, as well as the Power it self, was founded on positive divine Institution. For the Proof of all which, they cite such Texts of Scripture, as I made use of in the former Letter you gave me leave to write to you:

II. This Distinction of the Power, and Polity of the Church from that of the State by divine Institution, which the Presbyterian Writers insist so much upon, is indeed not only like to what I laid down in my former Letter to you, but the very same, and the Doctrine is never the worse, no more than other sound Doctrines, for being taught in the *Kirk*; though as they have misapplied, and abused it, it is to be abhorred, and detested by all good Christians, as contrary to the Holy Gospels, and the Doctrine, and Practice of the Holy Catholick Church, and utterly inconsistent with the Civil Order, and Peace of Kingdoms, and sovereign States. The Peace, and Quiet of a Nation, where there is such a Church, or Churches, is not to be preserved without a standing Army; but the Distinction between the two Powers, Jurisdictions, and Governments, which I have taught, as it was ordained by the Wisdom from above; so is it pure, peaceable, and gentle, without Hypocrisy, and full of the Fruits of Righteousness, and good Works. It is a Distinction not of Man, neither by Man, but by *Jesus Christ*, and *God the Father*, who raised him from the Dead. It is a real Distinction, and Difference, not invented by

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Priests,

Priests, but ordained by Jesus Christ, to distinguish his Kingdom from the Kingdoms of the World, and the things which belong to *God*, from those which belong to *Cæsar*, or betwixt the things which belong to the Empire, and those that belong to the Church. A real Distinction, I say it is, by all the Rules of *Logick*, which teacheth us, *that different Subjects, and the Accidents of different Subjects are really different from one another; and that those things are really distinct, of which one can exist without the other.* Thus the Church subsisted without the State for 300 Years together. There was then nothing more visible, than the Distinction, or rather Opposition between it, and the *Empire*, or between the Kingdom of Christ, and that of *Cæsar*. The two Societies, and Governments, were all that time as distinguishable, as Light from Darkness to every vulgar Eye, while the Apostles, and their Successors preached against the Jewish, and Gentile Religions, planted, and formed Christian Societies, or Churches in the greatest Cities of the World, and thereby turned it upside down, *doing all things contrary to the Decrees of Cæsar, and the Laws of the Empire, and vouching all they did by the Authority of another King, one Jesus, who was dead, but whom they affirmed to be alive.* Sir, *He that liveth, and was dead, but is alive for evermore,* is the Founder of the Church. *He who hath the Keys of Hell, and Death,* gave the Power of the Keys to Commission Ministers of his own, to govern his Kingdom unto the end of the World, to admit in, and to exclude out of it, to bind, and to loose, to chastise, and correct with spiritual Censures, to humble, and exalt, to suspend, deprive, degrade, and restore, and finally to cut off the incorrigible with the *spiritual Sword*. If this be *Presbyterian*, or *Popish* Doctrine, I own my self to be so unhappy, as to believe both, and bound in Conscience to maintain

tain them in behalf of the Church against the World. Here, Sir, my Conscience saith unto me, as St. Ignatius said to Polycarp, *σῆθι ἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἀκμῶν τυπτόμενος*, stands steady, and fast like a beaten Anvil. Indeed, Sir, the Institutions of Christ, without making Comparison between them, are dear and sacred to me, as well as his Revelations, and I have no more Power to do any thing against the Doctrines, which I think relate to the Being, and Government, or Discipline of the Church, as a *Society*, than against those, which relate unto it, as a *Seet*.

If you had pleased, you might have objected as well against my Propositions about the *Distinction of the Church from the State*, for containing a Doctrine so like that of the Independents. For there is not a little of that Doctrine in *P. Nye's* posthumous Book, entitled, *Of the Oath of Supremacy, and Power of the King in Ecclesiastical Affairs*, printed at London 1683. In that Book you'll find the Author, in the Words of other Writers asserting, *That Government, and Discipline, (as well as Doctrine) is intrinsic to, and inseparable from the Essence of a Church, and not the Grant, and Constitution of any secular Prince, and State; that the Church is endued with a Judicature immediately derived from Christ, and independent upon any earthly Power, or any Power whatsoever upon Earth, whether Spiritual, (i. e. Papal) or Temporal; that the things comprised in the Church, and by God himself commanded to the Church, as the Word, Sacraments, and use of the Keys, or Ecclesiastical Power, and Cure of Souls (of which, let me add, the Episcopal certainly is the greatest) are subject to no mortal Creature, Pope, or Prince; that the Church hath the Keys from Christ equally independent upon any mortal Man, in Discipline, as in Doctrine; that all grant there is Government Jure Divino, and by the Appointment of Jesus Christ; that it is deny'd by*

none but *Eraſtus*, and his Followers, who may as well deny *Praying, Preaching, or Sacraments* to be *Jure Divino*; that it is as expreſſy ordained, that *Discipline* be exerciſed in the Name of *Chriſt*, as to preach, pray, or baptize in his Name; that there are certain things of *God* [among which, give me leave to reckon the *Episcopal Cure, and Jurisdiction*, as well as you reckon the *Order*] that are not things of *Cæſar*. And p. 24. he obſerves, That Churches were planted, eſtabliſhed, and kept up where there was no *Aſſiſtance* from the *Princes of the Earth*, but *Oppoſition*; that is, as I have ſhew'd in my firſt Letter, againſt the *Laws, and Conſent of ſecular Powers*. In p. 23. he ſhews the difference between *Church-Power*, and *Government*, and the *Temporal*, and of that he ſaith, That it is *Spiritual*, and hath all *Particulars* for *Subſtance*, both in reſpect of *Persons, and Administrations*, for *Matter, and Manner* appointed by *Jeſus Chriſt*, and in all *Nations*, is to be the ſame. And p. 22. That *Church-Power*, architectonically conſider'd, is the *Jurisdiction, and Authority of Chriſt*, and ſeated in him as *Head of the Church*, and in the Church it is *ſynovia*, and ſeated in her only miniſterially, becauſe the Church acts all in the Name, and by the *Authority of Chriſt*. P. 18. he ſaith, That *Chriſt* is appointed by his Father to be *King, and Law-giver of the Churches*, who hath left *Rules, and Laws* for managing the *Affairs of thoſe ſpiritual Corporations*. But then he differs from the *Presbyterians* in this, that he endeavours to reconcile the *Power, and Authority ſpiritual* with the *King's Supremacy*, ſhewing the true *Scope, and Senſe* of the *Oath of Supremacy*, as it hath been alter'd, and ^v in-

^v See Mr. *Thorndyke's* *Forbearance of Chriſtian Penalties*. Dr. *Simon Lowth* of the Subject of *Church-Power*, Chap. vi. The Diſcourſe concerning the *Illegality of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*. London, MDCLXXXIX. p. 13, 14.

terpreted by our Kings, not to be contrary to the Power, and Jurisdiction of the Church. He cites the Letter of K. *Hen. VIII.* to the Clergy of the Province of *York* in 1533, who were offended at his Title of being Head of the Church; and Secretary *Walsingham's* Letter to Monsieur *Critoy*, in which he tells him how the Oath of Supremacy was alter'd into a more grateful Form, the hardness of the Name, and appellation of Supreme Head being remov'd. He cites the Sense, and Interpretation, by which Queen *Elizabeth* explain'd it in the Form it now stands, in the Admonition annex'd to the Injunctions; the Confirmation of that Sense by way of *Proviso* in Stat. 5 *Eliz.* 1; the xxxviith Article in the Articles of Religion concluded in the Year 1562; K. *James* the First's Explication of it, in his *Apol.* 76. 1604; Bp *Bilson's*, Dr. *Morton's*, and Mr. *Mason's* Sense of it; and lastly, he also cites the Preface to Statute 24 *Hen. VIII.* cap. xii. wherein the temporal, and spiritual Bodies of this Realm, and their respective Authorities, and Jurisdictions are distinguished, and the King's Supremacy, as Head over both united into one Body Politick, is declared in such manner as is no ways prejudicial to the Church, as a spiritual Society immediately instituted by Christ, and committed to the Administration, and Government of the Apostles, and their Successors, independently on the Secular Powers. But to return to the *Presbyterians*: I could pick up more Gold out of the Dross, and Rubbish with which this unhappy Sect have debased, and depraved the pure Doctrine of Church-Power, and the Distinction of the Independency of the Church from the State. They have rejected the supreme Order, and Authority to which Christ hath committed the Administration of his Kingdom, and declared it to be an Antichristian Usurpation, and contrary to the Word of God.

They have most sacrilegiously taken the Administration to themselves, even the whole Power of the Keys, which Christ gave to his Apostles, and their Successors the Bishops, together with the Power of Ordination, and by consequence have alter'd the Polity of his Kingdom, and subverted the Constitution of the Catholick Church. They have also extended ² their pretended Ecclesiastical Powers from Matters of Faith, and pure spiritual Discipline, to secular Business, and Matters of temporal Government, to the great Prejudice of the Royal Authority, as to abrogate Acts of Parliament, and discharge People from Obedience to them, making Church-Power to signifie any thing *in Ordine ad Ecclesiastica*, and *Spiritualia*, by extending it to whatsoever they think conducive to God's Glory, the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom, or the Good of the Church. Farthermore, these Usurpers of the spiritual Power, add the temporal to the spiritual Sword, and contrary to the Doctrines of the Gospel, fight against the temporal Sovereign, for King Jesus, as often as they think it needful to defend his Sceptre, and the Rights of his Kingdom, of which they are the greatest Invaders, having rebell'd against their lawful Bishops, and oppos'd as much as they can, the whole Order; and for want of Succession, and Ordination, having none but groundless, and impudent Pretensions to the Ministry, and by Consequence no Right to administer spiritual Authority, or take upon them the Government of the Church.

III. All this, *Sir*, you know as well as I; I have heard you often speak of them upon Principle, as the Scandal, and Reproach of the reformed Name,

² The King's large Declaration, printed at London MDCXXXIX. from Page 402 to the end.

and declare that they were no Church ; which made me a little wonder, that you should think the Primitive Doctrine in my *Propositions* concerning the Power, and Independency of the Church, like that of theirs, who indeed have endeavour'd to enslave the State to the Church. To conclude, *Sir*, in all my Letter there is nothing contrary to the regal Supremacy, as it hath been qualified, and explained by our Kings, and Queens, nor to any other part of the Law. And that you may not censure what I have written, or rather collected as such, pray read Bp. *Sanderfon's* Opinion of Episcopacy, delivered in these Words : *My Opinion is that Episcopal Government is not to be derived merely from Apostolical Practice, or Institution ; but that it is originally founded in the Person, and Office of the Messiah, our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who being sent by his Father to be the great Apostle (Heb. iii. 1.) Bishop, and Pastor (1 Pet. ii. 25.) of his Church, and anointed to that Office immediately after his Baptism by John, with Power, and the Holy Ghost (Acts x. 37, 38.) descending then upon him in a bodily Shape (Luke iii. 22.) did afterwards, before his Ascension into Heaven, send, and empower his Apostles (giving them the Holy Ghost likewise, as his Father had given him) in like manner, as his Father had before sent him (John xx. 21.) to execute the same Apostolical, Episcopal, Pastoral Office, for the ordering, and governing of his Church until his coming again ; and so the same Office to continue in them, and their Successors unto the end of the World (Matth. xxviii. 18, 20.) This I take to be so clear from these, and other like Texts of Scripture, that if they shall be diligently compared together, both between themselves, and the following Practice of all the Churches of Christ, as well in the Apostles time, as in the Purit, and Primitive Times nearest thereto, there will*

be left little Cause, why any Man should doubt thereof. Nothing that I have said affects the Regal Supremacy more than this Opinion of that great Casuist, and the Consequences of it, which you can infer, as well as I. I could produce more Passages of the same tendency out of his Book, entituled, *Episcopacy not prejudicial to Regal Power*, which you may see in the sixth Chapter of the learned ^a Dr. Lowth's excellent Book Of *the Subject of Church-Power*, a Book, you may remember, which upon my Recommendation, you promised me to read. In the same Chapter you'll also find some Places of the same Nature taken out of Bp. *Bilson's True Difference betwixt Christian Subjection, and Unchristian Rebellion*, which was allowed by publick Authority, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, a Princess jealous enough of her Prerogative, and Supremacy. I refer you to them, and when you have read them, you'll find your self obliged to censure those great Men, *Bilson*, and *Sanderson*, who were approved for what they wrote, or to acquit me. I could also produce abundance of Places to the same purpose out of the Former's excellent Book, entituled, *The perpetual Government of Christ's Church*, printed in English at London 1593. Indeed, Sir, it is difficult to write as one should, of the Constitution, and Rights of the Catholick Church, and of the Episcopal Order, and Office, without writing what may in some kind, or degree seem to thwart the Laws, and Government of some or other Kingdoms, or sovereign States, which have taken the Liberty to make Laws, contrary to the consentient Doctrine and Practice of the ancient Catholick Church. The whole Title of the Book which Bp. *Bilson*, then Warden of *Winchester* College, wrote of the perpetual governing of Christ's Church, as

^a Printed at London by Ben. Tooke 1685.

well as the Book it self, was opposite, and cross to many new modelled Churches then set up by the Civil Power in divers Places, tho' praised be God, it was not so much as thought contrary to the Regal Power, and Supremacy established by the Laws of this Realm. I will take the pains to transcribe part of ^b two, or three Pages out of the xiiith Chapter of it, which if I had written now, I am afraid you would have thought in the Consequences of it to have looked obliquely upon the Regal Supremacy, and Civil Power. ^c *Cyprian* (saith he) *bath written an whole Book to prove that the Unity of each Church resteth in the Singularity of the Pastor, whither I remit him that is desirous to read more at large; as also to his first Book, and third Epistle, intreating of the same matter, and written to Cornelius, the Effect of all is contained in these Words: Who is so wicked, and perfidious, who so mad with the Fury of Discord, that believeth the Unity of God, the Lord's Vesture, the Church of Christ may be torn in pieces, or dare tear it? Himself in his Gospel warneth, and teacheth us, saying, There shall be one Flock, and one Shepherd, and doth any Man think there may be in one Place either many Shepherds, or many Flocks. In the foresaid Epistle he saith, ^d Heresies have sprung up and Schisms risen from none other Fountain but this, that God's Priest is not obey'd, nor one Priest in the Church acknowledged for the time to be Judge in Christ's stead, to whom, if all the Brethren would be subject, according to the divine Directions, no Man would after the divine Judgment, after the Suffrages of the People, after the Consent of other Bishops, make himself Judge now, not of the Bishops, but of God.*

^b P. 245, 246, 247, 248.

^c *De unitate Ecclesie, vel de singularitate pralatorum.*

^d *Idem. Lib. I. Epist. 3.*

——— *And therefore is the Conclusion general, both with Councils, and Fathers, that there could be but one Bishop in one City, where the Presbyters were many. Cornelius, Bishop, and Martyr, long before the Council of Nice reporting to Fabius Bishop of Antioch the original of Novatian's Schism, saith: This jolly Inquisitor of the Gospel understandeth not that there ought to be but one Bishop in that Catholick Church, in which he knoweth there are 46 Presbyters. The great Nicene Council took special Care that there should not be two Bishops in one City. Chrysostom, when Paul writeth to the Bishops, and Deacons of Philippi, asketh this Question: What meaneth this? were there many Bishops of one City? and answereth by no means, but by this Title he designeth the Presbyters, for then the Name was common. ——— Theodoret in 1 Cap. ad Phil. In no Case many Bishops could not be Pastors of one City. ——— Oecumenius, he calleth Presbyters Bishops, for as yet these Words were common to both. Optatus contra Parmenianum, Lib. 2. He is a Schismatick, and Sinner, that against one Episcopal Chair erecteth another. Hierom in 1 Cap. ad Philip. Bishops we here understand to be Presbyters, for in one City there could not be many Bishops. ——— This is a certain Rule to distinguish Bishops from Presbyters; the Presbyters were many in every Church, of whom the Presbytery consisted. Bishops were always singular, that is, ^e one in a City, and no more, except another intruded (which the Church of Christ counted a Schism, and would never communicate with any such) or else an Helper was given in extreme, and feeble*

^e It is a Fundamental Rule of the Church, necessary for preserving Peace, and Unity therein, that but one Bishop should be in one Church. Dr. Isaac Barrow in a Discourse of the Unity of the Church, p. 38.

Age, in which case the Power of the latter ceased in the Presence of the former. And this singularity of one Pastor in each Place, descended from the Apostles, and their Scholars in all Churches of the World, by a perpetual Chain of Succession, and doth to this Day continue, but where Abomination, or Desolation, I mean Heresie, or Violence interrupt it. Of this there is so perfect Record in all the Histories, and Fathers of the Church, that I much muse with what Face Men that have any taste of Learning, can deny the Vocation of Bishops came from the Apostles. For if their Succession be Apostolick, their Function cannot chuse but be likewise Apostolick; and that they succeed the Apostles, and Evangelists in their Churches, and Chairs, may inevitably be proved, if any Christian Persons, or Churches, deserve to be credited.

The second assured Sign of Episcopal Power is Imposition of Hands to ordain Presbyters, and Bishops. For as Pastors were to have some to assist them in their Charge, which were Presbyters; so were they to have some to succeed them in their Places, which were Bishops. And this Right by imposing Hands to ordain Presbyters, and Bishops in the Church of Christ, was at first derived from the Apostles to the Bishops, and not to Presbyters; and hath for these fifteen hundred Years without Example, or Instance to the contraey, till this our Age, remained in Bishops, and not in Presbyters.

IV. Sir, these Catholick Doctrines relating to the divine Original of the Episcopal Office, and the single, or monarchical Government of every Church, or spiritual District in the Kingdom of Christ, have been often abused to the Hurt of the State, as well as the Doctrine relating in my Propositions to the Power of the Keys, which you say is so like that of the Presbyterians, by which they have indeed endeavoured to enslave the State to the Kirk. But
though

though all these Doctrines have been too often abused by proud, and turbulent Prelates, especially by the Bishop of *Rome*, yet they are true, and Catholick Doctrines, and ought to be so received in all the Parts of the Christian World. We have had our *Anselms*, and *Beckets*, and in many other Kingdoms, the Miters have sometimes most insolently, and unrighteously jostled with the Crown, and the *spiritual Lords* over the Flocks of Christ, have sometimes been most undutiful to their *temporal Lord*. But notwithstanding you know, *Sir*, there is nothing more unreasonable, than to argue against the Truth, or Right, or Use of a thing from the abuse of it, especially against Power, and Authority, whether spiritual or temporal, which through the Corruption, and Infirmities of humane Nature is most easily abused. If Men will be always jealous of Power, and arguing continually against it, because it may be abused, there can be no entire Peace in any Societies, not in Families, Senates, Republicks, and Kingdoms, as well as in Churches, whose Governours our Lord supposed might, and sometimes would abuse their Power, as well as the Governours of the World. It were easie to shew how these have abused their Power in all Forms of civil Government, and particularly in the Oppressions, and Persecutions, and Vexations of the Churches in their Dominions, though their Power was of God, and they the Ministers of God; and if you should make a Scheme of civil Government in Propositions after the same manner, as I have done of the Ecclesiastical, I might with as much Reason say after your Example, that *the Doctrine of your Propositions, though never so true, looked something like that of Erastus, or perhaps of the Super-Erastians, Hobbes, Selden, and other such Writers, who have endeavour'd to destroy the Being, and Constitution of the Church,*

as a Society, by Arguments not at all known to the *Jewish* Church, nor to the *Christian*, till these latter Ages, in which Scepticism, and Unbelief by the just Judgment of God, have encreased from small beginnings, to as full and perfect a Stature, as the envious Powers of Hell can wish.

Wherefore, *Sir*, we must neither argue against Church, or State, from the Abuses of their respective Powers. For God, who ordained them, hath set Bounds between them, and if either of the two go beyond those Bounds, it is not the Fault of the Powers, but of *the Potentates*, who may easily live in perfect Amity, and Peace together by mutual Agreement with, and Subjection to one another, as not to instance in foreign Kingdoms, and Empires; our Christian Ancestors of the English-Saxon Church, and State did for many hundred Years, when they made their respective Laws, and ministred their respective Justice together in such perfect Concord, that I may challenge you to shew me any one Saxon Law, that is against any one Canon of the Church. It was *William* the Conqueror, who first invaded the Rights, and Liberties of the English People, that first broke in upon the Rights, and Liberties of the English Church. ^f He would not suffer the *Primate* in a general Council of the Kingdom to enact any Canon, which he did not first approve. He would not suffer any Bishop to censure any of his Ministers, or Courtiers, or inflict any rigorous Ecclesiastical Penances upon them, though they were guilty of Adultery, or Incest. And what is very remarkable, though he pretended to be a true, and zealous Son of the Church of *Rome*, which then was esteemed the Catholick Church, yet he would let none in his Dominions

^f Eadmeri *Historia rerum novarum*, Lib. I. P. 6. Edit. Lond. 1623.
acknowledge

acknowledge any, who was constituted Bishop of Rome, for Pope, without his Order, or admit any of his Letters as such, unless they were first shewn to him. Thus saith the Historian, *All divine, as well as human Affairs, were governed by his Beck.* So easy a thing is it, Sir, to abuse Power. That bright Archangel, and heavenly Potentate *Lucifer*, who kept not his first Station, transgressed the *Rubicon* of his Power, and thereby became a Devil, and therefore we need not wonder that among the Angels of the Church, some of Luciferian Tempers, have done the like, and thereby became Tyrants in the Church, and Rebels to God, and their Kings. But still, I say, the Abuse of the Ecclesiastical Power must not always make us jealous of it, or those who defend it, as the Ordinance of God, especially in such Dregs of time as these, when to the great Decay of Christian Piety, it is become precarious, and oppressed to such a degree in so many Protestant Countries, that it is almost brought to its last gasp. As you love the Church, and believe its Government by Bishops to be of divine Institution: So methinks you should be for giving them all the Powers, that belong to their spiritual Office. You own their Authority by which they preach, and administer the Holy Sacraments, and ordain Presbyters, and Bishops to be originally, and immediately given by Christ to the Apostles, and that it was conveyed by them to their Successors, and so to be transmitted from Successors to Successors unto the end of the World. Why then are you so shy in owning their *rectoral* Power? since the same blessed Saviour, who bid the Apostles teach, and baptize all Nations, and do this in remembrance of me, said also to them, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, &c. And whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosoever Sins ye retain, they are retained.*

ained. And as they exercised the Power of preaching, and administering the Sacraments, and ordaining by the one Commission : So by the other they exercised spiritual Jurisdiction, and equally gave both Powers to their Successors, and their Pretensions to the one Power was never called in Question, more than to the other in former times, no not when it was most abused. You are willing in the full Latitude of their Delegation to hear them, as Teachers in chief under Christ, as he is a Prophet, and to acknowledge them, as Chief Priests under him, who is High Priest of his Church. But you are loath, in virtue of their Delegation, to own, and obey them in the Vicegerency of his regal Office, and to be subject to them, as your spiritual Lords. You admit them as Shepherds under him the chief Shepherd of our Souls, to feed, but not to govern his Flock ; but according to the Scriptures, and Catholick Tradition, which is the best Expositor of them, you must take them for Pastors in both Senses ; for they have Authority for the one, as well as the other from Christ, and therefore without chusing you ought to own, or reject both. But, *Sir*, why should you make a Doubt, or Difficulty of their Authority, as Masters under our Lord in his House, Vicegerents under him in his Kingdom, Governours under him in his Cities, or if you please, as Senators of his own Appointment to govern his Commonwealth. They were acknowledged, and obeyed, as such, without Scruple, by Christians of all Ranks, as well after, as before the Empire turned Christian, when Emperors, as well as their Subjects submitted themselves to them, as their spiritual Superiors, Emperors, who knew very well what they did, and who had too much Courage to fear any thing but God ; and too much Wisdom to be imposed upon by the *Craft* of Priests.

I hope

I hope I have shewed this fully in my Answer to your Letter ; and when you have well considered what I have written, I desire you to send your second Thoughts, and Reflections upon it to

Your most Faithful,

and Humble Servant.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

(N. I.)

The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, according to the Form of The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, set forth by Act of Parliament Anno 2 & 3 Edwardi VI. to be used throughout England, and in Wales, at Calice, and the Marches of the same, and printed at London by Edward Whitchurch. 1549.

Anno 2 & 3 Edwardi VI. Cap. 1.

— And thereupon having as Well Eye, and Respect to the most sincere, and pure Christian Religion taught by the Scripture, as to the Usages
a in

in the Primitive Church, should draw, and make one convenient, and meet Order, Rite, and Fashion of Common, and Open Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments to be had, and used in --- the which at this time by the Aid of the Holy Ghost with one uniform Agreement, is of them concluded, set forth, and delivered to his Highness, to his great Comfort, and Quietness of Mind, in a Book intituled The Book of Common Prayer, &c.

The Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse.

So many as intende to bee partakers of the holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate, over night: or els in the morning, afore the beginning of Matins, or immediatly after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious euil liuer, so that the congregation by hym is offended, or haue doen any wrong to his neighbours, by worde, or dede: The Curate shall call hym, and aduertise hym, in any wise not to

* *De antiquitate hujus nominis consulendus est, Card. Bona rerum Liturg. Lib. I. Cap. iii. Ubi constat, Ambrosium, Augustinum, aliosque Ecclesia Latina Scriptores eo nomine tanquam consueto, & dudum fidelibus cognito usos fuisse.*

b presume

presume to the Lordes Table, untill he have openly declared hymselfe, to haue truly repented, and amended his former naughtie life: that the congregation maye thereby be satisfied, which afoze were offended: and that he have recompensed the parties whom he hath doen wrong unto, or at the least bee in full purpose so to doe, as sone as he conveniently maye.

¶ The same ordze shal the Curate vse, with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice, and hatred to reighe, not suffering them to bee partakers of the Lordes table, untill he knowe them to bee reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variaunce, be content to forgeue from the botome of his hearte, all that the other hath trespassed against hym, and to make amendes, for that he hymselfe hath offended: and the other partie will not bee perswaded to a godly vnitie, but remayne still in his frowardness and malice: The Minister in that case, ought to admit the penitent persone to the holy Communion, and not hym that is obstinate.

¶ Upon the daye, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put vpon hym the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a Vestement or Cope. And where there be many Priests, or Deacons, there so many shal be ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministration, as shal be requisite: And shal haue upon them likewise, the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to saye, Albés, with tunacles. Then shall the Clearkes syng in Englishe for the office, or Introite, (as they call it) a Psalmc appointed for that daye.

^b Vide Joan. Chrysost. Hom. LXXXIII. in Cap. xxvi Matth. ἡ μικρὴ κόλασις, &c. Card. Bonæ rerum Liturgicarum Lib. II. §.iii. Olim ante Communionem clamabat Diaconus Sancta Sanctis, ac si diceret, qui non est sanctus, non accedat. De quibus etiam verbis, v. Lib. Pontificalem Eccl. Græcæ ab Isaaco Haberto Edit. cum notis, p. 249.

^c Lib. Pont. Eccl. Græcæ, p. 1. Ὁι μέλλοντες τὸ δεῖν ὀπιλέσει μυσταγωγίαν, ὁτέλουσιν ἐν σερηνωμένῳ καὶ κατηλλανμένοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν, καὶ μὴ ἔχειν κατὰ τινος.

^d In Alex. Alefii; Latina Editione edita Lipsiæ 1551. Sacerdos indutus Alba, casula vel cappa adstabit Altari.

The Priest standyng humbly afore the middes of the Altar, shall saye the Lordes Prayer, with this Collect.

Almighty GOD, vnto whom all heartes be open, and all desires knownen, and from whom no secretes are hid: cleanse the thoughtes of our heartes, by the inspiration of thy holpe spirite: that we may perfectly loue thee, and worthely magnifie thy holy name: Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall he saye a Psalm appointed for the introite: whiche Psalm ended, the Priest shall saye, or els the Clearkes shall syng.

iiij. Worde haue mercie vpon vs.

iiij. Christ haue mercie vpon vs.

iiij. Lord haue mercie vpon vs.

Then the Prieste standyng^e at Goddes boorde shall begin.

Glorie be to God on high.

^b The Clearkes.

And in yearth peace, good will towardes men.

We prayse thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, we geue thanks to thee for thy greate glory, O Lord GOD heauenly kyng, God the Father Almighty.

O Worde the only begotten sonne Iesu Christ, O Worde GOD, Lambe of GOD, sonne of the Father, that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, haue mercie vpon vs: thou that

^e Injunctions by K. Edward VI. 1547. They shall declare that every Person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. So 1 Edward VI. Cap. i. The most comfortable Sacrament of the Body, and Blood of Iesus Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar.

^f Alex. Ales. ad introitum misse.

^g Alex. Ales. Sacerdos stans ad medium Altaris canet.

^h Alex. Ales. Chorus.

takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, receyue our prayer.

Thou that sittest at the righte hande of God the father haue mercie vpon vs : For thou onely art holp, thou onely art the Lorde. Thou onely (O Chyiste) with the holpe Ghoste, art moſte highe in the glory of God the father. Amen.

Then the Priest shall turn hym to the people and saye.

The Lorde be with you.

The Answer.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

Let vs praye.

Then shall folowe the Collect of the daye, with one of the two Collectes following, for the kyng.

A Almighty God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and power infinite, haue mercie vpon the whole congregation, and so rule the heart of thy chosen seruant Edward the sixt, our kyng and gouernour : that he (knowing whose minister he is) maye aboue all thinges, seeke thy honour and glory, and that we his subiectes (duely considering whose autoritie he hath) maye faithfully serue, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed worde, and ordinaunce : Through Iesus Chyiste oure Lorde, who with thee, and the holy ghost, liueth, and reigneth, ever one God, world without ende. Amen.

A Almighty and everlasting GOD, we bee taught by thy holy worde, that the heartes of kynges are in thy rule and gouernance, and that thou dost dispose, and turne them as

it semeth best in thy godly wisdom: We humbly beseeche thee, so to dispose and gouerne the heart of Edward the sixt, thy seruant, our Kyng and gouernour, that in all his thoughtes, wordes, and workes, he may euer seke thy honour and glory, and study to p̄serue thy people, committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and Godlyness: Graunt this, O merciful father, for thy dere sonnes sake, Iesus Christe our Lorde. Amen.

The Collectes ended, the priest, or he that is appointed, shall reade the Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying,

The Epistle of saint Paul written in the
Chapiter of to the

The Minister then shall read the epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended, the Priest, or one appointed to read the Gospel, shall saye,

The holy Gospell written in the
Chapiter of

The clearkes and people shall aunswere,
Glory be to thee, O Lorde.

The Priest or Deacon then shall reade the Gospel. After the Gospell ended, the Priest shall begin.

I heliue in one God.

The Clearkes shall syng the rest.

The father almightie maker of heauen and pearth, and of all things visible, and inuisible: And in one Lorde Iesu Christe, the onely begotten sonne of God, begotten of his father before all worldes. God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, beeyng of one substance with the father, by whom all things were made, who for vs men, and for our saluacion, came downe from heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghoste, of the Virgin Mary, and was made manne,

manne, and was crucified also for vs vnder Poncius Pilate, he suffered and was buried, and the thirde daye he arose again accordyng to the scriptures, and ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right hande of the father: And he shall come again with glozp, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

And I beleue in the holy Ghoste, the Lorde and geuer of life, who proceedeth from the father and the sonne, who with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one Catholike and Apostolike Church. I acknowledge one Baptisme, for the remission of synnes. And I loke for the resurrection of the deade: and the lps of the worlde to come. Amen.

¶ After the Crede ended, shall followe the Sermon or Homely, or some portion of one of the Homilies, as they shall be hereafter deuised: wherein if the people bee not exhorted to the worthy receyuing of the holy Sacrament of the bodye and bloude of our sauour Christe: then shall the Curate geue this exhortation, to those that be minded to receiue the same,

DErely beloued in the Lorde, ye that minde to come to the holy Communion of the bodie and bloud of our sauour Christ, must consider what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persones diligently to trie and examine themselves, before they presume to eate of that breade, and drinke of that cup: for as the benefite is great, yt with a truly penitent heart, and truly sayth, we receyue that holy sacrament: (for then we spiritually eate the fleche of Christ, and drinke his bloude; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in vs, wee bee made one with Christ, and Christ with vs) so is the danger

great, yf we receyue the same vnwozthely, for then we become gyltie of the body and bloud of Chzist our sauioꝝ, we eate and drinke our owne damnation, not considering the Lordes bodie. We kindle Gods wꝛathe ouer vs, we prouoke him to plague vs with diuerse diseases, and sonderly kyndes of death. Therefore yf any here bee a blasphemꝛ, aduouterer, or bee in malice, or enuie, or in any other greuous cꝛyme, (except he be truly sorꝛy therefore, and earnestly mynded to leaue the same vices, and do trust hymselfe to be reconciled to almighty God, and in Charitie with all the worlde) let hym bewaile his synnes, and not come to that holy table, lest after the takynge of that most blessed breade: the deuill enter into hym, as he dyd into Judas, to fill hym full of all iniquitie, and byrnyng hym to destruccion, bothe of body and soule. Iudge therefore your selues (bꝛethꝛen) that ye bee not judged of the Worlde. Let your mynde be without desire to sinne, repent you truly for your synnes past: haue an earnest and truly faith in Chziste our sauioꝝ, bee in perfect charitie with all men, so shall ye be mete partakers of those holy misteries. And aboue all thinges, ye must geue moste humble and heartie thanks to God the father, the sonne and the holy ghoꝛte, for the redemption of the worlde, by the death and passion of our sauioꝝ, Chziste, both God and man, who did humble hymselfe euen to the deathe vpon the crosse, for vs miserable synners, whiche laye in darknes and shadowe of death, that he myghte make vs the children of God, and exalte vs to euerlastyng lyfe. And to thend that wee shoulde alwaie remembre the excedyng loue of oure maister, and only sauioꝝ Iesu Chziste, thus dying for vs, and the innumerable benefites, whiche (by his

precious

precious bloud sheddng) he hath obteigned to vs, he hath lefte in those holy Mysterics, as a pledge of his loue, and a continuall^b remembrance of the same, his owne blessed body, and precious bloud, for vs to fede vpon spiritually, to our endles comfort and consolacion. To him therefore with the father, and the ho'y ghost, let vs geue (as we are most bounden) continuall thanks, submitting our selves wholy to his holy wyl and pleasure, and studping to lerne hym in true holiness and righteousnes, all the dayes of our lyfe. Amen.

¶ In Cathedral Churches, or other places, where there is daile Communion, it shall be sufficiente to reade this exhortacion aboue written, once in a moneth. And in parish churches, vpon the weke daies it may be left vnlayed.

¶ And if vpon the Sonday or holy daye, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Prieste earnestly exhorthe his parishioners, to dispose themselves to the receiuing of the holy communion, more diligently, saying these or like wordes vnto them.

DEre frendes, and you especially vpon whose soules I haue cure and charge, on next, I do intende by Gods grace, to offere to all suche as shall be godlye disposed, the most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blond of Chyltre, to be taken of them, in the remembrance of his most fruitfull and glorious Passion: by the whiche passion, we haue obteigned remission of our synnes, and be made partakers of the kyngdom of heauen, whereof we bee assured and asserteigned, yf we come to the sayde Sacrament, with heartie repentaunce for our offences, stedfast faith in Goddes mercy, and earnest minde to obeye Goddes wyl

^b Alex. Ales. *Perpetuum Mysterium suum.*

and to offende no more. Wherefoze our duetie is to come to these holy misteries, with most heartie thanks to be giuen to almightie GOD, fo: his infinite mercie and benefites geuen and bestowed vpon vs his vnwozthie seruauntes: fo: whom he hath not onely geuen his body to death, and shed his bloude, but also doth vouchsaue in a Sacrament and Misterie, to geue vs his sayed bodye and blood to feede vpon spirituallie: The whiche Sacrament being so diuine and holy a thing, and so comfortable to them whiche receiue it wo:thilpe, and so daungerous to them that wpll presume to take the same vnwo:thelp: My duetie is to exhorte you in the meane season, to consider the greatnes of the thing, and to serche and examine your owne Consciences, and that not lyghtly, no: after the manner of dissemblers with GOD: But as they whiche should come to a most godly and heauenly Banket, not to come but in the marriage garment required of God in scripture: that you maye (so muche as lieth in you) be found wo:thie to come to suche a table. The waies and meanes thereto is.

First that you be truly repentaunt of your former euil lyfe, and that you confesse with an vnfeigned hearte to almightie God, your synnes and unkyndnes towarde his Majestie committed, eyther by wpll, worde, or dede, infirmitie or ignorance: and that with inward sorowe and teares you bewaile your offences, and require of almightie God, mercie and pardon, promising to him (from the botome of your heartes) the amendment of your former lyfe. And emonges all others, I am commaunded of God, especially to moue and exhorte you, to reconcile your selves to your

your neighbours, whom you haue offended,
 or who hath offended you, putting out of your
 heartes all hatred and malice against them,
 and to be in loue and charitie with all the
 worlde, and to forgeue other, as you would
 that God should forgeue you. And yf any
 man haue doen wrong to any other: let hym
 make satisfaction, and due restitution of all
 landes & goodes, wrongfully taken awaye,
 or withholden, befoze he come to Goddes bozde,
 or at the least be in full mynde and purpose
 so to do, asone as he is able, or els let hym
 not come to this holy table, thinking to deceiue
 God, who seeth all mennes heartes. For nei-
 ther the absolucion of the priest can any thing,
 auaple them, nor the receyuing of this holy
 sacrament doth any thyng but increase their
 damnacion. And yf there be any of you whose
 conscience is troubled and greued in any thing,
 lackyng comfozte or counsayll, let hym come
 to me, or to some other discrete and learned
 priest, taught in the lawe of God, and confesse
 and open his sinne and grieue secretly, that
 he may receyue such ghostly counsayll, aduise,
 and comfozt, that his conscience maye be re-
 leued: and that of vs (as of the Ministers
 of GOD and of the churche) he may receyue
 comfozte and absolucion, to the satisfaccion of
 his minde, and auoydyng of all scruple and
 doubtfulnes: requiryng suche as shall be satis-
 fied with a general confession, not to be of-
 fended with them that do vse, to their further
 satisfaynge, the auricular and secrete confession
 to the Priest: nor those also whiche thinke nede-
 full or conuenient, for the quietnes of their owne
 consciences, particulerly to open theyr sinnes
 to the Prieste: to be offended with them that
 are satisfied, with their humble confession to
 GOD,

GOD, and the general confession to the church. But in all thinges to followe and kepe the rule of charitie, and euery man to be satisfied, with his owne conscience, not iudgeing other mennes minde or consciences: wher as he hath no warrant of Goddes word to the same.

Then shall followe for the Offertory, one or mo, of these Sentences of holy scripture, to be song whiles the people doe offer, or els one of them to be said by the minister, ¹ immediatly afore the offering*.

^m Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good woorkes, and glorify your father which is in heauen.

ⁿ Laye not vp for your selues treasure vpon the pearthe, where the ruste and mothe doth corrupt, and where theues breake through and steale: But laie vp for your selves treasures in heauen, where neyther ruste nor mothe dothe corrupt, & where theues do not break through, nor steale.

^o Whatsoeuer you woulde that miene should doe vnto you, euen so do you vnto them, for this is the Lawe and the Prophetes.

^p Not euery one that sayth vnto me, lord, lord, shall entre into the kyngdome of heauen, but he that dothe the will of my father whiche is in heauen.

^q Zache stood furthe, and sayed vnto the Lorde: beholde Lorde, the halfe of my goodes I geue to the poore, and if I haue doen any wronge to any man, I restore four folde.

^r Who goeth a Warfare at any tyme at his

¹ Alex. Ales. *Dum populus offert munera ad Altare.*

* *Desunt multa harum sententiarum in versione Messiana.*

^m Mat. v.

ⁿ Mat. vi.

^o Mat. vii.

^p Mat vii.

^q Luke xix.

^r 1 Cor. ix.

owne cosse? who planteth a vinearde, and eateth not of the fruite thereof? Or who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke?

¹ If we haue sowed vnto you spirituall thinges, it is a great matter yf we shall reape your worldly thinges.

² Dooe ye not knowe, that they which minister aboute holy thinges, lyue of the Sacrifice? They whiche waite of the alter, are partakers with the alter? euen so hath the Lorde also ordained: that they which preache the Gospell, shoulde liue of the Gospell.

³ He whiche soweth little, shall reape little, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reape plenteously. Let euery manne do accordynge as he is disposen in his hearte, not grudgynge, or of necessitie, for God loueth a chereful geuer.

⁴ Let hym that is taughte in the woorde, minister vnto hym that teacheth, in all good thinges. Be not deceyued, GOD is not mocked. For whatsoeuer a manne sowethe, that shall he reape.

⁵ While we haue tyme, let vs dooe good vnto all men, and speciallpe vnto them, whiche are of the householde of faythe.

⁶ Godlynes is greate riches, yf a man be contented wpth that he hath: For we broughte nothyng into the worlde, neither may we cary any thing out.

⁷ Charge them whiche are riche in this worlde, that they be ready to geue, and glad to distribute, laying vp in store for themselves

¹ 1 Cor. ix.

² Gal. vi.

³ 1 Tim. vi.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix.

⁵ Gal. vi.

⁶ 2 Cor. ix.

⁷ 1 Tim. vi.

a good foundation, against the time to come, that they maie attaine eternall lyfe.

^a GOD is not vnrighteous; that he will forgette poure workes and laboꝝ, that procedeth of loue, which loue ye haue shewed foꝝ his names sake, which haue mynystred vnto the sainctes, and yet do minister.

^b To do good, and to distribute, forget not, foꝝ with suche Sacrifices God is pleased.

^c Whoso hath this woꝝldes good, and seeth his brother haue nede, and shutteth vp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in him.

^d Geue almose of thy goodes, and turne neuer thy face from any pooꝝe man, and then the face of the loꝝd shall not be turned awaye from thee.

^e Bee mercifull after thy power, if thou haste muche, geue plenteously, yf thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to geue of that little, foꝝ so gathereste thou thy selfe a good rewarde in the daie of necessitie.

^f He that hath pitie vpon the pooꝝe, lendeth vnto the Loꝝde: and loke what he layeth out, it shall be paied him again.

^g Blessed be the man that prouideth foꝝ the sicke and nedp, the Loꝝde shall deliuer hym in the tyme of trouble.

Where there be Clearkes, thei shall syng ^h one, or many of the sentences aboue wꝛitten, accordyng to the length and shortnesse of the tyme, that the people be offeryng.

^a Hebr. vi.

^b Heb. xiii.

^c 1 John iii.

^d Tob. iv.

^e Tob. iv.

^f Prov. xix.

^g Psal. xli.

^h Alex. Ales. *Harum & similibus sententiarum ex Thobias, Proverbiis, vel Psalmis, una aut plures canantur.*

In the meane tyme, whyles the Clearkes do syng the Offertory, so many as are disposed, shall offer to the poore mennes boxe, euery one accordynge to his habilitie and charitable mynde. And at the offering daies appoynted, euery man and woman shall paie to the Curate, the due and accustomed offerynges.

Then so many as shall be partakers of the holy Communion, shall tarpe still in the quire, or in some conueniente place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side: All other (that mynde not to receiue the said holy Communion) shall departe out of the quire, excepte the Ministers and Clearkes.

Then shall ⁱ the minister take so muche Breade and Wine, as shall suffice for the persons appoynted to receiue the holy Communion, laiyng the breade vpon the corporas, or els in the paten, or in some other comely thyng, prepared for that purpose: And putting the Wine into the Chalice, or els in some faire or conueniente cup, prepared for that vse (if the Chalice will not serue) puttyng thereto ^k a little pure and clean water: And setting both the bread and wyne vpon the Alter: Then the Prieste shall saye,

The Lorde be with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirite.

Priest.

Lift vp your heartes.

Answer.

We lifte them vp vnto the Lorde.

Priest.

Let vs geue thanks to our Lorde God.

Answer.

It is mete and right so to do.

ⁱ Alex. Ales. *Sacerdos*.

^k Vide Joh. Lightfooti *Hor. Hebraic.* in Matth. cap. xxvi. 27. & in 1 Cor. cap. xi. 25. Just. Martyris *Apol.* i. p. 125, 128. Edit a Joh. Ernesto Grabe. Oxoniæ MDCC. *Ejusdem notas in Irenæi opera à se edita, Lib. v. Cap. ii.* Cyprian. *Epist.* lxiii. Edit. Oxon. *Fide & Dist. ii. de consecratione, C. i, ii, iii, iv, v.*

The Priest.

It is verp mete, righte, and our bounden dutie, that we shoulde at all tymes, and in all places, geue thankes to thee, O Lorde, holy father, almightie everlasting God.

¶ Here shall followe the propre preface, accordyng to the tyme (yf there be any specially appointed) or els immediately shall followe. Therefore with Angels, &c.

Propre Prefaces.

Upon Christmas daie.

Because thou diddeste geue Iesus Chryste, thyne onely sonne to be borne as at this daie for vs, who by the operacion of the holy gholte, was made verp man, of the substaunce of the Virgin Mary his Mother, and that without spotte of sinne, to make vs cleane from all sinne. Therefore, &c.

Upon Easter daie.

BUT chiefly are we bounde to prayse thee, for the glorious resurreccion of thy sonne Iesus Chryste, our Lorde, for he is the very Pascall Lambe, which was offered for vs, and hath taken awaye the synne of the worlde, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to lyfe again, hath restored to vs everlastinge lyfe. Therefore, &c.

Upon the Ascension daie.

Through thy moste dere beloued sonne, Iesus Chryste our Lorde, who after his most glorious resurreccion, manifestly appered to all his disciples, and in thep sight ascended vp into heauen, to prepare a place for vs, that where he is, thither mighte we also ascende, and reigne with him in glory. Therefore, &c.

Upon

Upon Whitsondaie.

Throughe Iesus Chryste our Lorde, accor-
dyng to whose moste true promyse, the
holy gholste came doune this daye from hea-
ven, with a sodain greate sounde, as it had
been a mightie wynde, in the lykenes of fiers
tongues, lyghtyng upon the Apostles, to
teache them, and to leade them to all truethe,
gevyng them bothe the gifte of diuerse langua-
ges, and also boldnes with feruente zeale, con-
stantly to preache the Gospell vnto all nacions,
whereby we are brought out of darknes and
erroz, into the clear light and true knowledge
of thee, and of thy sonne Iesus Christ. ¹ Ther-
fore, &c.

Upon the feast of the Trinitie.

It is verp meete, righte, and our bounden
duetie, that we should at all times, and
in all places, geue thanks to thee, O Lorde
almightie, euerlastinge God, whiche arte one
God, one Lorde, not one onely person, but
three persones in one substaunce: For that
whiche we beleve of the glozy of the Father,
the same we beleue of the Sonne, and of the
Holy gholste, without any difference, or inequa-

¹ In versione Alelii: Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbe
terrarum mundus exultat, sed & supernæ virtutes, atque Angelicæ
potestates hymnum gloriæ tuæ concinunt, sine fine dicentes, sanctus,
sanctus, &c.

² Versio Aleliana sic se habet: Qui cum unigenito filio tuo,
& spiritu sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus; non in unius
singularitate personæ, sed cum Trinitate personarum in Unitate
substantiæ. Quod enim de gloria tua, revelante te, credimus, hoc de
filio tuo, hoc de spiritu sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus,
quem laudant Angeli atque Archangeli, Cherubin, quoque, &
Seraphin, qui non cessant clamare, jugiter una voce dicentes.

litie: whom the Angels, and Archangels, and also Cherubin, and Seraphin do praise, neuer ceasing to cry aloud with one continued voice, saying, holp, holp, holp, &c.

After whiche preface shall followe immediatly.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with al the holp companie of heauen: we laude and magnify thy glorious name, euermore prayeing thee and sayinge:

¶ Holp, holp, holp, Lorde God of Hostes: heauen and earth are full of thy glozp: Glanna in the higheste. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lorde: Glozp to thee, O lorde, in the highest.

This the Clearkes shall also syng.

¶ When the Clearkes haue doen syngyng, then shall the Prieste, or Deacon, turne hym to the people and saye,

Let vs praye for the whole state of Christes church.

¶ Then the Priest turnyng hym to the Altar, shall saye or syng, plainly and distinctly, this prayer following.

A Almighty and euerspuyng God, whiche by thy holp Apostle haste taught vs to make prayers and supplications, and to geue thanks for all menne: We humbly beleeche thee most mercifully to receyue these our prayers: which we offre vnto thy diuine Majesty, beleeching thee to inspire continually the vniuersal church, with the spirite of truethe, vnitie and concord: And graunt that all they that doe confesse thy holpe name, may agree in the truethe of thy holpe worde,

^a Chorus praemittitur in versione Alesiana.

^b Haec verba nigra linea subducta notata desunt in versione Alesiana.

and lye in vnitie and godly loue. Special-
lye wee beseeche thee to saue and defende thy
seruant, Edwarde our Kynge, that vnder
him we maye be Godly and quietly govern-
ed. And graunte vnto his whole counsaile,
and to all that be put in authoritie vnder
hym, that they maye truely and indifferently
minister iustice, to the punishment of wicked-
nesse and vice, & to the maintenaunce of Goddes
true religion and vertue. Geue grace (O hea-
uenly father) to all Bishoppes, Pastors, and
Curates, that they maye both by their life
and doctrine, set furthe thy true and lvely
worde, and rightely and duely administer thy
holye Sacramentes. And to all thy people
geue thy heauenly grace, that with meke
hearte and due reuerence, they maye heare and
receyue thy holy worde, truely serupnge thee
in holynes and righteousness, all the dayes
of their lyfe. And we most humbly beseeche
thee of thy goodnes (O Worde) to counferte
and succoure all them, whiche in this transi-
tory lyfe bee in trouble, sorowe, nede, sick-
nes, or any other aduersitie. And especially
we commend vnto thy merciful goodnes, this
congregacion whiche is here assembled in thy
name, to celebrate the commemoracion of the
molte glorious deathe of thy sonne: And
here we do geue vnto thee molte high prayse, &
heartie thanks, for the wondertull grace and
vertue, declared in all thy sainctes, from the
begynninge of the worlde: and chieflly in the
glorious and most blessed virgin Mary, mo-
ther of thy sonne Iesu Christ our Lord and
God, & in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes,
Apostles, and Martyrs, whose examples (O
Worde) and stedfastnes in thy faythe, and keeping
thy holy commaundementes, graunte vs to
folowe.

folowe. ^p We commend unto thy mercie, (O Lord) all other thy seruautes, whiche are departed hence from vs, with the signe of fapth, and now do rest in the slepe of peace: Graunte vnto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, and euerlasting peace, and that at the daye of the generall resurreccion, we and all they whiche be of the mysticall body of thy sonne, make altogether bee set on his right hand, and

^p G. Forbes. Ep. Edenb. Consideration. Modest. Part 2. cap. 3. §. 18, 19. p. 248. *Sed audiat Ecclesia Anglicana in Rituali suo Libro communium precum, tempore Edouardi impresso 1549. Et latine verso ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto, S. Theol. Doctore, verba numero sequente tibi exhibemus* Lector in administratione Cane Dom. 19. 'Commendamus etiam tibi o Domine, reliquos omnes servos tuos, qui ex vita hac decesserint, cum signo fidei, & nunc requiescunt in somno Pacis. Concede illis, quesumus, misericordiam tuam, & aternam pacem, & ut in die universalis resurrectionis, nos & omnes, qui sunt membra mystici corporis filii tui, sistamur a dextra ipsius, ut audiamus illam suavissimam vocem; Venite ad me benedicti, &c. Et de sepultura mortuorum. Deus cui omnes spiritus mortuorum, & cum quo omnium electorum anima post liberationem oneris carnis, feliciter & in gaudio vivunt; presta huic famulo tuo, ut peccata quae in hoc mundo commisit, non imputentur ei; sed ut superatis portis mortis, & aeterna caliginis, semper in regione lucis habitet cum Abrahamo, Isaaco, & Jacobo, ubi nullus luctus, dolor aut maror. Et cum tremenda dies Iudicii advenierit, fac eum resurgere cum omnibus iustis & electis, &c. Hasce praeter antiquissimas & piissimas Bucerii aliorumque monitu & consilio, postea praesules Ecclesiae Anglicanae expunxere; aut in aliam nescio quam formam, hodiernam novitatem redolentem convertere. Isaacus Casaubonus in respons. ad Epist. Card. Perronii nomine serenissimi M. Britanniae Regis scripta, affirmat hunc ritum orandi pro mortuis Ecclesiam Anglicanam, & si non damnet in primis seculis, hodie tamen sibi non putare retinendum, &c. p. 54, &c. Sed utinam (ut nihil detraham laudibus serenissimi & nunquam satis laudati Principis Jacobi sexti, qui cum nihil haberet prius & antiquius pacis & concordiae pie inter Christianas Ecclesias procuranda studio, nunquam tamen per morosa & rixosa multorum Theologastorum ingenia id consequi aut effectum dare potuit (quod maxime voluit) Ecclesia Anglicana, quae singularem aliqui meretur laudem; ob magnam multis aliis in rebus, & si forte non parvi momenti, moderationem adhibitam, universalis Ecclesiae antiquissima consuetudo

and heare that his most ioyful voice : Come unto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdome, whiche is prepared for you from the beginning of the worlde : Graunte this, O father, for Iesus Christes sake, our onely mediatur and aduocate.

O God heauenly father, whiche of thy tender mercie, diddeste geue thine onely sonne Iesu Christ, to suffer deathe upon the crosse

for

dini hoc in negotio, ut & in aliis nonnullis, sese potius conformasset; quam ob errores, & abusus, qui paulatim irrepserant postea, ingenti cum aliorum ferè omnium Christianorum scandalo simpliciter rejecisset, & penitus sustulisset. 20. Ex orationibus autem, & oblationibus pro mortuis apud Patres. Purgatorium Romanorum minime probari posse luculentissime demonstrarunt infiniti viri doctissimi, Græci, Romanenses, Protestantes.

The Prayer which Dr. Forbes cites in Latin, out of the Office of Burial, is thus in English.

Let us pray.

O Lord, with whom do live the Spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the Burthen of the Flesh, be in Joy and Felicity : Grant unto this thy Servant, that the sins which he committed in this World be not imputed unto him, but that he escaping the Gates of Hell, and Pains of eternal Darknes, may ever dwell in the Region of Light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the Place where is no Weeping, Sorrow, nor Heaviness: and when that dreadful Day of the general Resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this Body again to Glory, then made pure and incorruptible ; set him on the right Hand of thy Son Iesus Christ, among thy Holy and Elect, that then he may hear with them those most sweet and comfortable Words, Come to me, ye blessed of my Father, possesse the Kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the World. Grant this, we beseech thee, O merciful Father, through Iesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen.

To which may be added the Collect at the Celebration of the Holy Communion of the Burial of the Dead, in the same Book.

O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Iesu Christ, who is the Resurrection and the Life, in whom whosoever believeth,

7
 for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel commaunde vs to celebrate a perpetuall memorie of that his precious death, vntill his comming againe: Heare vs (O mercifull father) we beseeche thee: and with thy holy spirite and

shall live though he dye, and whosoever liveth and believeth in him shall not dye eternally: who also hath taught us (by his holy Apostle *Paul*) not to be sorry, as Men without Hope, for them that sleep in him: We meekly beseech thee (O Father) to raise us from the Death of Sin, unto the Life of Righteousness; that when we shall depart this Life, we may sleep in him (as our Hope is this our Brother doth) and at the General Resurrection in the last Day, both we and this our Brother departed, receiving again our Bodies, and rising again in thy most gracious Favour, may with all thine elect Saints obtain eternal Joy. Grant this, O Lord God, by the means of our Advocate Jesus Christ, which with thee, and the holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God for ever. *Amen.*

Herb. Thorndyke's Weights and Measures. Chap. xxii. p. 159.
 There is the same Ground to believe the Communion of Saints in the Prayers, which those that depart in the highest Favour with God make for us, in the Prayers which we make for those that depart in the lowest degree of Favour with God, that there is for the common Christianity; namely, the Scriptures interpreted by the perpetual Practice of God's Church. Therefore there is ground enough for the Faith of all Christians, that those Prayers are accepted, which desire God to hear the Saints for us, to send the deceased in Christ Rest and Peace, and Light, and Refreshment, and a good Tryal at the Day of Judgment, and Accomplishment of Happines after the same. And, seeing the abating of the first Form under *Edward VI.* hath wrought no Effect, but to give them, that desired it, an Appetite to root up the whole; what Thanks can we render to God for escaping so great a Danger, but by sticking firm to a Rule that will stick firm to us, and carry us through any Dispute in Religion, and land us in the Haven of a quiet Conscience; what Troubles soever we may pass through, in maintaining, That the Reformation of the Church will never be according to the Rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholick Church of Christ in this Particular.

worde vouchsafe^a to bl-esse and sanc-tifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of breade and wyne, that they mape be vnto vs the hodge and bloud of thy moſte derely beloued ſonne Jeſus Chriſte. Who in the ſame nyghte that he was betrayed: tooke breade, and when he had bleſſed, and geuen thanks: he brake it, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſayinge: Take, eate, this is my bodye whiche is geuen for you: do this in remembraunce of me.

Here the
prieſte muſt
take the
bread into
his handes.

Likewyſe after ſupper he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thanks, he gaue it to them, ſaying: drinke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Teſtament, whiche is ſhed for you and for many, for the remiſſion of ſinnes: do this, as oft as you ſhall drinke it, in remem-braunce of me.

Here the
prieſte ſhall
take the
Cuppe into
his handes.

¶ Theſe wordes before rehearſed, are to be ſayed,
turning ſtill to the Altar, without any elucua-
cion, or ſhewing the Sacrament to the people.

Wherefore, O Lorde and heauenly father,
acordyng to the Inſtitucion of thy dere-
ly beloued ſonne our ſauoure, Jeſu Chriſte, we
thy humble ſeruauntes do celebrate, and make
here before thy diuine Maieſtie, with theſe thy
holy gyftes, the memoriall which thy ſonne
hath willed vs to make: hauing in remem-
braunce his bleſſed paſſion, mightie reſurrec-

^a *Signa Crucis non poſuit in verſione ſua Alex. Aleſ.*

^b *Hæc verba ſubducta nigra lineâ notata prætereuntur in verſi-
one Aleſiana.*

tion, and glorious ascension, renderynge vnto thee moſte heartie thanks, for the innumerable benefites procured vnto vs by the ſame, entperely deſyringe thy fatherly goodnes interciſully to accepte thyſe our Sacrifice of prayſe and thanks geuing: moſte humbly beſeching thee to graunte, that by the merites and deathe of thy ſonne Jeſus Chriſt, and through faith in his bloud, wee and all thy whole church, may obteigne remiſſion of our ſinnes, and al other benefites of his paſſion. And here wee offere and preſent vnto thee (O Lorde) our ſelſes, pure ſoules, and bodyes, to bee a reaſonable holy, and liuely ſacrifice vnto thee: humbly beſechyng thee, that whoſeuer ſhalbee partakers of this holy Communion, maye worthely receiue the moſt precious body and bloude of thy ſonne Jeſus Chriſte: and be fulfilled with thy grace and heauenly benediction, and made one body with thy ſonne Jeſu Chriſt, that he maye dwelle in them, and they in hym. And although we be vnworthy, (through our manyfold ſynnes) to offere vnto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we beſech thee to accepte this our bounden duetie and ſervice, and commaunde theſe our prayers and ſupplications, by the miniſterye of thy holy Angels, to be brought vp into thy holy Tabernacle before the ſight of thy diuine maieſtie: not waping our merites, but pardoning our offences, through Chriſte our Lorde, by whom, and with whom, in the vnitie of the holy Ghoſt, all honoure and glorye, be vnto thee, O father almighty, world without ende. Amen.

Let vs praye.

AS our Sauour Chriſte hath commaunded and taught vs, we are bolde to ſaye: Our father whiche arte in heauen, halowed be

be thy name. Thy kyngdom come. Thy will be doen in earth, as it is in heauen. Geue us this daye our dayly breade. And forgeue us our trespases, as we forgeue them that trespasse against vs. And leade us not into temptacion.

^r The Answer.

But deliuer us from euill. Amen.

Then shall the Priest saye.

The peace of the Lorde be alwaye wyth you.

The Clerkes.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

Chryst our Paschal lambe is offred by for vs, once for al, when he bare our sinnes on his body vpon the crosse, for he is the very lambe of God, that taketh away the sinnes of the worlde: wherfore let vs kepe a ioyful and holy feast with the Lorde.

Here the prieste shall turne hym ^r towarde those that come to the holy Communion, and shall saye.

YOU that do truely and earnestly repente you of your synnes to almighty God, and be in loue and charitie with your neyghbours, and entende to leade a newe life, following the commaundementes of God, and walkyng from hencefurth in his holy wayes: draw nere and take this holy Sacrament to your comforte, make your humble confession to almighty God, and to his holy Churche here gathered together in hys name, meekely knelyng upon your knees.

^r Alex. Alef. *Chorus respondet.*

^r Alex. Alef. *Conuersus ad confitentes.*

Then

Then shal this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receiue the holy Communion, either by one of them, or els by one of the ministers, or by the Priest himselfe, all kneeling humbly vpon their knes.

A Almighty GOD, father of our Lorde Iesus Chzist, maker of all thinges, judge of all menne, we acknowledge & bewaile our manifold sinnes and wyckednes, whiche we from tyme to tyme, most greuously haue committed, by thoughte, woorde and dede, agaynste thy diuine Majestie, prouokpng moost iustly thy wꝛath and indignacion agaynste vs: we do earnestly repente, and be hartely sorꝛy for these our misdoinges, the remembraunce of them is greuous vnto vs, the burthen of them is intollerable: haue mercie vpon vs, haue mercie vpon vs, moste mercifull father, for thy sonne our Lorde Iesus Chzistes sake forgeue vs all that is past, and graunte that we may euer hereafter, serue and please thee in newnes of life, to the honour & glorie of thy name: Thꝛough Iesus Chziste our Lorde.

Then shall the Prieste stande vp, and turning hymselfe to the people, say thus,

A Almighty GOD our heauenly father, who of his great merce, hath promysed forgiveness of synnes to all them, whiche with heartye repentaunce and true faythe turne vnto hym: haue mercy vpon you, pardon and deliuer you from all your sinnes, confirme and strengthen you in all goodnes, and bring you to euerlasting life: thꝛough Iesus Chziste our Lorde. Amen.

APPENDIX. xxvii

Then shall the Priest also saye,

Hearc what coumfortable wooꝝdes our sauour
Chyste sayeth, to all that trulſe turne to him.

Come vnto me all that trauel, and be hea-
up laden, and I shall refresh you. So God
loued the worlde that he gaue his onely begotten
ſonne, to the ende that all that beleue in hym,
ſhoulde not periſhe, but haue lſe euerlaſtynge.

Hearc alſo what ſaint Paule ſayeth.

This is a true ſaying, and wooꝝthie of al
men to be receyued, that Jeſus Chyiſte came
into this worlde to ſaue ſinners.

Hearc alſo what ſaint Iohn ſayeth.

If any man ſinne, we haue an aduocate
with the father, Jeſus Chyiſte the righteous,
and he is the propiciation for our ſinnes.

Then ſhall the Prieste, turning hym to goddes boꝝd,
knele down, and ſaye in the name of all them that
ſhall receyue the communion, this prayer following.

WE do not preſume to come to this thy
table (O merciful loꝝde) truſtinge in our
own righteouſnes, but in thy manifold and
great mercies: we be not wooꝝthie ſo muche as
to gather vp the cꝛomes vnder thy table, but
thou art the ſame loꝝde whole propertie is al-
wayes to haue mercie: Graunte vs thereloze
(gracious loꝝde) ſo to eate the fleſhe of thy dere
ſonne Jeſus Chyiſte, and to drinke his bloude,
in theſe holy Myſteries, that we maye conti-
nually dwell in him, and he in vs, that oure
ſynful bodieſ may be made clean by his body,
and oure ſoules waſhed thꝛoughe his moſte pre-
cious bloud. Amen.

¶ Then ſhall the Priest, firſt receiue the Commu-
nion in both kindes himſelfe, and next deliuer it
to other Miniſters, if any be there preſente (that

Omittuntur hac in verſione Alex. Aleſii.

they

they may be readye to helpe the chiefe Minister and after to the people.

¶ And when he delibereth the Sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall saye to euery one these wordes.

The body of our Lord Iesus Christe whiche was geuen for thee, preserve thy bodye and soule vnto euerlasting lyfe.

And the minister deliuering the Sacrament of the bloud, and geuing euery one to drinke once, and no more, shall saye,

The bloud of our Lord Iesus Christe which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soule unto euerlastynge lyfe.

If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shal he folow with the Chalice: and as the Priest ministereth the Sacrament of the body, so shal he (for more expedition) minister the Sacrament of the bloud, in fourme befoze written.

In the Communion tyme the Clerkes shall syng.

ii. O lambe of God that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde: haue mercie vpon vs.

O lambe of God that takest away the synnes of the worlde: graunt vs thy peace.

¶ Beginning so soone as the Priest doth receiue the holy Communion: and when the Communion is ended, then shall the Clerkes syng the post Communion.

¶ Sentences of holy Scripture to be said or sung euery daie one, after the holy Communion, called the post Communion.

If any man will folowe me, let him forsake himselte, and take up his crosse and folowe me. *Math. xvi.*

Whosoever shall endure unto the ende, he shalbe saued. *Mar. xiii.*

¶ *Nihil harum in versione Aleſii, cui ſufficere viſum eſt ſolum dicere: poſt Communionem canatur.*

Prayſed

Prayſed be the Lorde God of Iſraell, for he hath viſyted and redemed his people: therefore let us ſerue hym all the dayes of our life, in holines and righteouſnes accepted beſore hym. *Luc. i.*

Happie are thoſe ſeruauntes, whome the Lorde (when he cometh) ſhall fynde waking. *Luc. xii.*

Be ye readie, for the ſonne of manne will come, at an hower when ye thinke not. *Luc. xii.*

The ſeruaunte that knoweth hys maiſters wyl, and hath not prepared himſelfe, neither hath doen accorpyng to his will, ſhalbe beaten with many ſtripes. *Luc. xii.*

The howre cummeth and now it is, when true woozhippers ſhall woozhip the father in ſpिरite and truerhe. *John iv.*

Beholde, thou art made whole, ſinne no more, leſte any worſe thing happen vnto thee, *John v.*

If ye ſhall continue in my worde, then are ye my very diſciples, and ye ſhall knowe the trueth, and the trueth ſhall make you free. *John viii.*

While ye haue lighte, beleue on the light, that ye may be the chylzen of light. *John xii.*

He that hath my commaundementes, and kepeth them, the ſame is he that loueth me. *John xiv.*

If any man loue me, he will kepe my worde, and my father wil loue hym, and we wyl come unto him, and dwell with him. *John xiv.*

If ye ſhall byde in me, and my worde ſhal abyde in you, ye ſhal aſke what ye will, and it ſhall be doen to you. *John xv.*

Herein is my father glorified, that ye beare much fruite, and become my diſciples. *John xv.*

Qua dehinc ſequuntur omnia pratercuntur ab Aleſio.

This is my commaundement, that you loue together, as I haue loued you. *John xv.*

If God be on our syde, who can be against vs? whiche did not spare his own sonne, but gaue hym for vs all. *Rom. viii.*

Who shall laye any thing to the charge of Goddes cholen? it is GOD, that iustificeth, who is he that can condemne? *Rom. viii.*

The nyghte is passed, and the daye is at hande, let vs therefore cast awaye the dedes of darkenes, and put on the armour of light. *Rom. xiii.*

Christe Iesus is made of GOD, vnto vs, wisdom, and righteousnes, and sanctifying, and redemption that (accordyng as it is written) he whiche rejoyceth shoulde rejoyce in the Lorde. *1 Corin. i.*

Knowe ye not that ye are the temple of GOD, and that the spirite of GOD dwelleth in you? if any manne defile the temple of GOD, him shall God destrop. *1 Corin. iii.*

We are derely bought, therfore glozifie God in your bodies, and in your spirites, for they belong to God. *1 Corin. vi.*

Be you folowers of God as deare children, and walke in loue, euen as Christe loued vs, and gaue himselfe for vs an offering and a Sacrifice of a sweet sauoure to God. *Ephes. v.*

^v Then the Priest shall geue thanks to God, in the name of all them that haue communicated, turning him first to the people, and saying,

The Lorde be with you.

The Answer.

And with thy spirite.

^v *Hic nihil amplius in versione Alesii, quam tunc sacerdos conuersus ad populum orabit.*

The Priest.

Let vs praye.

Almightie and euerlpyng GOD, wee moste heartely thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feede vs in these holy Mysteries, with the spirituall foode of the moste precious body & bloude of thy sonne, our sauour Iesus Christ, and hast assured vs (duely receyuing the same) of thy fauour and goodness toward vs, and that we be very membyres incorporate in thy Mystical bodye, whiche is the blessed companie of all faithfull people: and hepyes throughe hope, of thy euerlastinge kingdome, by the merites of the moste precious deathe and passion, of thy deare sonne. We therefore most humbly beseeche thee, O heauenly father, so to assiste vs with thy grace that we may continue in that holy felowship, and doe all sueche good woorkes, as thou hast prepared for vs to walke in: through Iesus Christe our Lord, to whom with thee, and the holy ghost, bee all honour and glorie, worlde without ende.

Then the Prieste turning him to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing.

The peace of GOD (which passeth all vnderstanding) kepe your heartes and mindes in the knowledge and loue of GOD, and of his sonne Iesus Christe our lord. And the blessing of God almightie, the father, the sonne, & the holy ghost, be emonges you, and remayne with you alway.

Then the people shall aunswere,
Amen.

^z where

² Where there are no clearkes, there the Priest shall say all thinges appointed here for them to syng.

When the holy Communion is celebrated, on the workdaye, or in private howses : then may be omitted, the Gloria in excelsis, the Crede, the Homely, and the Exhortacion, beginning

Verely beloued, &c.

¶ Collectes to be sayed after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, euery suche day one.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications, and prayers, and dispose the way of thy seruantes, toward the attaynement of euerlastyng saluacion : that emoonge all the chaunges and chaunces of this mortal life, they may euer be defended by thy moste gracious and readye helpe, throughe Christe our Lorde. Amen.

O Almighty Lorde and euerlpyng GOD, vouchsafe, we beseeche thee, to direct, sanctifye, and gouerne, bothe our heartes and bodies, in the wayes of thy lawes, and in the workes of thy Commaundementes : that throughe thy most mightie proteccion, both here and euer, we may be preserved in bodye and soule : Throughe our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. Amen.

Graunt we beseeche thee almighty God, that the wordes whiche wee haue hearde this daye with our outward cares, may throughe thy grace, bee so grafted inwardly in our heartes, that they may bring forth in vs the fruite of good lyfynge, to the honoure and prayse of thy name : Throughe Iesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.

² *Ubi non sunt cantores. Alefius.*

Preuente

Pseuente vs, O Lorde, in all our doinges, with thy mozte gracious fauoure, and further us with thy continuall helpe, that in al our woꝝkes begonne, continued, and ended in thee, we may glozifpe thy holp name: and finally by thy mercie obtaine euerlasting lyfe: Throughe, &c.

Almightie God, the fountaine of all wisdom, whiche knowest our necessities before we aske, and our ignorance in asking: we beseeche thee to haue compassion vpon our infirmities, and those thinges, whiche for our vnwoorthines we dare not, and for our blyndnes we cannot aske, vouchsaue to geue vs, for the woorthines of thy sonne Iesu Chyriste our Lorde. Amen.

Almightie God, whiche haste promised to heare the petitions of them that aske in thy sonnes name, we beseeche thee mercifullp to inclpne thpne eares to vs that haue made nowe our prayeꝝ and supplications unto thee: and graunte that those thinges which we haue faithfullp asked accordpng to thy will, maye effectually be obteyned to the reliefe of our necessitie, and to the settpng foorth of thy gloꝝpe: Throughe Iesus Chyriste our Lorde.

For rayne.

O God heauenly father, whiche by thy sonne Iesu Chyrist, haste promised to all them that seke thy kingdome, and the righteoulnes thereof, al thinges necessary to the bodely sustenance: send us we beseeche thee in this our necessitie suche moderate rayne and showers, that we maie receiue the frutes of the earth,

c

to

xxxiv A P P E N D I X.

to our comforte and to thy honoꝝ: Through
Iesus Chyist our Lorde.

For saye wether.

O Lorde God, whiche for the synne of manne,
didste once drowne all the worlde, excepte
eight persons, and afterwarde of thy greate
mercie, didste promise neuer to destrop it so
agayn, we humbly beseeche thee, that although
we for our iniquities haue worthelp deserued
this plague of rayne and waters, yet vpon
our true repentaunce, thou wilt send vs suche
wether whereby we maye receiue the frutes
of the earthe in due season, and learne bothe
by thy punishment to amende our liues, and
by the grauntinge of our petition, to geue thee
praise and gloꝝpe: Through Iesu Chyist our
Lorde.

I Upon wednesdaies and fridaies, the Englishe Le-
tanie shal be saied oꝝ song in all places, after suche
forme, as is appoynted by the kynges maiesties In-
iunctions: Or as is, oꝝ shall be otherwise appoynt-
ed by his highnes. And thoughe there be none to
communicate with the Priest, yet these dayes (af-
ter the Letany ended) the Priest shall put vpon
him a plain Albe oꝝ surplese, with a cope, and
saie all thinges ¹ at the Altare (appoynted to be
sayde at the celebracion of the lordes supper) vntill
after the Offertory. And then shall adde one oꝝ two
of the Collettes afoze witten, as occasion shall
serue by his discrecion. And then turning him to
the people, shall let them departe with the accus-
tomed blessing.

² And the same order shall be vsed all other daies,
whensoeuer the people be customably assembled to
praye in the church, and none disposed to commu-
nicate with the Priest.

¹ Præterit hæc in versione sua Al. Alesius.

² Hanc etiam Rubricam integram præterit.

¶ The people in Chappelles annexed, and all other places, there shalbe no celebration of the Lordes Supper, excepte there be some to communicate with the priest. And in such Chappelles annexed where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any ho-ly bread, there they must either make some chari-table provision for the beryng of the charges of the Communion, or els (for receyving of the same) resorte to their parishe Church.

For auoyding of all matters and occasion of discencion, it is mete that ^a the bread prepared for the Communion, be made through all this realme, after one sorte and fashio: that is to say ^b unlea-uened, and rounde, as it was afore, but with- out all maner of printe, and something more lar- ger and thicker than it was, so that it may be apt- ly deuided in diuers pieces: and euery one shalbe deuided in two pieces, at the leaste, or more, by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not thinke lesse to be receiued in parte, than in the whole, but in eche of them the whole body of our sauoure Iesu Christe.

And forsomuche as the ^c Pastors & Curates with-

^a Hostia. A. Alef.

^b *Ecclesia reformata Tigurina in azymis conficit, utentes tamen fermentato non damnat. Orientales, exceptis Maronibus, & Arme- niis, fermentato in sacra Cæna semper usi sunt: Latini vero ante 800 plus minus annos soliti sunt panem azymum offerre. Vide Card. Bonæ rerum Liturg. Lib.I. cap. xxiii. & Jacobi Sirmundi dis- quisionem de Azymo, ubi sic præloquitur: saepe mirare subiit, quæ factum sit, ut in Eucharistia Sacramento, quod ex pane vinoq; constat, cum de vino dubitet nemo, quin verum, & ex uvis expressum esse debeat, quia id antiqui canones docent; de altera parte, quam panem simpliciter canones vocant, aliud potuerint, quam germanum atque usitatum panem interpretari. Sed hominibus nimirum, qui sola in Altari azyma contueri, sola in Scholis, & exedris audire Azyma solerent, difficile fuerit de superioribus temporibus aliud suspicari, quam de suis. Mibi vero etsi consultissimo ad azyma transiisse Latinam Ecclesiam non ambigo, serius tamen hoc egisse multisque antea seculis fermentato usam esse perspicue adeo de- monstrasse hic libellus videtur, ut de tua, Lector, æquiorumque omnium approbatione non diffidam.*

^c Parochi. Al. Alef. Qui, quæ subsequuntur omnia in com- pendium redegit.

in this realme, shall continually fynde at their costes and charges in their cures, sufficient bread and wine for the holy Communion (as oft as their Parishioners shalbe disposed for their spirituall comforte to receiue the same) it is therfore ordred, that in the recompence of suche costes and charges, the Parishioners of euery Parishes shall offre euery Sonday, at the tyme of the Offertory, the iust valour and pryce of the holy lose (with all suche money, and other thynges as were wont to be offered with the same) to the use of their Pastours and Curates, and that in suche ordre and course, as they were wonte to fynde and pay the sayed holy lose.

Also that the receyving of the Sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of Christ, may be moste agreeable to the institution therof, and to the blage of the primatiue Church: In all Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, there shal alwayes some Communicate with the priest that ministrerh. In that the same may be also obserued euery where abroad, in the countrey: Some one at the least of that house in euery parshe, to whom by court after the ordynance herein made, it apperteyneth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall prouide to offre for them, shal receiue the holy Communion with the priest: the which maye bee the better done for that they knowe before, when theyr court commeth, and may therfore dispose themselves to the worthy receyving of the Sacrament. And with him or them who doeth so offre the charges of the Communion, all other, who be then Godly disposed therunto, shall lykewyse receiue the Communion. And by this meanes the Minister hauyng alwayes some to communicate with him, may accordingly solempnise so high and holy mysteries, with al the suffrages and due ordre appointed for the same. And the priest on the weke day, shall forbear to celebrate the Communion, excepte he haue some that will communicate with him.

Furthermore, euery man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the diuine service, in the Parishes Church where they be resident, and there with deuout prayer, or Godly silence and meditation to occupy themselves. There to pay their

dueties, to communicate once in the year at the least, and there to receyue, and take all other Sacramentes and rites, in this booke appoynted. And whosoever willingly vpon no just cause, doeth absent themselves, or doethe vngodly in the Parithe churche occupy themselves: vpon proffe thereof, by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Realme, to bee excommunicate, or suffre other punishmente, as shal to the Ecclesiasticall iudge (accor dyng to his discrecion) seme conuenient.

And although it bee read in aunciente wryters, that the people many yeares past, receiued at the priestes handes, the Sacrament of the body of Christ in their owne handes, and no commaundement of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuche as they many tymes conueyghed the same secretelye awaye, kept it with them: and diuersly abused it to supersticion and wickednes: lest any suche thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an vniformitie might be used, thzoughout the whole Realme: it is thought conuenient the people commonly receiue the Sacrament of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes handes.

* *Sacram Communionem antiquo ritu non ore excipi solitam esse, sed manu, & a fuscipiente ori reuerenter, ad moveri Gracorum, & Latinorum patrum testimoniis probat Card. Bona rerum Liturg. Lib. II. cap. xvii. Quando vero Caperit in os immitti, sicut in Ecclesia tum Græca, tum Latina mos ante multos annos fuit, incertum esse dicit.*

(N. 2.)

The Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, as it is in the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of divine Service; printed at Edinburg, for the use of the Church of Scotland, MDC XXXVII.

SO many as intend to be partakers of the holy Communion, shall signifie their names to the Presbyter or Curate over night, or else in the Morning afore the beginning of Morning Prayer, or immediately after.

And if any of those bee an open and notorious evil liver, so that the Church by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed: the Presbyter or Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, in any wise not to presume to come to the Lords Table, until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life, that the Church may thereby bee satisfied, which afore was offended, and that he have recompensed the parties whom he hath done wrong unto, or at the least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soone as he conveniently may.

The

The same order shall the Presbyter or Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reigne, not suffering them to be partakers of the Lords Table, untill he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance, be content to forgive from the bottome of his heart all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended, and the other party will not be perswaded to a godly unity, but remaine still in his frowardnesse and malice : the Presbyter or Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

The holy Table having at the Communion time a Carpet, and a faire white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancell or Church, where the Presbyter standing at the north side or end thereof, shall say the Lords Prayer, with this Collect following for due preparation.

Our Father, &c.

Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open, &c.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the TEN COMMANDMENTS : the people all the while kneeling, and asking God mercy for the Transgression of every duty therein ; either according to the letter or to the mysticall importance of the said Commandement.

GOD spake these words and said, &c.

¶ Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, and the Collect of the day, the Presbyter standing up, and saying,

¶ Let us pray.

A Almighty God, whose kingdome is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon thy holy Catholike Church, and in this particular Church in which wee live so rule the heart of thy chosen servant CHARLES our King and Governour, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory, and that wee his subjects (duely considering whose authority hee hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who with thee and the holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God world without end. Amen.

A Almighty and everlasting God, we be taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of Kings, &c.

¶ Immediately after the Collects, the Presbyter shall read the Epistle, saying thus: **The Epistle written in the Chapter of at the verse.** And when he hath done, he shall say: **Here endeth the Epistle.** And the Epistle ended, the Gospell shall be read, the Presbyter saying: **The holy Gospel is written in the Chapter of at the verse.** And then the people all standing up shall say: **Glorie be to thee, O Lord.** At the end of the Gospell, the Presbyter shall say: **So endeth the holy Gospel.** And the people shall answer: **Thanks be to thee, O Lord,**

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¶ **Lord.** And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said or sung this Creed, all still reverently standing up.

I Beleeve in one God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible, &c.

¶ After the Creede, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homelies which shall hereafter be set forth by common authority.

After such Sermon, Homily or Exhortacion, the Presbyter or Curate shall declare unto the people whether there bee any Holy-dayes, or Fasting dayes the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poore, (saying for the of-fertory) one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient by his discretion, according to the length, or shortnesse of the time that the people are offering.

And in proceſſe of time it came to paſſe, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord: and Abel, he alſo brought of the firſlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had reſpect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not reſpect. Gen. 4. 3.

Speak unto the children of Iſrael, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, pee ſhall take my offering. Exod. 25. 2.

He ſhall not appear before the Lord empty: every man ſhall give as he is able, according to the bleſſing of the Lord your God, which he hath given you. Deut. 16. 16.

David bleſſed the Lord before all the congregation: and ſaid, Bleſſed be thou, O Lord God,
foz

for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth, is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all: Both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. I know also my God, that thou triest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightness. As for me, in the uprightness of my heart I have willingly offered all these things. And now have I seen with joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. 1 Chron. 29. 10.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name, bring an offering, and come into his courts. Psal. 96. 8.

Lay not up for your selves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for your selves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves doe not break through, nor steal. Mat. 6. 19, 20.

Not evertie one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my father which is in heaven. Mat. 7. 12.

Jesus sate over against the treasure, and beheld how the people cast money into it: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poore widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poore widow hath cast more in than all they which have cast into the treasure. For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living. Mar. 12. 41, 42, 43, 44.

Who

Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock. 1 Cor. 9. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? 1 Cor. 9. 11.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. 1 Cor. 9. 13, 14.

He which soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly: and he which soweth bountifully shall reap bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver. 2 Cor. 9. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. Galat. 6. 6, 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. 1 Tim. 6. 17, 18, 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. Heb. 6. 10.

To do good, and to communicate forget not,
for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.
Heb. 13. 16.

¶ While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon, or (if no such be present.) one of the Church-wardens shall receive the devotions of the people there present, in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it up on the holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lords Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say,

¶ Let us pray for the whole state of Christs church militant here in earth.

A Almighty and everliving God, which by thy holy Apostle hath taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: we humbly beseech thee, most mercifully (to accept our almes, and) to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majestie, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unitie, and concord, and grant that all they that do confesse thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unitie and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governours, and specially thy servant Charles our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed, and grant unto his

If there be no almes given to the poore, then shall the words of (accepting our almes) be left out unsaid.

his whole counsell, and to all that be put in authoritie under him, that they may truely and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickednesse and vice, and to the maintenance of Gods true religion and vertue. Give grace (O heavenly Father) to all Bishops, Presbyters, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and libely word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holinesse and righteousnesse all the dayes of their life. [And we commend especially unto thy mercifull goodness the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ] And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sicknesse, or any other aduersitie. And we also blesse thy holy name for all those thy servants, who having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And wee peeld unto thee most high praise, and heartie thanks for the wonderfull grace and vertue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their severall generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastnesse in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the generall resurrection, wee, and all they which are of the mysticall body of thy Son,

When there is no communion, these words thus inclosed [] are to be left out.

Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice. Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christs sake our only Mediatour and Advocate. Amen.

¶ Then shall follow this Exhortation at certain times when the Presbyter or Curate shall see the People negligent to come to the holy Communion.

WE be come together at this time (dearly beloved brethren) to feed at the Lords supper, unto which in Gods behalfe I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christs sake, that pee will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself. We know how grievous and unkind a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kind of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down, and yet they which be called, (without any cause) most unthankfully refuse to come. Which of you in such a case would not be moved? Who would not think it a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherefore most dearly beloved in Christ, take ye good heed, lest ye withdrawing your selves from this holy supper, provoke Gods indignation against you. It is an easie matter for a man to say, I will not Communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly business: but such excuses be not so easily accepted and allowed before God. If any man say, I am a grievous sinner, and therefore am afraid to come: wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? When God calleth you be you not ashamed to say, You will not come? When you should

should return to God, will you excuse your
 self, and say that you be not ready? Consider
 earnestly with your selves, how little such feign-
 ed excuses shall availe before God. They that
 refused the feast in the Gospell, because they
 had boughte a Farm, or would try their pokes
 of Oren, or because they were married, were not
 so excused, but counted unworthy of that hea-
 venly feast. I for my part am here present,
 and according to mine office, I bid you in
 the Name of God, I call you in Christs behalf,
 I exhort you as you love your own salvation,
 that ye will be partakers of this holy Commu-
 nion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe
 to offer up himself by death upon the crosse for
 our salvation: even so it is our duty to
 celebrate and receive the holy Communion to-
 gether in the remembrance of his death and sa-
 crifice, as hee himself commanded. Now if you
 will in no wise thus do, consider with your
 selves how great injurie you do unto God, and
 how soze punishment hangeth over your heads
 for the same. And whereas you offend God so
 grievously in refusing this holy banquet, I
 admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto
 this unkindnes you will not add any more:
 Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as ga-
 zers, and lookers on them that do communi-
 cate, and be not partakers of the same your
 selves. For what thing can this be accounted
 else, than a further contempt and unkindnesse
 unto God? Truly, it is a great unthankful-
 nesse to say nay when ye be called: but the
 fault is much greater when men stand by, and
 yet will not receive this holy sacrament which
 is offered unto them. I pray you, what can
 this be else, but even to have the mysteries
 of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take
 ye

ye, and eat; Take and drinke ye all of this, Do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye heare these wordes? What will this be else but a neglecting, a despising and mocking of the testament of Christ? wherefore rather then ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with your selves, from whom ye depart; ye depart from the Lords table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, ye shall by Gods grace return to a better mind: for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions, while we shall receive the holy communion.

¶ And sometime shall this be said also, at the discretion of the Presbyter or Curate.

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spirituall food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by Gods word, as by the holy sacrament of his blessed body and blood, the which being so comfortable a thing to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily: my duty is to exhort you to consider the dignity of the holy mystrie, and the great perill of the unworthy receiving thereof, and so to search and examine your owne consciences, as you should come holy and clean to a most godly and heavenly feast, so that in no wise you
come

ome but in the marriage garment required of God in holy scripture, and so come and be received, as worthy partakers of such a heavenly Table. The way and meanes thereto is: first, to examine your liues and conuersation by the rule of Gods commandments, and wherein so ever ye shall perceiue your selues to haue offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewaile your owne sinfull liues, and confesse your selues to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if yee shall perceiue your offences to be such, as be not onely against God, but also against your neighbours: then ye shall reconcile your selues unto them, ready to make restitution and satisfaction according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other, and likewise being ready to forgive other that haue offended you, as you would haue forgiveness of your offences at Gods hand: for otherwise the receiuing of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your damnation. And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in Gods mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you, which by the means aforesaid, cannot quiet his owne conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsell, then let him come to mee, or some other discreet and learned Presbyter or Minister of Gods worde, and open his griefe, that he may receiue such ghostly counsel, aduice, and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved, and that by the ministry of Gods word he may receiue comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulnesse.

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¶ Then shall the Presbyter say this Exhortation.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to trie and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we spiritually eate the flesh of Christ, and drinke his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we be one with Christ, and Christ with us.) So is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we be guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lords body: we kindle Gods wrath against us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kindes of death. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemers of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envie, or in any other grievous crime, bewaile your sinnes, and come not to this holy table; lest after the taking of that holy sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entred into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul. Judge therefore your selves (brethren) that pee be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your sinnes past: have a lively & stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men, so shall pee be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things ye must give most humble and hearty thanks

to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the crosse for us miserable sinners, which lay in darknesse and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding hee hath obtained to us: he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, & continuall remembrance of his death, to our great and endlesse comfort. To him therefore, with the Father, and the holy Ghost, let us give, (as we are most bounden) continuall thanks, submitting our selves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holinesse and righteousness all the dayes of our life.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter say to them that come to receive the holy Communion this invitation.

YOU that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sinnes, &c.

¶ Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon, both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.

A Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewaile our manifold sinns and wickednesse, which we from time

to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majestie, provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings, the remembrance of them is grievous unto us, the burthen of them is intollerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most mercifull Father, for thy Sonne our Lord Jesus Christs sake, forgive us all that is past, and grant that wee may ever hereafter, serve and please thee in newnes of life, to the honour and glory of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter or the Bishop (being present) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce the absolution, as followeth.

A Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness, &c.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter also say.

¶ Heare what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him. Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. So God loved the world, that hee gave his onely begotten sonne: that whosoever beleeveth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life. Matth. 11. 28. Joh. 3. 16.

¶ Hear also what S. Paul saith.

This is a faithfull saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 Tim. 1. 15.

¶ Hear also what S. John saith.

If any man sinne, we have an Advocate with

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liii

with the Father, Iesus Christ the righteous :
and hee is the propitiation for our sinnes. 1 Joh.
2. 1, 2.

¶ After which the Presbyter shall proceed, saying,

Lift up your hearts.

Answer.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Presbyter.

Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer.

It is meet and right so to do.

Presbyter.

**It is very meet, right, and our bounden du-
ty, that wee should at all times, and in all
places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, holy
Father, Almighty, everlasting God.**

¶ Here shall follow the proper Preface, according
to the time, if there be any especially appointed :
or else immediately shall follow.

Therefore with Angels, and Archangels, &c.

Proper Prefaces.

¶ Upon Christmas day, and seven dayes after;

Because thou didst give, &c.

¶ Upon Easter day, and seven dayes after.

But chieflie are we bound to praise thee, &c.

¶ Upon the Ascension day, and seven dayes after.

Through thy most dearly beloved Sonne, &c.

¶ Upon Whitsunday, and six dayes after.

Through Iesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the holy Ghost, &c.

¶ Upon the feast of Trinity onely.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, and everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one onely person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we beleeve of the glory of the Father, the same wee beleeve of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ After which Prefaces shall follow immediately this doxologie.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, &c.

¶ Then the Presbyter standing up, shall say the prayer of consecration as followeth, but then during the time of consecration he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy onely Sonne Iesus Christ to suffer death upon the Crosse

Crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, untill his coming again: Heare us, O mercifull Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty goodnesse vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may bee unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Sonne; so that wee receiving them according to thy Sonne our Saviour Iesus Christs holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: who in the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, & gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink pee all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me.

At these words (took bread) the Presbyter that officiates is to take the Paten in his hand.

At these words (took the cup) he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon so much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to consecrate.

as oft as ye shall

¶ Immediately after shall be said this memoriall or prayer of * oblation, as followeth.

Wherefore O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Iesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memoriall which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion, mightie resurrection, and glorious ascension, rendering unto thee most heartie thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodnesse, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of prayse and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Sonne Iesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole church) may obtain remission of our sinnes, and all other benefits of his passion. And here wee offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and libely sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy com-

* Mr. Thorndike's *Iust Weights and Measures*, ch. xxii. p. 157. The proper Prefaces, and *Seraphim's Hymn* are of too ancient and general use in the Catholick Church to be omitted without a mark of *Apostacy*, from the devotion of it, which they express. The Prayer with which we consecrate seemeth agreeable to the intent of God's Church, but more agreeable is that Form, which the first Book of *Edward VI.* revived by the *Scottish Liturgy*, prescribeth. And that *Memoriall*, or *Prayer of Oblation*, which is there prescribed to follow immediately after the Consecration, is certainly more proper there, than after the Communion ending with the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Peace* after that.

munion

munion, may worthily receive the most precious bodie and blood of thy Son Iesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one bodie with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although wee be unworthy, through our manifold sinnes, to offer unto thee any sacrifice: yet wee beseech thee to accept this our bounden dutie and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Iesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unitie of the holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father almighty, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter say: As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdome come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as wee forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdome, the power, and the glorie, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter, kneeling down at Gods board, say in the Name of all them that shall communicate, this Collect of humble access to the holy Communion, as followeth.

We do not presume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lord) trusting in our owne righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthy so much

much as to gather up the crumbes under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose propertie is alwaies to have mercie: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Iesus Christ, and to drinke his blood, that our unfull bodie may be made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious blood, and that wee may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kindes himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, (if any be there present) that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order, all humbly keeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the bread to others, he shall say this benediction.

THE body of our Lord Iesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the partie receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.

THE blood of our Lord Iesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the partie receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ When

¶ When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lords table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporall, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.

A Almighty and everliving God, wee most heartily thank thee, for that thou doest vouchsafe to feed us, which have duely received these holy mysteries, with the spirituall food of the most precious body and bloud of thy Sonne our Saviour Iesus Christ, and doest assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mysticall body, which is the blessed company of all faithfull people, and be also heires through hope of thy everlasting kingdome, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son: we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Iesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee and the holy Ghost, be all honour and glorie, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then shall be said or sung, *Gloria in excelsis*, in English, as followeth.

Glorie be to God on high, &c.

¶ Then the Presbyter, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

The peace of God which passeth, &c.

¶ After

¶ After the divine service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter and the Church-wardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity : the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that Church, or the publicke relief of their poore at the discretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens.

COLLECTS to be said after the Offertory, when there is no Communion; every such day one or more. And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning and Evening Prayer, Communion, or Letany, by the discretion of the Presbyter or Minister.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation, that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready helpe, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty LORD, and everlasting God, poughlase we beseech thee, to direct, sanctify,

disc, and governe both our hearts and bodies in the wapes of thy Lawe, and in the works of thy Commandements, that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, wee may bee preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ. Amen.

Grant we beseech thee Almighty God, that the words which wee have heard this day with our outward ears may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Prevent us, **O LORD**, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty **GOD** the fountain of all Wisdom, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: we beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things which for our unworthinesse we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us, for the worthinesse of thy Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty **GOD**, which hast promised to heare the petitions of them that ask in thy Songs Name, we beseech thee mercifully to encline thine ears to us, that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee, and
grant

grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

UPON the Holy dayes (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, untill the end of the Homily, concluding with the generall prayer, (for the whole estate of Christs Church militant here in earth) and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

¶ And there shall be no publick celebration of the Lords Supper, except there be a sufficient number to communicate with the Presbyter, according to his discretion.

¶ And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the Communion, yet there shall be no Communion, except foure or three at the least communicate with the Presbyter.

¶ And in Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, where be many Presbyters, and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Presbyter that celebrates every Sunday at least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.

¶ And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the Bread and Wine, (though it be lawful to have wafer Bread) it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usual: yet the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the Bread and Wine remaine, which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the Church. And

to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine : the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration (*our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed, took, &c.*)

¶ The Bread and Wine for the Communion, shall be provided by the Curate and the Church-wardens, at the charges of the Parish.

¶ And note that every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Pasch or Easter shall be one, and shall also receive the Sacraments and observe other Rites, according to the order in this Book appointed.

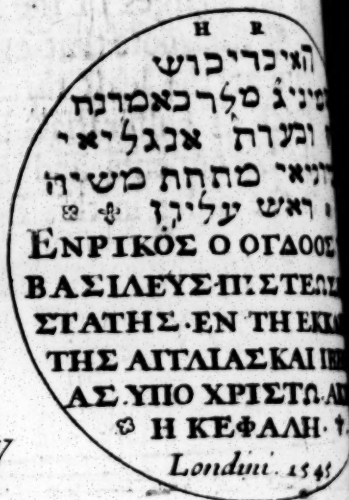
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F I N I S.

(N. 3.)



IV



N^o. 4.

*An Extract of a Sermon upon 1 Tim. iii.
1, 2. Of the Dignity and Duty of
the Ministry. Preached by George
Downame, D. D. And Publish'd at
London, 1608.*

The Text as it is in the Title-page :

*It is a faithful Saying, If a Man desire the Of-
fice of a Bishop, he coveteth a good Work. A
Bishop therefore must be unreproueable, &c.*

The Text as it is before the Sermon:

*Faithful is this Saying, If a Man desire the Of-
fice of a Bishop, he coveteth a good or goodly
Work. A Bishop therefore must be blameless,
the Husband of one Wife, vigilant, sober, of
decent Behaviour, given to Hospitality, apt to
teach, &c.*

The blessed Apostle—— So that this Text is an
Enthymeme, as we call it, the Antecedent where-
of setteth forth *amplitudinem Ministerii*, the Digni-
ty of the Ministry, or Worthiness of the Calling ;
the Consequent, *aptitudinem Ministrorum*, the Wor-
thiness of the Persons who are to be Ministers in-
ferred thereupon.

The Antecedent Paul confirmeth by his own Te-
stimony : For that Asseveration $\omega\iota\varsigma\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron$, *it is*

a faithful Saying, hath (as Oaths also have) the force of a Testimony ; and in this place is used *προληπτικῶς*, that is, by way of Prevention. For as the Oaths, which the Holy Ghost interposeth any where in the Scriptures, do argue our Infidelity, so these Asseverations do presuppose in us some contrary and erroneous Conceit. As if the Apostle had said : Although carnal Men, whose ^a Wisdom is Enmity against God, do basely esteem of Ministers in regard of their Calling ; yet it is a most certain Truth, which by the Spirit of Truth I do testify unto you, that the Office of Ministers is an excellent and worthy Calling, and that they are greatly honoured of God, whom he calleth thereunto : Indeed it is, and always hath been, the Lot and Condition of God's Ministers in this World to be contemned, scorned and abused ; the Prophets, who were the Ambassadors of the great God, and Angels of the Lord of Hosts, were ^b despised and derided ; the Apostles, who were the twelve Patriarchs as it were of the *Israel* of God, and Ambassadors sent from Christ's side, to reconcile Men unto God, were notwithstanding esteemed as the ^c *Scum of the World, and Offscouring of all things*. But what speak I of Servants ? Was not Christ himself, our Royal Priest and Prophet, the ^d Apostle and High Priest of our Profession, of his own Kindred esteemed as a ^e Mad-man ; of his Ill-willers slandered as a ^f Demoniack ; of *Herod* and his Gallants scorned, and even set ^g at nought ?

Against this carnal Conceit of profane Men, the Holy Ghost opposeth his Verdict, when he saith, *This is a faithful Saying*, Whereby we are taught,

^a Rom. 8. ^b 2 Chron. 36. 16. ^c 1 Cor. 4. 13. ^d Heb. 3. 1.
^e Mark 3. 21. ^f John 8. 48, 52. ^g ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης
 Luke 23. 11.

unless we had rather conform our Judgments to the vain Opinion of the wicked World, than to the infallible Censure of the Holy Ghost, to conceive honourably of the Ministers of God.

And this was the Prosyllogism or Proof of the Antecedent, taken from the Testimony of God's Spirit speaking in the Apostle, and prefixed as a Preface, to win both Attention and Credit to this Text.

Now followeth the Antecedent it self, *If a Man desireth the Office of a Bishop, he desireth a good or excellent Work.* In which Words, besides the Commendation of the Ministry, which is the main Intendment thereof, two things are briefly to be discussed; the one, Whether it be lawful for a Man to desire the Office of a Bishop? The other, What is the Office of a Bishop, which the Apostle here doth so highly commend? Of the former the Apostle maketh no Question, but taketh it for granted, that it is lawful for a Man to desire this Function. *For what* (saith ^h Chrysostome) *doth the Apostle say? If a Man desire the Function of a Bishop, I mislike it not, he desires a goodly Work.* For first, when Men consecrate themselves, as ⁱ Nazarites, to the Study of Divinity, they do it in this Desire; which, if it be a Desire, as well to do the Work of the Ministry, as to obtain the Honour thereto belonging, is without doubt most acceptable unto God. And afterwards, when God hath blessed their Studies, and fitted them for this Function, this Desire and Willingness to exercise their Gifts, and to employ their Talents, is a part of their Calling from God; for God calleth Men, partly inwardly by himself, not only furnishing them with those Gifts which appertain to the Sufficiency of a Minister, but also

^h Homil. 10. in 1 Tim. ⁱ Numb. 6. Amos 2. 11.

giving them this ^{*} προθυμίαν, or willing Readiness to employ their Gifts; and partly outwardly, by his Substitutes, to whom in his Church he hath committed the Power of calling, ordaining, and admitting Ministers. The Prophet *Esay*,¹ when his Tongue had been touch'd with a Coal from the Altar, and he had heard the Voice of the Lord, saying, *Whom shall I send?* he offereth himself, and saith, *Ecce me, Behold, here am I, send me.* A Desire therefore to glorify God in the Service of the Church, and a Signification of this Desire, when a Man is fitted for the Calling, is not only lawful, but also commendable. The greedy and ambitious Desire of them, who either are not willing, or not able to glorify God in the Ministry, is that which is to be condemn'd.

As touching the second, it will be objected, that the Calling of a Bishop, being a Function of great Authority and Pre-eminence in the Church of God, is indeed an excellent and worthy Work; but what is this to other Ministers, who are subject to the Bishops? I answer, by ἐπισκοπή we are in this Place to understand the Office, and by ἐπίσκοπος the Person, not only of such as ever since the Apostles times have properly been called Bishops, (howsoever this Place is principally to be understood of them, and so is expounded by divers^m of the Fathers) but of all Pastors and Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in general. Which Interpretation may be confirmed by Conference of this Scripture withⁿ *Tit. 1.* where the same Canon being repeated, the Apostle useth sometimes the Word ἐπίσκοπος, and sometimes πρεσβύτερος. From

^{*} *Rom. 1. 14. 1 Pet. 5. 2. 1 Esay 6. 6, 8.*

^m Chrysost. *Hom. 11. in 1 Tim.* Ambr. *in 1 Tim. 3.* Hieronym. *Theophyl. &c.* ⁿ *Tit. 1. 5, 6, 7.*

whence we may gather, either that by Bishop here the Apostle meaneth any Presbyter, the Names being as yet confounded, as *Jerom* and *Theodore* suppose; or at the least, that the same things which here are spoken of the Duty and Dignity of Bishops, do also appertain to Presbyters in general; which Cause the other Fathers alledge, why Presbyters be not expressly mentioned in this Place. But howsoever the Fathers seem to be divided in the Interpretation of the Word Bishop, some of them by Bishop understanding every Presbyter, others those who properly are called Bishops; yet all agree in this, that both of Presbyters and Bishops, that is to say, of all Ministers in general, this Text is understood. For ° *Theodore*, though he say, that by Bishop every Presbyter is here meant; yet he professeth that what is here said of Presbyters, doth chiefly appertain to Bishops. And the other Fathers, though they understand this Text as spoken of them who properly are called Bishops; yet they say, that in the Name of Bishops, Presbyters are also included. Here by the way we are to note, that if the Names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in the Writings of the Apostles be confounded, as *Jerom* and *Theodore* teach, and many in our times not only affirm, but also out of ^P *Acts* 20. *Tit.* 1. *Phil.* 1. 1 *Pet.* 5. confirm, insomuch as every Bishop is a Presbyter, so every Presbyter a Bishop, according to the Apostle's Phrase; then it follows necessarily, that in the Apostles Writings, there are no Presbyters mentioned, but such as are Pastors and Ministers of the Word. And agreeable to the

° *Theodor. in 1 Tim.* 3. *Etiamsi Presbyteris has leges constituit divinus Apostolus, clarum est quod eas oportet primos servare Episcopos, ut qui majorem sint dignitatem assecuti.*

^P *Acts* 20. 17, 28. *Tit.* 1. 5, 6, 7. *Phil.* 1. 1. 1 *Pet.* 5. 1, 2.

Phraſe of the Apoſtles, hath the perpetual uſe of this Word been in the primitive Church ; there being, as I ſuppoſe, not any one Example to be alledged out of any Council or Father, where the Word Preſbyter doth ſignify any other than a Miniſter or Priest. And if the like ſhall be objected againſt Biſhops, that in the Apoſtles times there was no Difference betwixt Preſbyters and them? I anſwer, though the Names of Biſhop and Preſbyter were for a ſhort time confounded, yet the Functions were not, as I have ^a elſe-where ſhewed,

But to come to that, which, as I ſaid, is the main Intendment of theſe Words: The Commendation, which the Apoſtle giveth to the Office of a Biſhop, is, that it is καλὸν ἔργον, a *worthy Work*. He calleth it a Work, that we ſhould not imagine it to be an idle Dignity, which when we have once obtained, we might give over our ſelves to Eaſe and Security ; but a Work full of Employment and Difficulty, wherein it behoveth Miniſters (who are the Lord's ^r Workmen) to labour, and, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ^r κοπιᾶν, that is, to labour unto Wearineſs. But neither is it a ſervile Work, or a baſe Miniſtry ; but καλὸν ἔργον, a goodly and excellent Work.

Two things therefore do here offer themſelves to our Conſideration, *Onus & Honos Ministerii*, the Burden and the Honour of the Miniſtry, both appertaining to the Greatneſs of this Calling, and both requiring (which is the Apoſtle's Scope) a Correſpondency of Gifts in the Perſon of the Miniſtry: For in regard of both we may juſtly uſe that Exclamation, ^r καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ικανός, and *who is*

^a In Apoc. 1. 20. ^r Matth. 9. 38. ^r 1 Tim. 5. 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12.
^r 2 Cor. 2. 16.

sufficient for these things? That is, who is able to bear this Burden, who is worthy to have this Honour? For in that he calleth it a Work, that appertaineth to the Burden; in that he termeth it excellent, that belongeth to the Honour: And these two are inseparable Companions; for *Honos & Onus, Honour and Charge* go together. Whence it is, that the same *Hebrew* Word signifieth both *honorare & onerare*. For whom God advanceth unto Honour, them he doth burden with a Charge; and on whom he imposeth a Burden, to them he vouchsafeth Honour. And as they be inseparable, so also proportionable: For such as is the weight of the Burden, such is the height of the Honour; and contrariwise. These things therefore which the Holy Ghost hath inseparably united ought not to be separated, neither by the Ministers themselves, nor yet by the People. Desirest thou the Honour of the Ministry *ut prasis*, that thou may'st be preferred above others? Thou must also desire the Work of the Ministry *ut profis*, that thou may'st profit others. For, *He that desireth the Office of a Bishop, desireth an excellent Work*. Art thou discouraged with the weight of the Burden? So much let the height of the Honour, which God hath in this Life awarded, and in the Life to come provided for faithful Ministers, encourage thee. As for the People, many care not how great a Burden they lay upon the Ministers, and how little Honour they afford them; as though their Charge among all Callings could be the greatest, and their Honour the least. In a word, let us on all Hands so acknowledge the Duty and Dignity of the Ministry to be conjoined, that the Ministers be as ready to perform the Duty of the Ministry, as to challenge

the Honour; and the People as willing to yield the double Honour of Reverence and Maintenance to their Minister, as from him to expect the performance of his Duty. For *what things God hath conjoined, let no Man sever.*

But howsoever in Use these things may not be dis-joined; yet, that I may distinctly and orderly speak of them, I am for a while to sever them in my Speech. And first we are to weigh the Burden of the Ministry. For that are we to undergo, before we can justly claim the Honour. ^w Double Honour indeed belongeth to the Ministry; of which, as the People must count their Ministers worthy, so must we labour to be worthy. For ἀξίον ἵ) should go with ἀξισθαί. And who are worthy of the Honour of the Ministry? Surely they, which bear the Burden, or do the Work of the Ministry. The Work of a Bishop, whereof the Apostle speaketh, is, as may be gathered out of the Words, καλῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν, to be a good Superintendent, whereunto Peter ^x exhorteth, 1 Epist. 5. Now what that is, the Apostle sheweth, Acts 20. where he exhorteth the Ministers of Ephesus, ^y that they would attend unto themselves and to the whole Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Superintendents, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own Blood. The same he repeateth, though in other words, 1 Tim. 5. ^z Ministers are to be accounted worthy of double Honour. But who? οἱ καλῶς ὑποστηῶτες, that are good Presidents, especially they that labour in the Word and Doctrine. For to feed the Flock, is the chief Work of the Pastor or Bishop, as appeareth in all these three places. Feed the Flock, saith Peter to the Mi-

^w 1 Tim. 5. 17.

^x 1 Pet. 5. 2.

^y Acts 20. 28.

^z 1 Tim. 5. 17.

APPENDIX. lxxiii

nisters, ἐπισκοπῶντες, performing the Office of Bishops or Superintendents, not as of Necessity, but as willingly, &c. But to speak more distinctly, the Work of a Bishop or Pastor, which, as I said, is καλῶς περιεργάζεσθαι, or ἐπισκοπεῖν, *to be good Presidents, or Superintendents*, containeth these Branches. The first is, that they attend to Themselves; the second, to their Flock. To Themselves, that they may be Precedents, and as the Holy Ghost speaketh ^a τύποι, Patterns and Samplers of a godly Life. For this in the Apostles phrase is ^b περιεργάζεσθαι τὰ καλῶν ἔργων, to be Precedents of good Works. But of this more, when I come to the Worthiness of the Person: *verse 2.* To the Flock also they must attend, Feeding and Overseeing the same both ^c willingly and ^d carefully, as those who are to give an Account. For whom in the New Testament, the Holy Ghost calleth ἐπισκόπους, Superintendents, in the Old he calleth ^e Speculatores, Watchmen; whose Office is the Custody and Guardianship, not of Mens Bodies, but, that which is ^f more, of their Souls; for which they are to watch, as they who are to give an Account. Insomuch, that if any of their Flock shall perish through their default; they shall perish indeed in their Sins, but their Blood will the Lord require at the ^g Watchmens Hands. And this doth the Apostle Paul insinuate in his farewell Sermon, where in the Conscience of his Ministry faithfully performed, he professeth ^h that he was free from the Blood of them all. By which word, saith Gregory, ⁱ we are convicted who are called Priests,

^a 1 Pet. 5. 3. Tit. 2. 7.

^b Tit. 3. 8, 14.

^c 1 Pet. 5. 2.

^d Heb. 13. 17.

^e Iophim.

^f Ars est artium, regimen animarum. Gregor. pastoral. par. 1. c. 1.

^g Ezek. 3. 17. 33. 8.

^h Acts 20. 26.

ⁱ Hom. 11. in

Ezech.

who

who besides those Evils which we have of our own, do add the deaths of other Men. For so many do we kill, as we do suffer through our negligence and silence to perish. Now we are to attend the Flock, first, by watching over the same as good Shepherds, accommodating our selves to their several Estates and Necessities: As namely, ^k to instruct the Ignorant, to reduce the Erroneous, to heal the Diseased, to seek the Lost, to admonish the Disorderly, to comfort the Distressed, to support the Weak, to be Patient towards all. Secondly, by ^l feeding them in the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. And, lastly, by ^m praying for them both publickly and privately.

This Burden of the Ministry, was after a sort prefigured by the Burden of the Ark, which was imposed ⁿ on the Priests: For in the Ark ^o was the golden Pot having Manna, and Aaron's fruitful Rod, and the Tables of the Covenant, and upon it the Propitiatory overshadowed with the glorious Cherubins. For by the Pot of Manna, we may understand the Sacraments; by the Rod, Ecclesiastical Discipline; by the budding and fruitfulness ^p of it, their fruitful Conversation; by the Tables, the preaching of the Law; and by bearing the Propitiatory (figuring Christ,) the Ministry of Reconciliation committed unto the Ministers of God, both in respect of Prayer and also of Preaching.

But the principal Burden and chief Work of the Ministry, for which double Honour is ^q especially due to Ministers, is the Preaching, that is, the expounding and applying of the Word to the divers Uses of ^r Doctrine, Confutation, Instruction, and

^k 2 Tim. 3. 16. Ezek. 34. 4. 1 Thess. 5. 14.

^m 1 Sam. 12. 23.

^p Numb. 17. 8.

ⁿ Deut. 31. 9.

^q 1 Tim. 5. 17.

^l 1 Pet. 5. 2.

^o Heb. 9. 4, 5.

^r 2 Tim. 3. 16.

Reproof.

Reproof. To the ^f diligent performance whereof, in the ^d demonstration of the Spirit, in ^u sincerity as in the sight of God, in ^w discretion and ^x faithfulness, as it becometh the wise and faithful Steward of God, with ^y Gravity, ^z Judgment, ^a Boldness, and Power; and finally, with Zeal of God's ^b Glory and ^c Salvation of the Hearer: The Minister is bound with a double Bond of Necessity, the one, in regard of himself, the other, in respect of the People. In regard of our selves, every one of us must say with the Apostle, ^d Necessity is laid upon me, and wo unto me if I preach not the Gospel. For if they be subject to the Curse who withhold the Corn, what is to be expected of them, who withdraw from the People of God the divine Food of their Souls? Assuredly both are accursed; they, ^e of the People; these, of God: ^f Woe to those Pastors, *qui non pascunt, sed depascunt gregem*, who feed not the Flock, but feed upon it. And again, ^g *Væ Pastori nibili*, Wo to the idle Shepherd that forsaketh the Flock: the Sword shall be upon his Arm, and upon his right Eye, (whereby is meant his Power and Judgment.) His Arm shall be dried up, and his Eye shall be utterly darkned.

In regard of the People, the Ministry of the Word is so necessary, that our Saviour saith ^h there is necessity of this one thing. And Solomon, ⁱ that where this is wanting, the People perish. But the necessity of preaching in respect of the People, appertaineth to the Dignity of the Ministry, whereof I am now to speak.

^f 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2. ^e 1 Cor. 2. 4. 2 Cor. 4. 2. and
^d 2. 17. ^w Mat. 24. 45. ^x 1 Cor. 4. 2. ^y Tit. 2. 7.
^z Micha 3. 8. ^a Ephes. 6. 19, 20. Jerem. 1. 8, 17. Ezek.
³ 8, 9. ^b John 7. 18. Mal. 2. 2. ^c 2 Cor. 11. 2. Gal. 4. 19.
^d 1 Cor. 9. 16. ^e Prov. 11. 26. ^f Ezech. 34. 2.
^g Zach. 11. 17. ^h Luke 10. 42. ⁱ Prov. 29. 18.

And first of the Office it self, and then of those Titles wherewith Ministers are adorned in the Word of God. Of the Office I am to speak, first, Absolutely; then, by way of Comparison. Absolutely it is affirmed in this place, to be an excellent or worthy Work: And ^k *Heb. 5. an Honour*: And elsewhere we are taught, that for this Works sake the Ministers are ^l *exceedingly to be loved*, and revered, and for the Dignity of their Function to be ^m had in honour. Yea, that the very ⁿ *Feet of those which preach the Gospel* ought to seem beautiful unto us. And the same may be confirmed, by consideration of the *Institution* of the Ministry; the *Eminency* of the Persons who have exercised this Function; the *Excellency of the End* for which it was ordained; and, lastly, *the Dignity of the Parts*, whereof it doth consist.

First, therefore Ministers were ordained to supply the Office, and sustain the Person of the Son of God, who is the Word and Wisdom of his Father: For from the beginning of the World until the time of *Moses*, the Lord for the most part in his own Person, performed the Office of preaching to his People; in which respect he is often called in the Books of *Moses*, the ^o Angel of God, and elsewhere the Angel of the Covenant. But when the Lord in terrible manner had published his Law from Heaven, and the People not being able to endure his Voice, had humbly intreated him, that he would be pleased to speak unto them by a Prophet: Upon this occasion the Lord ordained the publick Ministry, and ^p promised a continual suc-

^k *Heb. 5. 4.*

^l *1 Thess. 5. 12.* ὡς ἐν πρεσβυτέρῳ. ^m *Phil. 2. 29.*

ⁿ *Ezay 52. 7.* *Rom. 10. 15.*

^o *Gen. 22. 11, 12.* *Exod.*

3. 2, 4, 6. *Gen. 32. 28, 30.* and *Hos. 12. 3.* *Exod. 23. 20, 21.*

and *1 Cor. 10. 9.* *Malac. 3. 1.*

^p *Deut. 18. 18.*

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cession of Prophets, (into whose Mouth he would put his Words,) which was to continue until Christ, in whom especially that Prophecy was verified. And again, when Christ was to ascend into Heaven, he ordained the Ministers of the Gospel, as the Embassadors of God, in his stead; affirming, ^a that as his Father *had sent him, so he did send them.* For we (saith the Apostle) ^r *are the Embassadors of God in Christ's stead, even as though God did intreat you by us, we beseech you in Christ's stead, be reconciled unto God.* The Ministers therefore were ordained to supply the room of Christ: Which the Lord did, not that he would have the Ministry of the Word less esteemed, than if he should speak from Heaven himself, but that he might by this means teach us after a more familiar manner, and might make the better trial of our Obedience; for as *John* saith, ⁱ *He that knoweth God, beareth us; and who is not of God, beareth us not.* Our Duty therefore is, when God doth speak unto us by his Ministers, to set our selves, with *Cornelius* ⁱ and his Company, in the Presence of God; and to hear ^u ^τ *ἡ λέξις ἀκοῆς; The Word preached, not as the Word of Man, but as it is indeed the Word of God:* And to receive the Ministers of God, as the *Galatians* ^w entertained *Paul*, as the Embassadors of Christ, as the Angels of God, yea, as Christ himself. For so hath he said ^x to his Ministers, *He that beareth you, beareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.*

But let us also consider the excellency of those Persons, who have in former Times exercised any part of this Function: and here I could commend

^a *John* 20. 21.

^r *Acts* 10. 33.

^u *Luke* 10. 16.

ⁱ *2 Cor.* 5. 20.

^u *1 Thess.* 2. 13.

ⁱ *John* 4. 6.

^w *Gal.* 4. 14.

unto

unto you *Noah*, the Prince of the World, and
 1 Preacher of Righteousness; *Melchisedeck*, who
 was both 2 a King and a Priest; *Moses* the Pro-
 phet and Prince of *Israel*; *David* a King and a
 Prophet; *Solomon*, that glorious King, affecting the
 Name of a 3 Preacher. I might alledge, that the
 Kings among the Heathen, were also Priests: For
 hence it was, that the *Athenians* and the *Romans*,
 after they had expelled their tyranizing Kings, did
 ordain to themselves, *Reges sacrificos*, *sacrificing*
Kings, because certain Sacrifices among them, might
 not be offered but by Kings. But what speak I of
 mere Men? The Son of God, before his Incarnati-
 on, as you heard before, was the Angel and Mes-
 senger of God unto his People; and after he became
 Flesh, he professed that 4 he was sent to preach.
 And who knoweth not, that he being truly and on-
 ly *τῶς μέγας* 5, as he is our King, so also our Pro-
 phet, and our Priest? And that, which yet more
 setteth forth the Excellency of the Ministry; Christ,
 who, as he was God, thought it no robbery to be
 equal with God; yet as he was also Man, he would
 not take upon him this 6 Honour to be our Priest,
 unless he had been called thereto of God, as *Aaron*
 was. Whereas therefore I said, that certain Prin-
 ces have been Prophets; you may well think, that
 this is no greater Credit to the Ministry, that Kings
 have prophesied, than it was commendation to the
 Kings themselves, that they were Prophets. And
 howsoever sometimes they have been graced with
 that part of the Ministry, for even 7 *Saul* some-
 times was among the Prophets: yet might they
 not intrude upon the other Functions of the Priest.

1 2 Pet. 2. 5.

2 Heb. 7. 1. Gen. 14. 18.

3 Ecclesiast.

4 Luke 4. 18, 43.

5 Heb. 5. 4, 5.

6 1 Sam. 10. 11, 19, 24.

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hood : And therefore *Saul*, the King of *Israel*, for thrusting himself into the Office of the Priest, ^c was himself thrust out of his Kingdom. Likewise when *Huzziab*, the King of *Judab*, ^e presuming (his Heart being lift up with Pride) to offer Incense upon the Altar, which was a Function peculiar to the Priests, the Sons of *Aaron*; the Lord, not only caused a fearful ^b Earthquake, to testify his displeasure; but also presently smote him with a Leprosy, and sequestred him from his regal Function. For ^d *no Man*, whatsoever he be, *may take upon him this Honour, but he that is called thereunto of God, as Aaron was.*

I come to the end of the Ministry; which is, to save Mens Souls. Other Professions respect the good of this Life; as the Magistracy, the maintenance of Peace and good Order among the Subjects; the Art of the Physician, the Health of his Patient; the Profession of the Lawyer, the Wealth of his Client. But the end of the Ministry alone, is the Salvation of Souls: For although Christ hath performed so much as is sufficient for the Salvation of all, yet none are actually saved but they only, to whom the benefit of the Messias is communicated. Now the Merits of Christ are applied ordinarily by the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments; unto which, for that Cause, the power of Salvation is ascribed. They therefore who enjoy the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, let them acknowledge themselves infinitely bound unto the Lord, who hath visited them with the Favour of his People, and vouchsafed unto them the peculiar Privilege of his visible Church; in that he

^c 1 Sam. 13. 9, 13, 14.

^e 2 Chron. 26. 16, 19.

^b Amos 1. 1. Zac. 14. 5. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. 9. c. 11.

^d Heb. 5. 4.

hath not only sent his Son to redeem them, but also given them those Means, whereby the Benefit of Redemption may be applied unto them.

There remain the parts of the Ministry; which are two; the Liturgy or publick Service of God in the Congregation, and the Regiment of the Church. The Liturgy hath three parts; the Preaching of the Word, publick Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments. In the Preaching of the Word, as the Duty of the Ministry, so also the Dignity doth principally consist: this being the chief Workⁱ of the Ministry, for which^k double Honour is especially due unto the Ministers; yea, the^l *Work of the Lord*, in respect whereof the Ministers *ἱερεῖς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* & *Δεῦς*, as the^m Apostle speaketh, that is, *performing the sacred Function of preaching the Gospel*, are called, ⁿ *συνεργοὶ* & *Δεῦς*, *the co-workers of God*. But the worthiness of this Work may easily appear, if we consider the Excellency, Profit, and Necessity thereof. For what greater Honour can be vouchsafed to a mortal and sinful Man, than to be the^o *Angel* or ^p *Embassador* of God in stead of Christ; appointed and sent of God, ^p to reconcile Men unto himself, to justify them, and to save them? And hereby also appeareth the exceeding Profit and Necessity of the Ministry of the Word. The Profit, in that by the Preaching of the Word, Men are brought to Salvation, and all the degrees thereof. The Necessity, in that without it ordinarily Men cannot attain to Salvation, no nor yet to any degree of Salvation. For whereas there are three Degrees of Salvation in this Life; our Vocation, our Justification, our Sanctification: What one of

ⁱ *Ephes.* 4. 12.

^k *1 Tim.* 5. 17.

^l *1 Cor.* 16. 10.

^m *Rom.* 15. 16.

ⁿ *1 Cor.* 3. 9.

^o *Job* 33. 23.

^p *2 Cor.* 5. 18, 20.

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these is not effected by the Ministry of the Word, and what one of them is effected ordinarily without it? For whom God ^a hath elected, them doth he call; neither shall any be saved (I speak of such as come to Years of Discretion) but such as are, or shall be called. Hence it is that the Church, which is the Company of the Elect, is called ἐκκλησία, a Company of Men called. Now Men are called by the Ministry of the ^t Gospel, seconded and made powerful by the Spirit of God. For first, by it our Minds are enlightned ^t to see our own Misery in our selves, and the infinite Mercies of God in the Mystery of Salvation by Christ. Secondly, by it, as by the ^t Arm of God, Men are drawn unto him that they may turn unto God, and believe in Christ. Neither is there any means in the World so effectual to work the Conversion of a Sinner, or to bring him unto Faith in Christ, as the Ministry of the Word; by which if a Man will not be persuaded, neither will he believe, tho' an Angel should come from Heaven, or a ^u Man be raised from the Dead: For indeed the Ministry of the Gospel is the ^w power of God to our Salvation. And altho' in the World it be contemned, as a weak and foolish means, yet it is the ^x good pleasure of God, by the foolishness of Preaching, to save those that believe.

Again, ^y whom God calleth, them he justifieth, acquitting them from their Sins, and accepting them in Christ as righteous, and as Heirs of eternal Life. But Men are justified by Faith; and ^z Faith cometh by bearing the Word of God. For as the Apostle reasoneth ^a How shall they call on him in whom they

^a Rom. 8. 31.	^t 2 Theff. 2. 14.	^t Luke 1. 79. Acts 26.
18. ^c Esay 53. 1.	Acts 26. 18.	^u Luke 16. 31.
^w Rom. 1. 16.	^x 1 Cor. 1. 21.	^y Rom. 8. 30.
^z Rom. 10. 17.	^a Rom. 10. 14.	

have not believed ; and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard ; and how shall they bear without a Preacher ? For this Cause Preachers are said to be ^b *Ministers by whom we believe ;* and being Ministers of Faith, whereby Men are justified, they are also said ^c *to justify Men.*

Moreover, whom the Lord doth justify by Faith, them also he doth sanctify by the Spirit of Regeneration. For ^d *Whosoever is in Christ, he is a new Creature.* Neither can any Man truly hope to enter into ^e *the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he be born again ;* But how should Men be born again ? By ^f *the immortal Seed, saith Peter, which is the Word of the living God,* by which Preachers do beget Men unto God ; and in that respect are called spiritual Fathers, Fathers in the Faith, because, as Paul speaketh to the ^g *Corinthians, they beget them by the Gospel of Jesus Christ.* And forasmuch as we are nourished, as the Philosopher saith, by that from which we are ingender'd ; the Word therefore, as it is the Seed of our spiritual Generation, so is it the Food of our Souls, whereby we are to be nourished, and to grow up in Grace ; affording both ^h *Milk for the new-born,* and ⁱ *strong Meat* for those who are better grown in Christ. And therefore, as the Ministers be Fathers to beget Men ; so are they also ^k *Pastors* to feed them. And whereas Sanctification consisteth of two parts, a *dying unto Sin,* and a *living unto Righteousness,* the Ministry of the Word is as *Salt* to mortify our Corruptions ; in which respect the Ministers are called the ^l *Salt of the Earth.* And in respect of Righteousness *habitual* it is the

^b 1 Cor. 3. 5.

^e John 3. 3.

^h 1 Pet. 2. 1.

^l Matth. 5. 13.

^c Dan. 12. 3.

^f 1 Pet. 1. 23.

ⁱ Heb. 5. 12, 13, 14.

^d 2 Cor. 5. 17.

^g 1 Cor. 4. 15.

^k Ephes. 4. 11.

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^m Word of Faith, the ⁿ Ministry of the Spirit, the ^o Word of Grace, by ^p which we are sanctified. And as for *actual* Righteousness, it is the ^q Fruit of the Word preached, which being sown in the Furrows of good and honest Hearts, ^r bringeth forth Fruit with Patience.

If therefore our Vocation, Justification and Sanctification, which are all the degrees of Salvation, going between Election and Glorification, be all of them wrought by the Ministry of the Word, we must acknowledge it worthily to be called the Power of God to our Salvation; and not without good Cause the Power of saving Mens Souls to be ascribed unto it, and to the Preachers of it, as to the Means and Instruments under God. *Receive with Meekness*, saith St. James, ^t ἡμῶν λόγον, *the Word engrafted*, (to wit, by the Preachers, who are God's ^u Planters, 1 Cor. 3.) *which* (saith he) *is able to save your Souls. Attend to thy self* (saith Paul to ^v Timorby) *and to Doctrine, continue therein; for this doing, thou shalt save both thy self and them that hear thee.* But to conclude this point with the Oracle of our Saviour Christ, sounding in the Ears of St. Paul at his Conversion, from Heaven; at which time he appearing unto Paul, to make him, as he there saith, ^w a Minister of the Gospel, setteth down the end of the Ministry in these Words, which contain the sum of all that hath been said concerning the preaching of the Word. *To open* (saith ^x he) *their Eyes, that they may be turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, (there is Vocation) that by Faith in Christ,*

^m Röm. 10. 8.

^p John 7. 17.

^r James 1. 21.

^w Acts 26. 16.

ⁿ 2 Cor. 3. 8.

^q Coloss. 1. 6.

^t 1 Cor. 3. 6, 7, 8.

^u Acts 26. 18.

^o Acts 20. 32.

^r Luke 8. 15.

^v 1 Tim. 4. 16.

(for so I construe the Words, there being a Comma in the Greek Text after *ἡγιασμένοις*) *they may receive forgiveness of Sins* (that is Justification) *and Inheritance among them that are sanctified*: there is Sanctification, and Glorification, and all to be procured by the Ministry of the Word.

Here therefore by the way divers sorts of Men are to be admonished. First, the Ministers; that as they desire the Salvation of their People, whom Christ hath redeemed with his most precious Blood, they would not only be diligent in preaching, but also be careful so to preach, as that their Conscience may bear them Witness, that in their Ministry they truly seek to glorify God in the Salvation of the People. Secondly, the People; that as they tender the eternal Salvation of their Souls, so they should be affected to the Ministry of the Word: For the ¹ *Kingdom of Heaven* (so is the preaching of the Gospel called, because it is the principal Means of bringing us to God's Kingdom) *is like a Treasure, or a precious Pearl, which a Man having found, he will sell all that he hath to procure it.* Thirdly, they that do hinder the Preaching of the Word; for seeing the Word preached is of such Necessity to Salvation, they which are an hindrance to the Preaching of the Word, do also hinder the Salvation of their Brethren, which every Christian is bound by all good means to advance. Of this kind are they, who being not of the Ministry do get into their hands the Livings and Possessions of the Church: for where is want of Living, there will be want of Preachers; where Preachers or Prophets are wanting, there Prophecy or Preaching faileth; and *where* ² *Prophecy faileth, there the People perish.* The People indeed

¹ Matth. 13. 44, 45.

² Prov. 29. 18.

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shall perish in their Sins, but their Blood shall be required at thy Hands, who hast been the Cause of their spiritual Famishment.

Such also are those greedy Patrons, or rather Latrons of Church Livings, who with *Gebezi*, sell such things as none but *Simons* will buy; who with the Thief and Traitor *Judas*, betray for *quid mihi dabitur*, the Body of Christ, which is his Church, into the hand of blind and pharisaical Guides; who with ^a *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, prefer to the Ministry the *Skirts*, or, as the Prophet calleth such, the ^b *Tail* of the People. But these Men, as they imitate the practice of *Gebezi*, *Judas* and *Jeroboam*, so let them fear their End.

And lastly, such are those Ministers, who having either no Will or no Skill to feed the People of God with the Food of Life, do notwithstanding for the Milk and Fleece of the Flock, take upon them the Charge of Souls. But let these and the former consider, that whereas they ought to be resolved not to hazard or lose their own Souls, though they might gain the whole World; they to gain, not the whole World, but the Tithes of some one Parish (which are as nothing in comparison of the World) do hazard not their own Souls alone, but the Souls of the People, whom they deprive of the principal ordinary Means of their Salvation.

But to return to my purpose: Have you by your own Experience found the Ministers to have been the Means under God of your Vocation, Justification, Sanctification, which are the necessary Fore-runners of Salvation? Then, I dare say, you will confess that to be true, which *Paul* writing to *Philemon* forbeareth to speak; that you owe even

^a 1 Kings 12. 31. 1 Kings 13. 33.
^c Mark 8. 36.

^b *Esay* 9. 15.

your own ^d selves unto them; and that you ought to be affected to them, as the *Galatians* were to *St. Paul*, who giveth this Testimony of them, that they were ready (if it had been possible) to ^e pull out their own Eyes to do him good. But if you be more ready to pull out their Eyes, than to do them any good, it is a manifest Argument, that as yet you are not sanctified, not justified, not called, and therefore not to be saved, unless these Graces shall hereafter be wrought in you by the Ministry of the Word: which Benefits if you do but look for at the Minister's Hands, you cannot but Honour and Reverence them in the mean time. But if you neither have these Graces, nor hope for any, we must count our selves blessed, when for our Calling and the discharge of our Duty, we are of such Persons Hated and Reviled.

Thus much I thought good to speak of Preaching the Word. Now are we briefly to intreat of Invocation, and so of the rest. For as in the Preaching of the Word, the Minister is the Lord's Ambassador to his People, so in publick Prayer he is an Orator, and as it were an Intercessor for the People unto God: in which respect *Chrysostom* ^f saith, that the Minister *performeth an Embassy unto God, not only for his own People, but also for the whole World, as if he were an universal Father having care of all.* And *Nazianzen* ^g acknowledgeth it to be no small Honour to be preferred before others in nearness unto God, and to receive *ψυχῶν πρεσβυτερίαν, καὶ μεσίτειαν θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*, a *Presidentship of Souls, and a Mediation between God and Men*; by which they stand, as *Moses* ^h once did, in the Breach, and for which, as the Prophets were wont, so may

^d *Phil.* 17.

^e *Apolog.*

^f *Gal.* 4. 15.

^g *Psal.* 106. 23.

^h *De Sacerdot.* l. 6. c. 4.

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godly Ministers now, be worthily called the Horsemen and Chariots of *Israel*.

I come to the Sacraments, whereof the Ministers also are dispensers: For as in respect of the Word, which is as it were God's Treasury, the Ministers are his Treasurers, so in respect of the Sacraments, which are the Seals of God, the ^k Seals of that Righteousness which is by Faith, they are the Keepers of the Lord's Seals, whereby the People of God are assured, not of an earthly Patrimony, but of an eternal Kingdom in Heaven. If therefore it be a great Honour (as it is indeed) to be the Lord-Keeper of the King's Seal, which notwithstanding hath Use but in Temporal Affairs, what shall we think of their Function, who are the Keepers of the heavenly King's Seals; which also serve for the Confirmation of spiritual Blessings in heavenly Things?

Having spoken of the Liturgy, we are now to intreat of the Regiment of the Church. For to the Ministers of the Church, which is the Spouse of Christ, is committed, that having espoused her against the marriage Day, which is the Day of Judgment, they may present her ¹ unto Christ the Bridegroom, as a pure Virgin and undefiled. In which sense ^m *Nazianzen* calleth the Minister *νυμφάτωρον* ἢ ψυχῶν κ' *πρεσβυτέρους*; and ⁿ *Chrysostom* thus describeth him, ὁ ἢ *χερσὶ τῷ νυμφῷ κατακοσμεῖν λαχὼν*, *He whose Office it is to adorn the Spouse of Christ*. And forasmuch as the Church in the Scriptures is also called the House of God, therefore the Ministers who are set over the Church are called ^o *οἰκονόμοι*, that is, *Stewards* of God set over his Household. And whereas the Authority of a Steward is signifi-

ⁱ 2 Kings 2. 12, and cap. 13, 14.

^k Rom. 4. 11.

¹ 2 Cor. 11. 2.

^m Apolog.

ⁿ De Sacerdot. lib. 3.

cap. 6.

^o Tit. 1. 7. Luke 12. 42.

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ed by the ^p Keys committed unto him, our Saviour Christ therefore, to his Stewards hath committed Keys, ^a *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; that both by preaching the Gospel and by Ecclesiastical Discipline, they might open to some the Gates of Heaven, and shut them to others: That to them which believe and repent, they might pronounce the Sentence of Absolution, and might denounce Damnation against the Unfaithful and Impenitent; that they might loose the one, and bind the other: which their Authority he hath ratified with most gracious promises, assuring them on his Word, which is infallible, that ^r *whose Sins they remit, they shall be remitted, and whose Sins they retain, they shall be retained.* And again, ^r *Whatsoever they bind on Earth, it shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever they loose on Earth, it shall be loosed in Heaven.* Wherefore, as by the Work of their Ministry Men being thereby converted, the Will of God is done as in Heaven, so also upon Earth, according to our daily ^r Prayer; so by the Authority committed unto them, it is done, as in the Earth, so also in Heaven. Than which, what Authority is more glorious upon the Earth? the Magistrates indeed having the Keys of an earthly Kingdom, have also Power to loose and to bind the Bodies of their Subjects, and to commit the same to a Jaylor or Executioner, but the Ministers having the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, have Power to bind and loose the Souls of Men, and to deliver the obstinate to Satan; and what they do upon Earth, is ratified in Heaven. And this is that St. ^u *Jerome* saith, the Ministers *having the Keys of the Kingdom of Hea-*

^p *Esay* 22. 22.

^r *Matth.* 18. 18.

de vita eremitica.

^a *Matth.* 16. 19.

^r *Matth.* 6. 10.

^r *John* 20. 23.

^u *Ad Heliodorum*

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men, do judge after a sort before the Day of Judgment.

Hitherto the Dignity of the Ministry hath been absolutely declared, and without comparison: But if into the Balance of Comparison we shall put the Ministers and other Men, I had almost in some respect added the Angels, we shall find that to be true, which ^w *Ambrose* hath averred, That *the Dignity of Bishops can scarcely be matched with any comparisons*. We will therefore compare Ministers with other Men; First, as they are Men; Secondly, as they are Christians: Thirdly, as they are Honourable.

Men by Nature are the *Children* ^x *of Wrath*, and Enemies of God; the Ministers are ^y *Embassadors* sent from God to reconcile them unto him. Men naturally sit in Darkness and in the Shadow of Death, knowing no more of God than serves to leave them without Excuse: the Ministers are the ^z *Light of the World*, who are sent to ^a *enlighten* them, to ^b *open* ^c *their Eyes*, to bring them out of *Darkness into Light*, and to *guide their Feet into the way of Peace*. Men naturally are such as ^e *Ezekiel* describeth, wallowing in their own Pollutions, not washed with Water, nor seasoned with Salt: The Ministers are the ^d *Salt of the Earth*, ordained of God to season Men, and to ^f *sanctify them with the Word of Truth*, and to wash them with the Labour of Regeneration. Men naturally are ^g *dead in Sin*, neither can they live unto God, unless they be born again: Ministers are spiritual Fathers, who by preaching the Gospel ^h *beget Men* unto God. Men

^w De dignitate sacerdot. cap. 2. Honor & sublimitas Episcopalis nullis potest comparationibus adæquari.

^x Ephes. 2. 3.

^y 2 Cor. 5. 18, 20.

^z Matth. 5. 14.

^a Luke 1. 79.

^b Acts 26. 18.

^c Ezech. 16. 14.

^d Matth. 5. 13.

^e John 17. 17.

^f Ephes. 2. 1.

^g 1 Cor. 4. 15.

naturally

naturally are without Faith, void of the Spirit, destitute of Grace: Preachers are ^h *Ministers by whom they believe*; Ministers of the ⁱ Spirit, Ministers of Grace. Men naturally being the Bondslaves of Sin, and Captives of Satan, are by him as the ^k *Gergesians* Swine carried Headlong into *mare mortuum*, the dead Sea of Perdition. The Ministers are by *Obadiah* ^l called *Saviours*, and by Christ himself, ^m the *Fishers of Men*, ζαλωφῶντες, catching with the ⁿ Net of the Word ^o τὰς ἐξωλετημύχους, those, who were caught of the Devil; bringing them out of the ^p Power of Satan into God's Kingdom; out of the Slavery of Sin into the glorious Liberty of God's Children; out of the State of Damnation, as it were the universal Deluge, into the State of Grace and Salvation, as it were into the Ark of *Noah*. You see then how the comparison stands between Ministers and other Men.

Let us therefore compare them with others, as they be Christians, and such as shall be saved by Christ. Other Christians are but the *Sheep* ^q of Christ; Ministers are also ^r *Pastors* or *Shepherds*, to whom Christ the chief Pastor hath committed his Sheep to be guided and ^s fed. Other Christians are but the ^t *Plants* in the Lord's Garden: Ministers are also the Lord's *Gardeners*, appointed of God to ^u Plant and to Water them. Other Christians are but *living* ^v Stones in the Temple of God, which is his Church: Ministers are also God's ^w *Builders*, ordained of Christ, ^x τῶν οἰκοδομῶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, for the edifying of his Body, which

^h 1 Cor. 3. 5.

ⁱ 2 Cor. 3. 6, 9.

^k Luke 8. 33.

^l Obad. 21.

^m Luke 5. 10.

ⁿ Matth. 13. 47.

^o 2 Tim. 2. 26.

^p Acts 26. 18.

^q John 10.

^r Ephes. 4. 11.

^s John 21. 15, 16, 17.

^t 1 Pet. 1. 2. Acts

20. 28.

^u Cant. 4. 12.

^v 1 Cor. 3. 6, 7, 8.

^w 1 Pet. 2. 5.

^x 1 Cor. 3. 9.

^y Ephes. 4. 12.

is his Church. Others finally are but the Family, and as it were the Household Servants of Christ: the Ministers are the *Stewards*,² whom the Lord hath set over his Family, to give to every one, which be of the Household of Faith, their *οὐσιον*, *Portion of Food* in due Season.

Out of these two Comparisons it doth evidently appear, that no Man whatsoever he be, whether a true Christian, or but a natural Man, hath just Cause to despise the Ministers of God; for in that the true Christian hath attained to Grace, he hath obtained it by the Help of the Ministry, whereby he was reconciled unto God, enlightned with the Truth, begotten unto God, &c. and the natural Man, who wanteth Grace, is also to receive it ordinarily by the Help of the Minister, if ever he have it. And therefore those who vilify and condemn the Ministers of God in respect of their Calling, do manifestly bewray themselves to be vile and contemptible Persons, who neither have any Grace, nor yet desire any.

But now let us compare the Ministers with other Men, as they are honourable; and first withal, jointly, and together. For if we will make a Comparison of all Honours in general, we must also take a view both of their Burden in this Life, and Reward in the Life to come. For the first, I have shewed before, not only that *Honos* and *Onus* do always go together; but also that according to the weight of the Burden, such is the height of the Honour. Now every Man is ready to lay Load upon the Ministers, and amongst all Callings to attribute the greatest Burden and Charge unto them; by which Reason they must be fain to ascribe unto them the greatest Honour. For they are Pastors,

² Titus 1. 7. Matth. 24. 45. Luk. 12. 42.

not of Mens Bodies, as Magistrates are, but of their Souls; and they bear all Mens Burdens, as *Chrysostome* saith, and they watch for other Mens Souls, insomuch that if any perish through their Negligence, the Blood of those which do perish, shall be ^a required at their Hands. How weighty this Burden is, it will easily appear, if we shall consider how heavy every private Man's own ^b Burden will be to bear in the Day of the Lord. For the Ministers own Burden may seem to be heavier than others; first, because the Lord requireth greater matters in them than in others. Secondly, because the same Sins, which in other Men are less Offences, in them are esteemed greater Faults: Simple Fornication, which in others was after a sort salved by Marriage, in the ^c Priest's Daughter was punished with Death. Thirdly, because the Priest ^d was to offer as great a Sacrifice for his own Sins, as for the Sins of the whole People. But the Minister must not only bear his own Burden, but as upon *Aaron* ^e the Names of the twelve Tribes were imposed, so the Ministers are to bear the Charge of their Flock, and of that Flock which Christ hath redeemed ^f with his Blood, and therefore was more dear and precious to him, than his own most precious Blood. But what use are we to make of this? Shall we therefore depress the Ministers by Contempt, whom we oppress with our Burdens? Nay, rather as we press them down with our Burden, so let us exalt them with Honour. It is the Exhortation of the Holy Ghost, *Heb. 13. * Obey them that have the Oversight of you, and submit your selves unto them; for they watch for your Souls as they that*

^a *Ezek. 33. 8.*

^d *Lev. 4. 3, 13.*

^e *Heb. 13. 17.*

^b *Gal. 6. 5.*

^c *Exod. 28. 29.*

^f *Lev. 21. 9.*

^g *Acts 20. 28.*

must give an Account, that they may do it with Joy, and not with Grief, for that is unprofitable for you.

But as the Ministers Charge is greater than others in this Life; so having discharged his Duty, he shall have a greater weight of Glory in the Life to come. For that wise and faithful Steward, mentioned *Matth. 24.* ^g shall not only receive Blessedness for his Reward, or that incorruptible Crown of Glory which the Holy Ghost hath promised unto them; but also having saved ^h both himself and those that hear him, of whom he may say in the Day of Judgment, *Behold, here I am, and the Children which the Lord hath given me,* (for whom the Minister begetteth through his Gospel unto God, they shall be, as ⁱ *Paul* saith, his Rejoicing in the Day of the Lord) he shall be preferred above others in Happiness. For good Ministers, as they have been ^k *Stars* in the Church Militant, to enlighten others with the Truth; so in the Church Triumphant, they shall shine ^l as Stars in the Firmament for ever and ever: And this is that, which in the Place before cited, the Lord promiseth to the wise and faithful Steward, that he will make him ^m *Ruler* over all his Goods. Upon which Words, an ancient and learned ⁿ *Expositor* writeth to this Effect; *The greatest amongst all is the Priestly Dignity, if a Man keep it without Blemish: For if the Lord above all his Works esteem the Souls of Men most precious, (for them he hath redeemed with his own Blood) it is not to be marvelled, if he set him over all, who brings unto him the Gain of Souls.*

Now are we to compare the Ministers with those peculiar sorts of Men, to whom the Lord hath

^g *Mat. 24. 45.*

^h *1 Tim. 4. 16.*

ⁱ *2 Cor. 1. 14.*

^k *Apoc. 1. 20.*

^l *Dan. 12. 3.*

^m *Mat. 24. 47.*

ⁿ *Author imperfect. Operis apud Chrysost. in Matth. 24.*

vouchsafed Honour. And these are either private in the Family, or publick out of the Family, in the Church and Common-wealth. Those that are to be honoured in the Family, are our Parents, to whom great Honour is due by God's Commandment, but not so great as to the Ministers: For, from thy Parents, as the Instruments of God, thou hast thy Generation; from the Ministers, as the Instruments of the Holy Ghost, thy Regeneration; by thy Parents thou art a Man, by the Ministers a Christian; thy Parents by mortal Seed begat thee unto this World, the Minister by immortal Seed begetteth thee unto the World to come; by thy Parents is Sin and Corruption derived to thee from the first *Adam*, by the Ministers Justification and Freedom from Sin is communicated unto thee from the second *Adam*. Finally, thy natural Parents are Fathers in the Flesh, but the Ministers are Fathers in the Spirit. Both then, as you see are Parents; but the spiritual Fathers are, as *Chrysostome* saith ^o τιμιώτεροι τῶν πατέρων, *more honourable than Fathers*. And so great is the Difference, ^p saith he, of them both, as of the Life present, and the Life to come; for these beget thee into this Life, they into the other. Wherefore leaving our natural Parents, we will compare them with another sort of spiritual Fathers, which is now ceased; I mean the Levitical Priests, and chiefly the High Priest, whose Dignity appeared both in his Office and in his Attire: For his Office he was, as it were, a Mediator betwixt God and Man; and therein because he represented the Messiah, he was superior not only to other Men, but to the Angels themselves. And his Attire, which the

^o De Sacerdor. lib. 3. cap. 5.

^p Cap. 6. Καὶ τοσούτον ἀμφοτέρων τὸ διαφέρειν, ὅσον τὸ παρὸν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ζῆν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐκείνα φέρουσιν.

Lord * appointed unto him, was answerable thereunto, signifying a Person excelling the Condition of other Men : Infomuch that as Histories ^a do record, *Alexander* the Great coming with his Army against *Jerusalem*, when the High Priest did meet him array'd with his sacred and magnificent Attire, he dismounted himself, and in the High Priest worshipped God, who, as he said, had in a Dream appear'd unto him in that Habit. But what is this to our Ministry ? As an Argument of Comparison from the less to the greater ; for if the Ministry of the Law was so excellent, what shall we think of the Ministry of the Gospel, which, as the Apostle sheweth, ^r 2 *Cor.* 3. is much more excellent and glorious than it ? The same doth our Saviour seem to testify, when having extolled *John Baptist* above all the Priests and Prophets that went before him, as being more than a Prophet, than whom a greater had not risen amongst the Sons of Women ; notwithstanding he preferreth every faithful Minister in the Kingdom of God, that is to say, in the Church of Christ, before him.

Now we are to enter into Comparison with the Civil Magistrate. Wherein the Fathers ^c indeed have included also the Sovereign Magistrate, affirming, that the Ministers excel Princes, as far as Gold is better than Lead, as Heaven surpasseth the Earth, as the Soul excelleth the Body ; and such like Speeches are frequent among them, which the *Papists* abuse to the Maintenance of the Pope's Supremacy over Princes : For whereas the Fathers speak of the Dignity and Spiritual Excellency of the Ministry above all other Callings, the *Papists* un-

* *Exod.* 28. 39. ^a *Joseph. Antiquit. Jud. lib. 11. cap. 8.*

^r 2 *Cor.* 3. 7. 8. 9. ^c *Mat.* 11. 11.

^t *Ambros. Chrysost. Nazianz.*

derstand their Speeches of Power and external Authority. And again, whereas their Commendations are given of the Calling in general, either of all Ministers, or at least of all Bishops, whom the Fathers notwithstanding acknowledged to be subject to their Princes; the *Papists* apply them as peculiar to their Lord God " the Pope, whom they stile the King of Kings, and the Lord of Lords. But howsoever the Comparison of Bishops with Princes, used by the Fathers, may seem capable of good Construction, in respect of spiritual Excellency, and Dignity Cœlestial, yet methinks it should be seem the Modesty of a loyal Subject, in Reverence due to that supereminent Function, to exempt the Royal Majesty of Sovereign Princes from this Comparison, not only in respect of external Power and Authority, (in regard whereof we do freely profess that Ministers are and ought to be subject to their Sovereign, and that to the King is committed of God a sovereign or supreme Authority in all Causes and over all Persons as well Ecclesiastical as Civil) but also in respect of external Excellency and Glory. For as the whole Church, the Spouse of Christ, so the Ministers especially, are glorious within, *Psal. 45.* " And as Christ his Kingdom was not of this World, so is not their Excellency worldly, nor their Dignity carnal. For the Ministry, as *Chrysostome* saith, ** is indeed executed upon the Earth, but it is to be numbred in the order of heavenly things* : To other Magistrates we say with *Nazianzen*, *† ἀρχομεν γδ*

" Extra Joan. 22. tit. 14. De verborum fig. c. cum inter. in glossa.

" *Psal. 45.* 13.

* ἡ γδ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπεραίνων ἐξ ἁγίων πνευμάτων, de Sacerd. lib. 3. cap. 4.

† Orat. ad Nazianz. Cives, Πραδῆσαι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τὴν μέγαν καὶ θεοειδέαν ἀρχὴν. ἡ δὲ αὖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποχωρεῖσαι τῇ (αἰσῶνι, καὶ τοῖς γυνόισι τὰ ἐπεραίνοντα.

ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, we also are Rulers ; yea, I will add (saith he) that we have a greater and more perfect Rule, unless you will say, that the Spirit must give Place to the Flesh, or heavenly things to earthly. The Judgment Seat of the Magistrate is placed on the Earth, and he only determineth earthly Affairs ; but the Throne of the Minister, who exerciseth heavenly Judgments, is, as ² Chrysostome saith, in Heaven ; and his Sentence pronounced on Earth, is executed in Heaven. The Magistrate, as Peter ^a saith, is, *κρίσις ἀνθρώπων*, an Ordinance humane, or appertaining to Men ; but the Ministry is *θεῖα κρίσις*, an Ordinance divine, or appertaining to God. Or as *Jebosophat* ^b distinguisheth them ; the one for the King's Affairs, and the other for the Business of the Lord. Both indeed are God's Ministers, but the Minister, as ^c Procopius saith, *Augustius est sortitus Ministerium*, hath obtained a more worthy Ministry : For the Magistrate is conversant in external matters, that concern the World ; but the Minister is employed in spiritual things appertaining to God ; the one is the Minister of God's external Judgment, the other of his Word, and Judgments spiritual. Both also may be called the Pastors of the People ; but the Magistrates are Pastors of their Bodies, the Ministers of their Souls : The one may say with the Roman Magistrate, *I licetor, liga manus, deliga ad palum* ; or, as ours do use to write, *capias corpus*, take his Body, or *habeas corpus*, having Authority only to bind the Body ; the other may say with Paul, ^d *Tradatur Satana*, let him be delivered to Satan, or let him be ^e *Anathema maranatha*, that is, accursed until the Coming of the Lord, as having Au-

² Tom. 1. de Verbis Esaiæ, homil. 5.

^a 1 Pet. 2. 13.

^b 2 Chron. 19. 11.

^c In Numer.

^d 1 Cor. 5. 5.

^e 1 Cor. 16. 22.

thority to bind the Soul: the one procureth the temporal good of the Body, the other the eternal Salvation of the Soul. The Armour, Warfare and Munitions of the one, are Corporal; of the other, ¹ *spiritual*, ² *mighty through God, to the overthrowing of strong Holds*. The one preserveth us from external Foes, who are but Flesh and Blood; the other warreth not with Flesh and Blood, but with Principalities and Powers, delivering Men from most dangerous Enemies, both within them, that is, their own Sins and Corruptions; and without them, that is, the World, and the Prince of this World, the Devil. And therefore in this respect also, as the Prophets were wont, so may the Ministers now, be called the Horsemen and Chariots of *Israel*. Wherefore if Heaven and heavenly Things surpass the Earth and earthly Affairs; if the Soul and the eternal Salvation both of Body and Soul, are to be preferred before the Body and temporal Good thereof; if the Enemies of the Soul be more dangerous than the Foes of the Body, then can we not deny, but that the Ministry in Dignity doth excel the Magistracy. It is the conclusion of *Clement*: *The Ministry*, ^h *saith he, so far surpasseth the Magistracy, as the Spirit excelleth the Flesh*. And not to stand any longer in particular Comparison with the several sorts of Men, this may be avouched in general; that as the *Ministry is of all good things among Men the most excellent*, as ⁱ *Ignatius* saith, so the Minister is vouchsafed the greatest Favour among Men; so that he may not unworthily be

^f 2 Cor. 10. 4.
ὁχυρώματων.

^h De Sacerd. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ἱερωσὺν ποσῶτον ἀνωτέραν τῆς πολιτείας ἔστηκεν, ὅσον πνεύματος καὶ σαρκὸς τὸ μέσον.

ⁱ Ad Smyrn. Ἱερωσὺν γὰρ ἔστι τὸ πάντων ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀριστὸν αἰσθητικόν.

called by a special Prerogative, as *Moses* in his Speech to God, calleth the Priest ^k *ish chafideca*, *virum quem benignitate prosequeris*, as if the Minister were among Men the chief Object of God's Bounty and Favour, and as you would say, the Favourite of God. But I pray you what meaneth that Speech of God to *Moses*, ^l *Exod. 30.* where having commanded him, *ver. 30.* to anoint the Priests with the sacred Oil. In the 32^d Verse he forbiddeth to anoint *Mans Flesh* with it? How shall we untie this Knot, saith ^m *Procopius*, writing upon that place, Priests must be anointed with holy Oil, but Men may not? Surely, saith he, *you must remember that the Priesthood or Ministry surpasseth the height of all humane Excellency.* For Ministers, though they be Men, yet are they not as others, Men of the World, but as the Scripture usually calleth them, Men of God. To conclude, If the Charge of the Ministry be, as *Chrysostom* speaketh, *Onus angelorum humeris formidandum*, *A Burden which the Shoulders of Angels may shrink at*; and yet God enableth those Men whom he calleth, to bear this Burden, whereunto none in themselves are able; it cannot be denied, but those whom the Lord calleth to the Ministry, he advanceth above the Condition of other Men; calling them, as to a Charge, so also to an Honour, which might seem to become Angels rather than Men.

Wherefore ceasing to compare Ministers with other Men, let us consider, whether they may not be compared with the blessed Angels: for as in some things they are like unto them, so in other things they seem to have some pre-eminence above them. Like in this, that as the Angels, so also the Mini-

^k Deut. 33. 8.

^l Exod. 30. 30, 32.

^m Procop. in Exod. 30.

sters are ^o sent forth into the Ministry for their sake, which shall be Heirs of Salvation. In which regard the Ministers are often called in the Scriptures Angels, and the Angels σωτοὶ, ^p the Fellow Servants of the Ministers. Superior they seem to be in respect of their Embassage, and of their spiritual Authority. The Embassage of the Ministers is not simple ἀγγελία a Message; but εὐαγγέλιον the Evangel, into which the Angels themselves do desire, as Peter speaketh, ^q κατακύψαι, that is, *stooping down*, as it were, *to look*, and to behold. The Law indeed was published by the Ministry ^r of Angels, but the Gospel by Christ and his Ministers. Now the Ministry of the Gospel is far more ^t excellent than that of the Law, and the Contempt thereof more ^t grievous. Neither hath the Lord, as appeareth by the Story of ^u Cornelius, committed the preaching of the Gospel to Angels, but to his Ministers, whom we are bound to hear and to receive, not only as ^w Angels of God, but even as Christ Jesus.

And as touching their Authority: to the Ministers, saith Chrysostom, ^x being conversant on Earth, is committed the Administration of things in Heaven; and they have received such an Authority as God never communicated to the Angels: for to which of the Angels hath God said at any time, which he hath said to his Ministers; ^y Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon Earth it shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven. And again,

^o Heb. 1. 14. ^p Apoc. 19. 10. and 22. 9. ^q 2 Pet. 1. 12. John 20. 5. ^r Acts 7. 53. Galath. 3. 19. ^s 2 Cor. 3. ^t Heb. 2. 2, 3. ^u Acts 10. 6. ^w Gal. 4. 14. ^x De Sacerd. lib. 3. cap. 5. Ταῦτα ἐσθνοῖς διδοῖεν ἐπελεόπηρ, καὶ θεοσίαν ἔλαβεν, ὡς ἔτε ἀγγέλους ὡς ἀρχαγγέλοις ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεός. ^y Matth. 18. 18. ^z Wbese

* *Whose Sins ye forgive, they shall be forgiven; and whose Sins you retain they shall be retained.* On which words *Theophylact's* Annotation is something hyperbolical, but in a qualified sense, true; ^a *Mark* me, saith he, *the Dignity of Priests, that it is divine; for it belongeth to God to forgive Sins: wherefore you must honour them as God.* As if in plainer terms he had said, The Authority of forgiving Sins is divine; which being communicated after a sort to Ministers, in that they pronouncing the Forgiveness of Sin, according to their Commission, the Sins indeed are forgiven; their Authority also may be said to be divine. Wherefore they bearing the Image of God's Authority before Men, in forgiving or retaining Sins, you are to honour and obey them as God, whose Vicegerents they be. The like hath ^b *Ignatius*, *Be subject*, saith he, *unto your Bishop, as unto the Lord.* And again, *reverence your Bishop as Christ.* Neither is this any more than is commended unto us in the Example of the *Galatians*, ^c who received the Apostle as an Angel of God, yea, as Jesus Christ.

Hitherto I have commended the Office of the Ministry, both absolutely and by way of Comparison; now I am to propound the honourable Titles which are given to the Ministers of the Word, whereof great store might be produced out of the Fathers, but I will content my self with a few. *Chrysostom* therefore calleth the Ministers the ^d *Vicars, or Vicegerents of Christ*; in which Title, tho' common to all Ministers in a right sense, the Vicar

^a John 20. 23.

^b Theoph. in Joan. 20. Σκοπεῖ μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶς θεὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀρτεῖναι ἀμαρτίας, ὅπως ἐν αὐτῷ τιμηθῶν ὡς θεόν.

^c Ad Trall. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεται ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποστόλῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χρίστῳ.

^d Gal. 4. 14.

^e In Mat. 7. Hom. 17. oper. imperfect.

of Rome, (though lifting up himself above all that is called God) doth chiefly glory. Origen calleth them the ^e *Eyes of the Church*: Ambrose, the *Captains and Governours of Christ's Flock*. Augustine, ^f *the Defenders of the true Faith, and Subduers of Errors*. Nazianzen likewise ^g *πρωτάτας τῆ ἀληθείας, the Presidents of Truth*, ^h *ψυχῶν ταμίαις μετὰ κυδῶν, the glorious Guardians of Mens Souls*; *the Foundations of the World*; *the Light of Life, and Pillars of the Christian Faith*. Bernard and others, *Prelatos*, as being preferred before other Men.

But omitting the Writings of the Fathers, let us search the Scriptures, and inquire, what Titles or Attributes of Honour are by the Holy Ghost assigned to Ministers. And first we will begin with this very Title of *God's Ministers*, being a Title common to them not only with ⁱ *Princes*, but also with Christ, who is called the ^k *Minister of Circumcision*, that is, of the *Jews*.

2. They are called ἡγέμενοι, ^l *Rulers*.

3. By a special Prerogative they are termed, not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, ^m *Men of God*.

4. Συνοργῶντες τῷ Θεῷ, ⁿ *Co-workers of God*, who hath so honoured his Ministers, that he communicateth his own Work unto them. Hence it is that in the Scriptures they are said to remit Sins, and to beget Men unto God, and to save them, &c.

5. Οἰκονόμοι τῷ Θεῷ, *the* ^o *Stewards of God*, to whom are committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

^e In *Matth. tract. 5.*

^f *De Doctr. Christian, lib. 4. cap. 4.*

^g In *Apologet.*

^h *Init. carm. ad Episc.*

ⁱ *Rom. 13. 4.*

^k *Rom. 15. 8.*

^l *Heb. 13. 17.*

^m *1 Tim. 6. 11. 2 Tim. 3. 17.*

ⁿ *1 Cor. 3. 9.*

^o *Titus 1. 7.*

6. The ^p *Embassadors of God*, and that, in the ^q *stead of Christ*.

7. The ^r *Angels of the Lord*, and *Angels of the Churches*; and therefore as ^r *Angels to be received*.

8. The ^r *Chariots of Israel*, and the *Horsemen thereof*; that is, the *Strength and Stay of the Church*, which is the *Israel of God*.

9. *Stars*, ^u because as in this *Life* they shine before others, with the *Light of Doctrine and good Example*; so in the *Life to come* they shall ^w shine as the *Stars in Glory*.

These are honourable Titles, but you shall hear more glorious: for the Holy Ghost not content to have honoured the Ministers with these, ascribeth unto them such Titles and Effects as most properly belong unto God. For albeit we have but ^x one Father, and one Teacher, who is in the Heavens; notwithstanding the Ministers are called in the Scriptures, not only Doctors, but also Fathers, and such Fathers as are ^y more to be feared than Princes, more to be honoured than Fathers, as *Chrysostom* speaketh: for whom they beget, they beget them Sons of God, Heirs of Heaven, and Co-heirs with Christ. And although this very Work of regenerating or begetting Men to God, be the proper Work of the Holy Ghost, yet the Ministers also are said by the ^z Gospel to beget Men unto God; likewise to ^a convert Men unto God, to ^b open their Eyes, to turn them from Darkness unto Light, and from the

^p Aggei. 1. 13. ^q 2 Cor. 5. 20. ^r Apoc. 1. 2. 3.
^r Judges 2. 1. ^s Malach. 2. 7. ^t Job 33. 23. ^u Gal. 4. 14.
^v 2 Kings 2. 12. and c. 13. v. 14. ^w Apocal. 1. 20.
^x Dan. 12. 3. ^y Mat. 23. 8, 9.
^z Οὐκ ἀρχόντων μόνον φοβερώτεροι ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρῶν τιμιώτεροι.
^a De Sacerd. lib. 3. cap. 5.
^b 1 Cor. 4. 15. ^c Malac. 4. 5. Luke 1. 16.
^d Acts 26. 18.

Power of Satan unto God; to ^c justify Men, and to remit their Sins; to ^d season them as Salt, that they do not putrify in their Corruptions, are the proper Works of the blessed Trinity; and yet notwithstanding all and every of them are ascribed to the Ministers of God. Moreover, it is proper unto Christ to be the ^e Pastor of our Souls, the ^f Light of the World, the ^g Saviour of his Brethren; and yet the Ministers also are called ^h *Pastors*, not of Mens Bodies, but of their Souls, the ⁱ Light of the World, ^k Saviours of their Brethren; to whom, as the Instruments of God, Power of ^l Saving is ascribed. Wherefore to conclude; If the Ministers were ordained to supply the room of Christ, and to be the Embassadors of God in his stead; if Kings and Princes, yea if the King of Princes have executed this Function; if the proper End of their Ministry be the Salvation of Souls; if in regard of preaching they be the Mouth of God to his People, in regard of Prayer, the Mouth of the People unto God; in respect of the Sacraments, the Keepers of God's Seals; as touching the Government of the Church, the Guardians of Christ's Body, to whom are committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; if compared to other Men, they be the Children of Wrath, as all by Nature are; these, Reconcilers to God; they, sitting in Darkness; these, the Light of the World; they, Putrifying in their Corruption; these, the Salt of the Earth; they dead in Sin; these, begetting them anew, that they may live to God; they, Bondslaves of Satan; these, sent to bring them out of the Power of Sa-

^c Dan. 12. 3. John 20. 23.

^e 1 Pet. 2. 25.

^h Ephes. 4. 11. Heb. 13. 17.

^k Obad. 21.

^f John 1. 9.

ⁱ 1 Tim. 4. 16.

^d Matth. 5. 13.

^g Mat. 1. 21.

^j Mat. 5. 14.

Rom. 11. 14.

tan unto God: if to other Christians they be Sheep; these Pastors; they Plants; these Planters; they Stones; these Builders; they Household Servants; these Stewards of God's House; if to other honourable Personages in general, the Ministers do so much excel others in Honour, as their Charge is greater in this Life, and their Reward more glorious in the World to come; if in special, the Spiritual Fathers be in Honour to be preferred before the Carnal, as far as the Life to come before this present Life; if the Priests of the Law, in whom notwithstanding appeared a Mirror of God's Glory, as far surpassed by the Ministers of the Gospel, who have received a more glorious Ministry; if the spiritual Pastors have a more excellent Function than the Civil, by how much the Heaven is more Excellent than the Earth, or the Soul's more precious than the Body, as ^m *Chrysostom* saith; if the Lord having advanced them above the Condition of other Men, hath made them in some things equal, in some things superior to the glorious Angels of God. And lastly, if the Holy Ghost hath assigned unto them Titles of Honour, not only common to them with the best of the Creatures, but also peculiar to the Creator, all which hath with unanswerable Evidence of Truth been demonstrated unto us; then can we not deny, but that the Ministry is not only a worthy Work, as the Apostle here speaketh, but a more excellent and glorious Function.

1. The full demonstration whereof I thought to be very needful, as well for their sakes who be not of the Ministry, as for those that be. For, First, those of the Laity by this Doctrine may be through-

^m "Ὅσοι γῆς τιμιώτερόν ἐστιν καὶ σωμάτων ψυχῶν. De Sacerd. l. 3. c. 3.

ly persuaded to esteem their Ministers worthy of that double Honour, of Reverence and Maintenance, which by the Word of God is due unto them; and to free themselves from the two, no more usual than capital Sins of our Time, *Contempt of the Word and Sacrilege.*

2. For as touching Reverence, there is no true Christian but he will readily acknowledge that he ought highly to reverence those whom God would have in special manner honoured, as the Embassadors of God in the stead of Christ, sent to reconcile Men unto God, and to save them. Neither will he easily despise those whom he acknowledgeth to be the blessed Instruments of God, for his singular and everlasting good; whereas contrarywise, not to Reverence the Ministers is to dishonour God, whose Embassadors they be. Basely to esteem of them in respect of their mean Estate in the World, is an evident sign of a worldly minded Man; who, as he hath not learned to distinguish the Men of God from the Men of the World, or to acknowledge the Ordinance of God, who hath ⁿ discerned them; so he seemeth to know no better good things than worldly Goods, and therefore thinketh himself so much better than the Minister, as he is richer. But those who are religious and wise, are otherwise minded. *Obadiab*, though the Governour of the King's House disdained not to do Reverence ^o to the poor Prophet *Eliab*. And *Joash* the King, when *Elisha* was sick, was content to do him this Honour, as not only to visit him but also to Weep upon his Face, and say, ^p *My Father, my Father, the Chariot of Israel and Horsemen of the same.* Yea, the Emperor *Justinian*.

ⁿ 1 Cor. 4. 7. *discernit.*

^p 2 Kings 13. 14.

^o 1 Kings 18. 7, 9.

an^a acknowledging, that the Ministry and the Magistracy were two principal Gifts of God, giveth the precedence to the Ministry. And the like pre-eminence do our Laws give to those of the Spirituality before them of the Temporality. Howbeit private Men stand otherwise affected towards the Ministry, every mean Man almost, not only preferring himself before the Minister, but also disdaining to bestow either his Son on the Ministry, or his Daughter on a Minister. Yet *Esay* the Prophet was a Noble Man, and as it is thought of the Blood Royal. Neither did the Kings of *Judah* disdain to join in^r affinity with the Priests.

3. To despise and contemn the Minister in respect of his Calling, is to despise God and Christ our Saviour: For *he that despiseth you, saith^r Christ, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* It is to profess a Mans self void of all soundness of Religion: for it is certain that a true Estimate may be taken of Mens Religion and Piety towards God, by their Behaviour to the Ministers of God. Neither can it be, that they who have been brought by the Ministry of the Word to the State of Grace and Salvation, should contemn the Ministers thereof: Wherefore he that despiseth the Ministry, undoubtedly, saith *Ignatius*, *He is an Atheist and irreligious Man, and a despiser of Christ.* It is to hinder their own Salvation, by making the means thereof ineffectual to them,

^a *Maxima quidem in omnibus sunt dona Dei à superna collata clementia, sacerdotium & imperium: & illud quidem divinis ministrans, hoc autem humanis presidens, &c. Auth. Collat. 1 Tit. 6. Novell. 6. in Prefat.*

^r 2 Chron. 22. 11. 2 Kings 23. 31.

^r Luke 10. 16.

^r Ad Trall. Ἀθεοῦ πάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ, καὶ χεῖρόν αὐτοῦ.

which

which *Chrysostom* esteemeth a point of Madness: For it is manifest madness, ^u to despise so great Authority, without which we can neither attain to Salvation, nor to the promised good Things. For he that despiseth the Ministers, despiseth also their Ministry; by which notwithstanding, as by the ordinary ^w Power of God to our Salvation, he is ^x pleased to save those that believe. And whosoever despiseth the Ministry of the Gospel, it shall be easier for them of ^y Sodom and Gomorrah, in the Day of Judgment, than for him.

4. To abuse the Ministers by Word or Deed, is a Sin highly displeasing unto God, and grievously provoking his Anger. For seeing they are the Embassadors of God, it cannot be denied, but that by the Injuries and Indignities that are offered to them as Ministers, the Majesty of God is violated. Wherefore he hath said, ^z Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm. Yea, who knoweth not that the Persons of Embassadors, are by the ^a Law of Nations sacred and inviolable? Because their Embassadors were contumeliously used, the ancient Romans ^b thought it a sufficient Cause to extinguish Corinth, though the Eye of Greece.

^u De Sacerd. lib. 3. cap. 5. *Μανία τῆς παρὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπειρίας τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς ἀπορίας, ἥς ἀνὰ ἑτέρας ἀπορίας ἡμῶν, ἕτερον τὸ ἐπεγερμένον ἀπορίας ἐπιφέρει.*

^w Rom. 1. 16.

^x 1 Cor. 1. 21.

^y Mat. 10. 15.

^z Psal. 105. 15.

^a Si quis legatum hostium pulsasset, contra jus gentium id commissum esse existimatur: quia sancti habentur legati. Digest. lib. 5. Tit. 50. lege ultima. Cic. in Verr. lib. 1. Nomen legati ejusmodi esse debet, quod non modo inter sociorum jura, sed etiam inter hostium tela incolume versetur. De harusp. respons. sic enim sentio, jus legatorum cum hominum presidio munitum sit, tum etiam divino jure esse vallatum.

^b Cic. pro lege Manilia.

David

David likewise revenged the Indignity offered to his Embassadors, with overthrowing of the *Ammonites*, 2 Sam. 10. Do earthly Princes, who are but Dust and Ashes, revenge the Wrongs offered to their Embassadors; and shall we think that the Lord of Hosts, the God ^c of Vengeance, will suffer the Indignities offered to his Embassadors, to go unpunished? *Never any Man*, saith ^d *Ignatius*, *offending in this kind escaped Punishment*. Let the withered Hand of *Jeroboam*, ^e which he had stretched out against the Prophet: Let the two Captains with their Fifties, ^f who were sent to apprehend the Prophet *Eliab*, destroyed by Fire from Heaven: Let the lewd Children ^g which reviled *Elisba*, devoured by the Bears: Let the People of *Israel*, for ^h contemning and mocking the Prophets, rejected: Let *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, who for Insurrection made against *Aaron*, were ⁱ swallowed up of the Earth, be Witnesses of this Truth, neither hath the Lord taught this by Example alone, but also by Precept, wherein he hath appointed ^k Death to him that rebelleth against the Priest. For though the Contempt of the Ministers now a-days seem a very small, or no Offence; yet *Chrysostom* ^l doubteth not to call it the Cause of all Evil, and the Scripture noteth it as a grievous Sin. Wherefore the Prophet *Hosea*, ^m when he would set out in lively Colours the desperate Wickedness of the People in his time, he saith, they were like them which contend with the Priest.

^c Psal. 94. 1.

^e 1 Kings 13. 4.

^f 2 King 2. 24.

^g Numb. 16.

^l Homil. 2. in 2 Timoth.

^d Οὐδὲς ἔμεινεν ἀτιμώρητος. ad Magnes.

^f 2 Kings 1. 10, 12.

^h 2 Chron. 36. 16.

^k Deut. 17. 12.

^m Hos. 4. 4.

For to impugn the Ministers which are sent of God, is not to repugn Men, but Giant like, *to fight with God* : For it is not Aaron that you strive against, saith Moses ° to Corab and his Complices, but even against God himself.

I come to the honour of Maintenance, which, though it be most due to the Minister by the Word of God, is notwithstanding now a-days greatly called into question.

° Acts 5. 39.

° Numb. 16. 11.

No. 5.

Du Pin, a Divine of the *Gallican Church*, and one of the *Sorbon Doctors*, in his *Preface* to the seventh Dissertation of his Book, entitled, *De antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Printed at *Paris* 1686. and afterwards pretended to be Printed at *Cologne* 1691.

Dua sunt inter Homines maxima & præstantissima Societates, Civilis & Ecclesiastica, &c. There are, saith he, two most noble and excellent Societies among Men, the Civil and the Ecclesiastical; of which, tho' the same Persons are Members of both, and for that Reason they may seem to vulgar Eyes confus'd and intermix'd with one another, yet in reality they are Powers of a different kind and nature, and tend by different Means to different Ends: For the End of the Ecclesiastical Society, is *Eternal Life*; but of the Civil, *Peace and Tranquillity of the Common-wealth*. Which Ends, since they are sundry, and wholly separate from one another, it is no wonder that the Means which conduce to them are plainly different from each other. For no Man can attain to *Eternal Life*, but by those Actions which flow from the freest Motions of his Will, proceeding from the Love of God; from whence it is the Business of Religion, so to dispose and cultivate the Minds of Men by Faith and Piety, that they may willingly and freely obey the Commandments of Christ. But on the other hand, it makes no difference as to the Tranquillity of the Common-wealth, whether its Laws be observ'd willingly, or otherwise, so they be observ'd. And therefore it is the Business of the Civil Society to take Care that they be observ'd, which is effected by Fear of Temporal Punishment and Death. In a word, the Power of the Civil Society hath the Bodies of Men for its Object; but the Authority

thority of the Ecclesiastical, regards their Souls. Wherefore seeing Bodies are subject to Force and Compulsion, it is their Office, who are Governours of the Civil Society, to punish Offenders, and put them to Death. But since external Force cannot touch the Souls of Men, it must follow, that the Ecclesiastical Society hath no Power to use external Force, nor to reduce Sinners any other way from their sinful Courses, but by Prayers and Precepts, which if they will not obey, it can inflict no other Punishment upon them, but Excommunication, by which they are denounc'd unworthy of the Church's Society, and Eternal Life. In the last place, the Laws of the Civil Society regard only the Good and Tranquillity of the Common-wealth; but contrariwise there is no other End of Ecclesiastical Laws, but to keep the Sanctity and Purity of Christian Doctrine and Discipline sound and undefil'd.

From these Principles, which are most evident and sure, it follows, that the Power of the Church is wholly Spiritual, and does not in the least reach the Temporal Rights, or Goods of Kings or other Men; so that neither Kings can be depos'd, nor private Persons be depriv'd in any manner of what they have, by mere Ecclesiastical Power——

Wherefore a great Difference is to be observ'd between the Power, and him who useth and exerciseth the Power. For it may so happen, that he who useth one Power may be subject to another Power, though that Power which he exerciseth is subject to no Power. To apply which Observation to my present Purpose: You must take notice, that the same Man may at the same time be a Member both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Society, and therefore by different Personal Relations be subject both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power. But then it does not follow from thence in the least, on this hand, that the Civil Power which he hath is subject to the Ecclesiastical; or, on the other, that the Ec-

*Ecclesiastical is subject to the Civil Power. Thus Bishops are subject to the Regal Power in Civil Matters, but so as the Episcopal Power is not subject to the Civil Power. And therefore a King or Emperor cannot constitute or depose a Bishop by Civil Authority and Force. In like manner, Kings are subject unto Bishops, and *the Chief Pontiff, and the Spiritual Power; but they cannot be made or deposed by Ecclesiastical Authority: Wherefore, tho' it is out of all doubt, that Kings are subject to the Spiritual, and Bishops to the Temporal Power; yet we must not from thence assert, that the Ecclesiastical Power is subject to the Civil, or the Civil to the Ecclesiastical; because both these Powers are of a sundry different Nature, and wholly dependent upon God, by whom they are instituted; so that neither of them can do any thing against the other, notwithstanding the Spiritual is more Noble than the Temporal Power.*

* The Chief Pontiff is added by the learned Author, to avoid the Censures of the *Romish* Church,

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N^o. 6.A PARTICULAR
TREATISE

Written by

ISAAC CASAUBON of Geneva,

ENTITLED,

*De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ,*Of the Liberty (or free Estate)
of the Church;

Address'd to the *Politicians* (then so call'd)
who desire to be instructed in the
Controversy between Pope *Paul V.*
and the Republick of *Venice*, A. D.
MDCVII.

The PREFACE.

To the truly Pious and truly Politick READER.

IT is without Cause, that many even sometimes
judicious Men, have so much wonder'd at the
Controversy, which lately arose between Pope Paul V.
and

*and the most serene Republick of Venice ; for as it is not dissonant to Reason, that the common People, who are unacquainted with Affairs, and wholly taken up with their own daily Business, should have been amaz'd and affrighted at such News : so that Men well skilled in the History of times past, and especially of what is now doing in the World, should entertain the least Admiration upon this Occasion, there is no Reason at all : For indeed Wise-men are us'd to admire only at such things, as either rarely happen, or the Causes of which are obscure, and hard to be trac'd out. But what wise Man can be ignorant of Examples (with which all the Histories of past times, as well as of our own abound) of the like Controversies, and even of most bloody Wars, wholly owing to the same Cause ? And the Cause is also plain and obvious to all Men. For ever since the Pope has suffer'd himself to be perswaded by his Flatterers, those fatal Plagues of great Potentates, that the Empire of the World is his ; that the Dominion of all things, not only Spiritual but Temporal (as they call them) appertains to him ; that on him alone all the Kings and Princes of the Earth depend, as on one, in whose Power it is to confirm, or change, or take away their Kingdoms, and transfer them to whomsoever he pleases : since that time he, that was before revered by all as a common Father, has begun to grow burthensome to them, and to be suspected and fear'd by them. Hence those so frequent, so lasting, and so often repeated Quarrels, Dissentions, and in the end most deadly Wars, wag'd with the utmost Hatred both by the Pope, and against the Pope. And tho' in compliance with their common Interest, they have often desisted from War ; yet because it never was, nor ever will be possible for Princes, that disagree in their Affections and Opinions, and are perpetually in danger from one another, to be at Peace in good earnest ; that is rather to be look'd
upon*

upon as putting off the War, than as a firm Peace.

Pax ante fida nivibus & flammis erit.

*Sooner shall Snow and Fire agree,
Than Peace 'twixt such e'er lasting be.*

For what prudent Man possess'd of a lawful Dominion, would submit to so immense and boundless an Empire, the like whereto was never heard? Would not use his utmost Endeavour to throw it off? Princes who ascribe to the Pope that unbounded Power, which equally contains under it all Rights human and divine, divest themselves not only of their Majesty, but of their Liberty. They may sometimes, I confess, do it with Impunity, but can never be secured: Wherefore if there be often Disagreement between the Pope and Princes, it ought not to be thought any thing wonderful; but we should rather wonder, by what Engines the generous Minds of the greatest and most powerful Princes are at last subdu'd, so that they are either not sensible that they are govern'd, or unconcern'd at it, tho' they know it. Indeed it is worth while to consider, by what Art Approaches are made to most of them on this Occasion, while they are minding something else: for as in a free State it usually happens, that a few, to gain the supreme Power into their own Hands, set upon the People by Craft, and by such Methods as the wisest of the Philosophers calls the Sophisms of a few governing Men: so they who endeavour to subject Princes to the Yoke of this dishonourable Servitude, (I mean the Pope's Temporal Dominion) are careful to soften the Harshness of the thing by giving it a decent Name, and cover a certain and manifest Usurpation, (as the most Holy Father St. Bernard call'd it even in his time) with the Title of Ecclesiastical Liberty: who if they meant nothing else, than what these

Words seem to express, would be most worthy of the Love and Praise of all Men: for he deserves not to be esteem'd a Christian, who does not desire, and to the utmost of his Power promote the Liberty and Preservation of the Church of God, the Spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, for which he was contented to lay down even his Life. *But that which is done here is far different from that which is pretended; one thing is openly profess'd in Words, another really meant under-hand; and while the Liberty of the Church is made the Pretence, that which is design'd is the absolute Dominion of One with a few Associates. And when some Men now labour with great Industry, as if the Christian Religion did wholly depend upon this one thing, to divest all the Emperors, Kings, and Sovereign Princes of the World, of their Majesty, and set up one, not so much over them all, as in the room of them; all their Attempts and Undertakings of this Nature, which are sometimes very dreadful, are still cloak'd under the soft Name of the Liberty of the Church. But not to recal to Mind those past Calamities, which have sprung from this Fountain alone, and often miserably over-run all Italy, France and Germany; The Pope having now of late publish'd a dreadful Bull of Excommunication against the most serene Republick of Venice, alledges as the Cause of all this Anger, the Violation of the Liberty of the Church. In the Name of God and Man! What, I beseech you, is that Liberty, the Contempt of which is to be expiated with the eternal Damnation of so illustrious a Prince, of a Senate that has deserv'd so well of the universal Church, and of so many innocent Cities and People? But why are the Names chang'd, by which things are signify'd? For the Liberty of the Church is not concern'd in this Case, but only the Interests of a few, who by a certain Use or Abuse of Speaking, are call'd by the Name of the Church:*

the

the Question is also concerning the Impunity of Ecclesiasticks, and Licence for them to attempt any thing under pretence of Religion; and not concerning the Liberty of Elections, in Defence of which the Senate and People of Venice are prepar'd to undergo a thousand Deaths: nor lastly, concerning any Matter which regards the common Interest of the Christian Flock. Behold what is now stil'd the Liberty of the Church; a Liberty establish'd by the Damnation of so many innocent Souls; and for the Establishment of which God's Praises are to be no longer sung; the perpetual Sacrifice is order'd to be taken away; an infinite Multitude of miserable People, without any Demerit of their own, are forbid all Exercise of Religion; nay and allarm'd with the Fear of War, and of all the Ills that attend it. What need many Words? This is that Liberty, against which if any Man, induc'd by the Love of his Country, dare but to mutter, he is immediately call'd a Politician, as though no longer deserving the Name of a Christian. And indeed this was the only thing wanting to fill up the Scandal of our Age, that as though the Church of God were not at this time rent into parts enough, that new Name should be likewise found out by some turbulent Ring-leaders of Sedition, who are sworn Enemies to the publick Tranquillity, to alienate from each other such as otherwise agree in the Doctrines of Faith; and when thus alienated, to compel them to divide into Parties, or perhaps to join themselves, whether they will or no, to such, whose suspension from the Communion of the Church of Rome the whole Christian World hath long since lamented.

Hoc Ithacus velit, & magno mercentur Atridæ.

'Tis this our Enemies covet most,
And would procure at any Cost.

h 4

And

And yet what else can you think they desire or aim at, who are constantly speaking and writing severely against those, whom they call Politicians? They render them hateful to the common People; they cast the foulest Reproaches upon them: Cardinal Baronius in a thousand places of his Annals, calls them Novatores, Novatoribus ortos, Impios, Hæreticos: Innovators, the Spawn of Innovators, Atheists, Hereticks. There are in all Mens Hands writings of diverse Authors, as of Thomas Bozius, Alexander Carerius of Padoua, publish'd at Rome, Padoua, and other Places, in Defence of that Ecclesiastical Liberty against the impious Politicians, as the Titles of those Books express. A fine way this indeed, and of great Efficacy, to reduce the universal Flock to one Fold; when even those of the Church's Household are with atrocious Revilings, grievous to ingenuous Persons, thrust out a Doors as it were by Head and Shoulders, as the saying is; and when thus driven away, all hope of return is cut off for ever by new Stumbling-blocks, which are daily lay'd in their way. But that Liberty forsooth is of such importance, that in Defence of it, it is no Shame to throw all things into disorder, to confound Heaven and Earth, and things Sacred with Profane; and when the Precepts of our heavenly Master are such, as cannot be gainsay'd, and have been taught us also by his Example; viz. by all means to encourage Charity above all things, even towards our Enemies; and to be subject to the Powers ordain'd of God, and obey them for Conscience sake: yet in Maintenance and Confirmation of this Liberty, which for so many better Ages was unknown, and not so much as heard of, to sow Quarrels perpetually, to stir up Wars in all Places, to be a Terror to Kings and Princes, to absolve Subjects from their Laws, and arm them against their own Sovereigns, and in a word, to violate all Rights

divine,

divine and human : This is call'd Pious and Holy and maintain'd to be most acceptable to God. For, indeed *this is what they ought to do, who would confirm to Posterity the truth of that old saying :*

Malè imperando summum Imperium amittitur.

By governing Ill the supreme Authority is lost.

*But now I turn to you, most judicious and prudent Statesmen, who are privy to the Counsels of Princes, and desire and beseech you to vouchsafe to read this Book, compos'd indeed without much Skill, but proceeding from a Love of Truth, and a particular Devotion for the Powers ordain'd of God. It concerns your Fidelity, by whose Counsels all things are administer'd in the State, to consider this Case thoroughly your selves, which if well understood, confirms all the strength of the Civil Government, and if otherwise, overthrows it; and to desire and endeavour to have it perfectly well known by all your Masters Subjects. But above all, it most concerns your Princes to take the naked Truth of the Matter in this Case from you, and to understand it rightly: For it is usual with the Assertors of that Doctrine, who are Men of great Wit and indefatigable Industry, to come upon them unawares after a wonderful manner, and with soft and fine words to instil the Poison of their pestilent Doctrine into them, while they think of nothing less: For there is a vast difference between what they say upon this Question in the Ears of Princes, and what they babble to the common People, and in their Books. Which Artifice has hitherto so happily succeeded, that very few Princes seem to have known hitherto, what are their real Sentiments in this matter, and what they teach concerning the Power of the Prince. But
for*

for the future it ought to be your Care, most prudent and wise Counsellors, that they may not be ignorant of what is so necessary. Indeed I know, that the greatest Persons of your Rank are thoroughly persuaded, and I am confident that I have clearly and evidently demonstrated in this short Treatise, that if that Doctrine be admitted, and this mock Liberty receiv'd into the Minds of Men without examining it, all is concluded; there is an end of the Authority and Rights of all Civil Powers: for in effect the Dominion it self is wholly taken away from Princes, however the empty Name of it may seem to be left them; although by this Doctrine they are not allow'd the right of using so much as the Name, unless it be at the Discretion of another; than which what more contumelious and reproachful can happen to those, who receive that sublime pitch of Dignity from God alone; whose Ordinance is manifestly oppos'd by such as subvert the Rights of Princes, absolve Subjects from their Allegiance, and break all the Bonds of Civil Government? Let this be known, understood, and thoroughly consider'd both by those who govern, and those who are governed. This is the common Cause of all Princes; for this Liberty of the Church falsely so call'd, oppresses the Liberty of them all. Oppresses do I say? Yes whole Kingdoms are taken from their lawful Possessors, under the Pretence of this Liberty, and claim'd for the Pope; and that with so much Vehemence, with such bitterness and sharpness of Words, as nothing can be more. Pray read but that one most accurate Digression of Cardinal Baronius, in his eleventh Book of Annals, by which he endeavours to recover the Kingdom of Sicily from the Catholick King. You will wonder that Charles V. an Emperor most worthy of immortal Praise, with his Son and Grand-son the two Philips, Catholick Kings of Spain, should by the fierce Defenders of the Apostolick See, be no otherwise accounted of, than

as certain vile Robbers of the World, and Enemies to the Church. But by what Right? By that of this Liberty of the Church; the Name whereof is repeated so often in every Page by that Author, that it almost turns your Stomach. And now let Princes go, and bestow their Riches, their Kingdoms, and themselves in Defence of that Liberty. Nor is it of any Moment, that some of them seem to be in no danger at present from this Doctrine; for if once by their Neglect, they suffer the Foundations of their Dominion to be weakened in the Minds of their Subjects, it is altogether necessary, that the Dominion it self and their Empire decay, totter, and fail at the Root. Consider, most prudent Counsellors, that he threatens all Princes, who does Injury to one. Consider, that it was most wisely said by Pope Felix II. An Error which is not oppos'd, is approv'd; and a Truth that is not defended, is oppress'd: for to neglect a perverse Opinion, when you are able to overthrow it, is nothing less than to encourage it. Consider, that you are those Politicians, the Name of which is so odious to the first Authors of that Sect. Take care therefore that they may effectually experience, that you understand the meaning of the Name, and are truly skilful in Civil Policy; that you are careful of the future, and look with great Sagacity, as well forward as backward; and that which the sage Megalopolitan [Polybius] teaches to be the Property of wise Men, that you do not trust to Fortune, but to those Counsels which right Reason dictates.

I shall only add, that I entreat and beseech all those, in whose Hands these Papers shall come, that if in this Dissertation any thing shall happen to fall from me, express'd with a little too much freedom, it may not be imputed to any ill Will, or Irreverence towards the Holy Order, whom I profess to regard with all due Honour and Veneration; but that they would ascribe

ascribe it all, whatever it may be, partly to the Love of my Country, which I shall never conceal to be in me very vehement; partly to the love of Truth, to which that a chief regard is to be had in all Disputes, can be doubted by none, that considers himself as a Man born to a share of right Reason. So may the Lord Jesus, who can neither deceive, nor be deceiv'd, bear my Prayers when I call upon him. Farewel, most prudent and noble Counsellors, and administer well by God's help.

The Editor's Advertisement.

THIS small Tract was compos'd by the Advice and Command of some great Men in France, upon occasion of the Disputes between the Pope of Rome and the Republick of Venice. But things being chang'd, and the Difference compos'd while it was in the Press, and the 264th page was printing at Paris in the Year of our Lord 1607, in Octavo, Henry IV. King of France, forbid the printing any more of it, and commanded, that what was already publish'd should be suppress'd: therefore the Work remain'd imperfect. A very few Copies that were begun, came abroad without Casaubon's Name. Melchior Goldastus inserted a Copy that came into his Hands, in the First Tome of his *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*, pag. 674, & seqq.

I thought it would be a publick Service to give the World a new Edition of this Book that is so very scarce. How learned in Ecclesiastical Antiquities Casaubon was is very easily shewn, both from this Specimen, and from his Exercitations upon Baronius's Annals.

THE
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OF THE

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- VII. *That the Liberty of the Church, which is now defended, does root up the very Foundations of all Civil Power.*
- VIII. *Some Examples of those Fallacies and Sophisms, by which this present Ecclesiastical Liberty is defended.*
- IX. *That the Defence of this Liberty has drove its Defenders to affirm things, which are absurd, enormous, and impious.*
- X. *That Cardinal Baronius has, in Maintenance of this Ecclesiastical Liberty, writ many things that are contrary to Truth. A Confutation of his Parænesis. Remarks upon his Annals.*
- XI. *That it would be useful as well as decent, particularly for the Church of Rome, to set bounds to this Ecclesiastical Liberty. The Conclusion of this Treatise.*
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A PARTICULAR
TREATISE

Written by

ISAAC CASAUBON of Geneva,

Entitled, *De Libertate Ecclesiasticâ*, of
the Liberty (or free Estate) of the
CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

*The Cause and Occasion of this Treatise. The
Explication of the Word Libertas. Various
kinds of Liberty. That Christian Liberty gi-
ven by God is often mention'd by the ancient
Fathers, but not Ecclesiastical, or the Liberty
of the Church. A Mistake of the Interpre-
ters of the Canon Law, in defining the Liberty
of the Church. A particular Enquiry into its
Definition.*

ALL Men love Liberty, as one of the chief
Goods of the Mind, desire it themselves,
and, for its Sake, are indulgent to o-
thers: and all true Catholick Christians have

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a Respect and Veneration for the Catholick Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Pillar of Truth, and Haven of Salvation ; and yet all that are styled, and are in reality Catholicks and Christians, do not appear affected in the same manner towards that which is now called the Liberty of the Church. Many think this the only Bulwark of Christian Piety; place the Sum of all Religion in the Defence and Enlargement of it ; avoid those that are of a different Opinion, as Persons in a dangerous Error ; and look upon them as execrable and detestable Persons. Others on the contrary maintain, that the former are in a great and senseless mistake, and are either wholly ignorant of the Signification of this Word, or fraudulently conceal it ; for that now the specious Name of Liberty is made use of by such, as design to enslave others, and be Lords themselves. In like manner as Vices often counterfeit Vertues, as Covetousness doth good Husbandry, Prodigality Bounty, Cruelty a Zeal for Justice, and remiss Government Mercy, which was observ'd by *Gregory the Great* : so the Liberty of the Church is falsely pretended, and made Shew of by such, as endeavour to put a Yoke of most severe Bondage, both upon the Church, which was made free, not by the Authority of the Magistrate, but by the precious Blood of Christ, and upon the Necks even of Kings and Princes themselves. To make use of good Words, when you intend Mischief, is the greater Malice ; for there is no one tolerably read in History, but knows, that this Liberty of the Church has for some Ages past been the Incentive, which has set all the Christians in *Europe* at Enmity against each other, and by cruel and long Wars wasted them in a most deplorable manner ; and now also it is owing to the same Ecclesiastical Liberty, that *Italy*, that most splendid part of the World, is disturb'd,

sturb'd, and in Danger of being ruin'd betwixt War and Peace, Preservation and Destruction: for this is the Complaint of Pope *Paul V.* in his Bull of Excommunication against the most serene Republick of *Venice*, that his Papal Majesty is violated by their infringing the Liberty of the Church. The *Venetians* on the other hand allege, that by yielding to the Pope in this Particular, they should betray the Rights of their Common-wealth, and the true Liberty of the Church. This is indeed a Question of the greatest Importance, and has deservedly employ'd many of the ablest Pens to do Justice to both Sides. I hope it will move no one's Envy, if among such a Number of Writers, I have also an Impression upon me to enquire thoroughly into a matter of so much Moment; especially since I have taken great Offence at what Cardinal *Baronius* says upon this Subject, who in so many Passages of his *Annals* defends this Liberty after such a manner, as not to fear pronouncing all such to be Hereticks, and damn'd to eternal Flames, who have a different Opinion of it from him. What Catholick will be so stupid, and so confident of his Salvation, -as not to be mov'd with so grievous a Denunciation? As not to be inflam'd with a Desire of knowing, what it is which is now meant by the Liberty of the Church? I have enquir'd into this, not for the Sake of Contention, I call the immortal God to witness, but with a Desire to find out the Truth. Therefore that this Dissertation may proceed in order, I shall take the Question from the very Beginning, and first say something of the Word *Libertas*, which is of various and manifold Acceptation.

Liber (free) in its first Signification is a Country Word, as *Clades*, *Soboles*, and many others, which later time has transferr'd to things most different. $\Lambda\epsilon\pi\textcircled{G}$ in *Greek* is the Bark taken off the Tree: but for π others wrote ϵ , whence the Grammarians

derive λεῖπῆις *quasi* λεπῆις, and say, that originally that Word signify'd λέπῳ κυάμῃ, the Shell of a Bean. From thence *Liber* among the ancient *Latins*, at first in the same Sense, meant the Bark stripp'd from its Tree, and *liberare*, to strip off the Bark. Afterwards when in the Wars any one that was taken, got away from him that took him, by the Elegance or Wantonness of the Soldiers, he began to be called *Liber*; as on the contrary, he that being once taken remain'd with the Conqueror, and could not get loose from him, was call'd *Servus* & *Mancipium*. With a little difference ἐλδ'θερ in *Greek* is deriv'd from a Power of going where one has a Mind: not as some trifle, ὁ ἐλεύθων ὅπως ἐρεῖ: but by a like Analogy, as πένθειν, a Mourner, from πένθω, to mourn; γοερός, the same, from γοῶ, and others of the same sort. Therefore Liberty is oppos'd to Captivity and Servitude: but both Liberty and Servitude come to Man after many ways. And there are also several manners of Expression, in which this Word is used in divers Senses, whereof I shall here speak briefly, least for want of understanding the Word, we should (which cannot otherwise be avoided) be ignorant of the thing it self; for *Plato* said well in his *Gorgias*: 'Εἰδὼς τὰ ὀνόματα εἶσι καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *He that rightly understands Words, shall also understand the things themselves*: And *Plutarch* likewise most judiciously and truly says, from the common Opinion of Philosophers, (as he tells us) *that they who have not learnt to interpret Words rightly, will also take the things themselves wrong*; and that many now do so in the Question before us, will plainly appear from what shall be said hereafter. But to come to the purpose.

Liberty is properly ascribed to Persons, yet sometimes also to things inanimate, upon the account of some Immunity, or peculiar Privilege granted to them.

them. The Liberty of Man may be consider'd, either in particular Persons, or in many, who constitute as it were one Body. Of that which belongs to particular Persons, there are as many sorts, as there are kinds of things, to which the Wills of Men may be referr'd: for both Liberty and Servitude, when spoken of Man, do always relate to his Will and Determination. The Will of Man either regards those things, which his Mind desires as necessary to him, as he is a living Creature; (which the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers call τὰ βιωτικά, *the things of this Life*: Aristotle, τὰ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖα, *things necessary to our being*) or it hath respect to those Actions, in which the Difference of Vertue and Vice is plac'd, which belong to Man as he is a Rational Creature: (The Philosopher calls them things necessary, πρὸς τὸ καλῶς εἶναι, *to our well-being*; not only to our living, but to our living as we ought: Or lastly it respects those things, which Man's Mind desires, as he remembering his heavenly Extraction, prepares himself for a future Life and Happiness. Hence there is also a threefold Liberty: The first is that of the Body, which is likewise the primitive Signification of Liberty. Of this you meet with much in Books of Civil Law; not so much in the Holy Scriptures, and Writings of Divines: because it is of great Importance to Civil Life, whether a Man be free, or a Slave: but of none at all in order to obtain future Happiness, as we are often taught in the Gospel; altho' the Apostle, in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, expressly adviseth us, to desire rather to be Free-men than Slaves, ^a *Art thou called being a Servant* ^b, *care not for it; but if thou may'st be made free, use it rather.* It is known to all,

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that Slaves are excluded from holy Orders, and Monasteries, by many Canons and Constitutions made for that purpose. Next to this is the Liberty of the Mind, as much more noble than the former, as the Mind is nobler than the Body. They want this Liberty, who are Slaves to their Vices, and sinful Affections: They enjoy it, who abandoning vulgar Errors, wholly apply themselves to Vertue, without coveting or fearing any thing. The obtaining of this was the end of all the moral Doctrine of the Philosophers: and it is a most known Maxim of the *Stoicks*, *That only the wise Man is free, and that all others are Slaves*. But it was not possible for any Man to attain to the Liberty of the Mind, either by the Strength of human Wisdom, or even by the *Mosaical Law*, which to the People of the *Jews* was the Mistress of Piety and Vertue: for all mortal Men, as well *Jews* as *Greeks*, are the *Servants of Sin*, as the Apostle proves in that divine Epistle to the *Romans*: therefore no Man living is free. For which Reason it was necessary, there should be a third kind of Liberty, that Men might attain to the Liberty they desir'd. This is that Liberty, not only of the Mind, but of the Spirit, peculiar to the Faithful, purchas'd by the Death of our Lord Jesus Christ for his Church; as much more excellent than the former, as divine and heavenly things excel human and earthly, as Life exceeds Death, and eternal Glory, everlasting Torments. Of this Liberty, *St. Thomas Aquinas* upon *St. John's Gospel*, says thus: *The Word of the Lord by its being the Truth, delivers us from the slavery of believing Lies; by its being the Word of Grace, frees us from the Servitude of Sin and Iniquity; but by its being the Word of Almighty God, it delivers us from the Bondage of Misery. By the first it confers the Liberty of Nature, by the second the Liberty of Grace, and by the third the Li-*
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erty of Glory. Thus that learned Man. The most judicious Divines refer this Liberty to these two things; A deliverance from Death, which is *the Wages of Sin*; and from the rigid Observance of the Law of *Moses*, particularly of the Ceremonial Law. Christian Liberty therefore is of two kinds: Of the former our Lord speaks in the viiith of *St. John*,
' Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth Sin, is the Servant of Sin: and the Servant abideth not in the House for ever; but the Son abideth ever: If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. Of the latter the blessed Apostle *St. Paul* speaks in the ivth Chapter of his Epistle to the *Galatians*, where having explain'd the Type of this Liberty, he at last concludes thus:
' We are not Children of the Bond Woman, but of the Free. ' Stand fast therefore in the Liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not intangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. And indeed after all, that is absolute Liberty, when we serve God: for which Reason to be free, and to serve God, only differ in Words in the Holy Scriptures, but in reality are the same. *St. Peter* in his former Epistle expresses himself thus: *As free, and not using your Liberty for a cloak of Maliciousness, but as the Servants of God.* And *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans* ^e, calls Christian Liberty *the service of Righteousness*. Our Lord in the Gospel stiles it a Yoke, but an *easy* one, that brings saving Health to those that take it upon them, ὁ ζυγὸς μὲς ἡρεσὸς, says he, ^h *my Yoke is easy.* Contrary to this is the Yoke of Legal Impositions, and human *Inventions*, needless Burdens which they bind on the Consciences of the Unskilful, as *St. Augustine* pi-

^a Ver. 34, 35, 36.

^f Ch. ii. 16.

^d Ver. 31.

^e Ch. vi. 18.

^c Ch. v. 1.

^h Matt. xi 30.

ously observes in his learned cxixth Epistle to *Januarius*. *This, says he, I am very much troubled at, that many very wholesome Precepts of God's Word are neglected, and all things are so full of numerous Inventions* of Men, that he is more severely reprov'd, who in their Octaves touches the Ground with his bare Foot, than he who buries his Mind in Drunkenness.* The holy Fathers are also wont to give the Name of Christian Liberty to that Assurance, which is the inseparable Companion of a good Conscience: when any one studying only to please God, equally despises the Favour and the Hatred of Men. In this sense *St. Chrysostom*, in his third Book *de Sacerdotio*, says, a Priest must take care that he do not seek that Post through a desire of Power, *that he may administer all things with liberty; for he that does not desire to exercise this Power with Ostentation, is not afraid of being deposed from it; and he that is exempt from this fear, may do all things with that liberty which becomes Christians.* He afterwards speaks of the Fear which is contrary to this Liberty. *Petrus Damianus*, in his Epistle to Bishop *Firminus*, declaiming against Pope *Leo* bearing Arms, says, *And indeed with what Forehead, with what boldness of Liberty can any Priest engage in a Confederacy of such as are at variance; when himself does not forgive those that hate him; but Thirsts implacably for Revenge?* The same *St. Chrysostom* does in another place give the Name of *Liberty* to that Assurance of the Saints, which is procur'd by Good Works; as when in his Sermon concerning *Babylas*, he says, *This Martyr was superior in Liberty, or certainly equal to Elias, or St. John*, Ἐφθασεν ἑτοῖς, says heⁱ, ὡς μὲν τὸ τυχὸν ἀπολεσθῆναι τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν. *He came so near them, as*

* Rites not observed in the Church.

ⁱ T. v. p. 448. Ed. Eton.

not to fall short in the least of the Liberty of those brave Men. The same holy Father does elsewhere frequently call this Liberty *παρρησία* and *πειθισμός*, words familiar with the Apostle, in the vulgar Translation, *Fiducia* & *Confidentia*, that is, *Trust and Confidence*.

And that Liberty which is ascrib'd by God to the Church and Assembly of the Righteous, may be variously distinguish'd; sometimes the Liberty of the Church is call'd a free Power of meeting together to worship God, wont to be requested and obtain'd of the Prince. What *Gregory Nazianzen* writing to *Nectarius* call'd *ἔξουσιαν λαβεῖν συνάξεως*, to receive Power of Assembling for divine Worship, some do now call *Liberty of Conscience*; *Optatus Milevitanus* calls it simply, *Libertas, Liberty*. Different from this is that Liberty of the Church, which the Fathers of the Council of *Ephesus* declare to have been given her by Christ; of which I shall say more in the iii^d Chapter. And these are the Liberties of the Church, partly mention'd in the holy Scriptures, and partly by the venerable Fathers of the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Church. But after the Christian Religion was publickly receiv'd, and the Clergy endow'd with Revenues and Dignities, first by Emperors, and then by Kings and other Nobles, that were Christians; then indeed among many other things before unheard of in the Church of God, the word Liberty by little and little began to be taken in a new Sense: For the Prerogative of Honour, Privileges, Immunities, and all such Rights they call'd *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, or *Liberties* in the Plural: and this Word came at length to be us'd so frequently, as none more. When the first use of it was heard of in the Church shall be mention'd in the ivth Chapter. But what is to be understood by the name of *Ecclesiastical Liberty*, I cannot even yet find clearly enough explain'd; and I

often wonder, when there is mention of this Liberty in so many Passages of the Canon Law, that there is no where added so much as any description to shew the force of the Word, much less an accurate definition of it. And the Interpreters of the Canon Law have given such different Opinions in this matter; that there is no help to be expected from them. It is manifest, that according as any of them stood affected to the Pope, or to the See of *Rome*, he pronounc'd differently in this matter. In the Charters of those Privileges and Immunities, which the Christian Emperors, and other Princes of old, and afterwards the Popes of *Rome* were us'd to grant sometimes to the Catholick, and other while to some particular Church, the use of the Words *Liber* Free, and *Libertas* Liberty, is metaphorical, and of common Form. In the Charter of *Charles the Great*, granted to the Church of *Osnaburg* in *Saxony*, about the Year of our Lord DCCCIV, there are these Words: *Insuper eidem Episcopo, &c. Moreover we grant to the same Bishop, and to his Successors, perpetual Licence, Liberty, and Absolution from all Royal Command, unless it shall happen that the Emperor, &c.* In that of *Nicholas the Second*, given about the Year of our Lord MLX, in favour of the Monastery of *St. Felicitas* of *Florence*: *Liberum praterea, &c. Farther we render the said Monastery free and absolv'd from all secular and worldly Condition or Distress.* In others you read, *Liberam concedimus facultatem; We grant a free Faculty. Et liberum esse volumus, It is our Pleasure it shall be free.* I make no doubt but the Appellation of the *Liberty of the Church* came from this Original; for they also us'd the word *Liberty* for *Privilege*, and as was said before, that rude and unpolite Age made too frequent use of this Word; insomuch that we are sometimes put to guess what they

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they meant by it. In an Edict of *Frederick Abenobarbus*, made in the Year MCCXXII. for the uniting of two Monasteries, are these words: *Turbatores temerarios nostræ hujus libertatis, &c.* The rash Disturbers of this our Liberty we proscribe for ever as Rebels to God: after he calls it, *Concession and Donation*. Likewise *Privilege* and *Liberty* are often join'd together, or *Liberty* and *Immunity*, as in the *Decretal de Immunitate, Sexti Lib. 3.* Also *Rights* and *Liberties*, *Ibid.* In *Rigordus*, the Liberty of Soldiers, and the Liberty and especial Prerogative of Scholars, at *Paris* under King *Philip Augustus*, and his Father. What that *Boniface*, who is call'd the Apostle of the Germans, means by *Secular Liberties*, may not without reason be doubted. So in his Epistle to *Eadburga* furnam'd *Bugga*, Cozen to the King of *Kent*: *It is better in my Opinion, if by reason of Secular Liberties you can by no means enjoy the Liberty of a quiet Mind in your own Country, that by going Abroad, if it be in your Power, you get the Liberty of Contemplation.* And I yet less understand that which is written in *Gregory VII's* Epistle to *P. Archbishop of Albano*, and *G. Prince of Salerno*, viz. *Item Magnus Imperator, &c.* Also the great Emperor (speaking of *Charles the Great*) offer'd Saxony to *St. Peter*: *And he got a Victory by his help, and erected a Monument of Devotion and Liberty, as the Saxons themselves have it written, and the learned among them very well know; that is, of his own Devotion, and of the Liberty and Dominion of the Church of Rome, which she has over all Persons and Things.* If any one thinks fit to interpret it otherwise, I am content; for it is a very obscure Passage. Nor is that much plainer in the Charter of *Urban II.* which confirms the Deed of Count *Berengarius*, who by his Authority and Advice, as *Urban* himself

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self attests, submitted the City of *Tarracona*, and the Country about it, to the Jurisdiction of the Pope. *We therefore*, says he, *who by God's Assistance desire to be the Fellow-Workers of this Restitution, do commend the Purpose of the said Count, and the Liberties and Customs which he is known to have proclaim'd to the new Inhabitants of Tarracona.* It is therefore from that manner of speaking, that *Libertas Ecclesiastica*, the Liberty of the Church came to be so call'd in the *Latin Church*: For the *Greeks* not knowing the thing, were also ignorant of the Name. I speak of that *Liberty* of the Church, which is so much talk'd of at present, and peculiarly so call'd. For they are in a great Error, who confound this Liberty with the Power of the Church, with her Right of enjoyiṅg Goods of all sorts, and with her Privileges and Immunities. The true Power of the Church, concerning which there is an excellent Book of *John Gerson*, (an admirable Divine) is that which *St. Chrysostom*, treating of the Sacerdotal Office, distinguishes into ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Office, and ἀρχὴν or τιμὴν Rule or Honour: *The Function it self of the Priestly Office, and the Honour which is due to Priests*, of which more in the next Chapter: He also calls it ἰσχυρία, *Authority*. Whether this Power be of divine Right or no, cannot be disputed without Blasphemy; since all good Men are persuaded, that Christ did from the beginning grant it to his Church, and to her Ministers. But whether the Liberty of the Church be of divine Right, has been long disputed among the Interpreters of the Canon Law, and remains still undecided. And indeed it may well seem absurd to most Men, to say, that that has been introduc'd by divine Right, which the purer Church knew nothing of for so many Ages. A Right of possessing (*Temporal*) Goods is in the Canons of the Greeks call'd δικαίωμα κλήσεως, *Right of Possession*,

or

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οἱ καλοχῆς *immunitas*, *Immunity of holding Possession*, ἀτίλεια ἢ λείβεσιων, *Immunity from Offices*, or simply ἀτίλεια *immunity*, or ἀλείβεσις, *exemption from all publick Offices*. Privileges are there call'd περιόμια, and φιλοτιμήματα βασιλέων, *Royal Privileges and Donations*, δίκαια or δικαιώματα, *Legal Rights or Grants*. Sometimes also ἐπαμυθία, *additional Encouragements, above what is strictly due*. And as I have shew'd, that Liberty is used for Privilege: so have I observ'd Privileges indulg'd to certain Monasteries by the Emperors of *Constantinople*, to be call'd ἐλευθερία and αὐτοξυσίτης, *Liberty and the Freedom of one's own Will*, in Books of the Greek Canon Law. There is a Constitution of the Greek Emperor *Alexius Comnenus*, in which there is mention of Monasteries instituted, either κατ' ἐπίδοσιν, with respect to their Revenues, or, κατ' ἐφορείαν, with respect to their being Visited, or, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, with respect to their Government, παντὶ ὥς κατ' ἐλευθερίαν, in all respects perfectly Free, which therefore he calls ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀντεξέσια μοναστήρια. *free and exempt Monasteries*. But far different from this is that Ecclesiastical Liberty, of which I am now treating; and whose Nature and Force they who have attempted to comprehend in one simple definition, have, if I may say the truth, been guilty of great Trifling: For what else is it, to endeavour to define an equivocal Word, without first applying a distinction? Or who can deny that there is a manifold signification in this Word?

How variously the word Liberty is taken, I have shew'd already. The same must be necessarily observ'd here, concerning the word *Church*: for as many ways as this Word is us'd to be taken, so many different definitions will there be also of the Liberty of the Church. Properly the Church is call'd a *Congregation* κλητὶς ἁγίων, as the Apostles speak, that
is,

is, of *the Faithful call'd to be Saints*; who are also call'd *the Elect*. But because in this Life we are mingled good and bad together, therefore under the Appellation of the Church all are wont to be comprehended, who profess the Name of Christ. A third Notion has long since obtain'd, That *the Flock of the Faithful being divided into Clergy and Laity, only the Clergy as the better and nobler part should be understood by the Name of the Church*. Then a fourth and a fifth Sense came to be us'd, and are now very common; the former, when the Church is put for the *Romish Church*; the latter, when only for the Pope of *Rome*. The three first acceptations of the Word are common to the *Greek* and *Latin Church*, as also that manner of speaking, by which consecrated Places are call'd Churches, was of old us'd both by *Greeks* and *Latins*. And the fourth acceptance, for the Honour of *St. Peter* and the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, has for several Ages past begun to be in use with many even in the East, and throughout all the West. The fifth has not been approv'd of by all even in the West, but only by such, as acknowledge the Pope of *Rome* to be the Head, and Prince, and even Sovereign Lord of the universal Church. When in the Capitulars of the ancient Kings, and in the Writers of that Time, the *Liberty of the Church*, and the *Liberty of Elections* are mention'd, and put for the same thing; this is meant of the Liberty given by Christ to the universal Church: And although it was very long the Custom for such as were to be admitted into holy Orders, to be chosen by the common Suffrages of the Clergy and People, yet afterwards this Custom was chang'd, and the Right of Suffrages was transferr'd wholly to the Clergy. Thus according to the time this Liberty has alter'd, though it was always call'd *the Liberty of the Church*, viz. in the

third

third acceptation of the Word, not as before in the First and Second. *Innocent III.* in his Epistle to the Empress *Constantia*, Queen of *Sicily*, prescribing the manner he would have observ'd by the *Sicilians* in making their Elections, calls it the *Canonical Liberty* of the Church. They who understand by the Liberty of the Church, an Exemption of the Clergy from all Subjection to their Lawful Princes, which is the Opinion of Cardinal *Bellarmin* in a Treatise publish'd on that Subject, as well as of many others, take the word Church in the third Sense. Which though it may seem to be done not unjustly, because that signification of the Word has long obtain'd; yet it is attended with dangerous Designs; because under the Countenance of the word Church, the unskilful and common People are persuaded, that the Liberty of the universal Church is concern'd in this matter; to oppose which were the utmost Impiety; whereas in reality 'tis only the Liberty, nay the Licentiousness of a few, and the absolute Dominion of One, that is maintain'd under this Pretence. Infomuch that they who consider the matter diligently, will clearly perceive, that these Patrons of *Ecclesiastical Liberty* take the word Church in the fifth Sense, for the Pope of *Rome* only. For it is for him alone that plenary Liberty, for him alone that Empire, for him alone that Power is procur'd, without End, without Measure, over the Lives, and Estates, and Fortunes of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, and of all Persons whatever, who desire to be call'd Christians throughout the whole World. For if any one object, that Cardinal *Bellarmino* teaches far differently in his vth Book *De summo Pontifice*; for this Objection we have a most sure Answer prepar'd, of which more in the vith Chapter and those following: there I shall shew, that what the Car-

dinal asserts in that Book is so far disallow'd, and daily refuted by the most zealous Patrons of this Liberty, that it is all to be accounted as unsaid, and out of Date. *Alexander Pefantius* a Roman, in his Book *de Immunitate Ecclesiasticâ, & Potestate Romani Pontificis*, which not very long since he dedicated to *Paul V.* pag. 45. of the *Roman* Edition, says, *Dico summus Pont. &c. I say, the Pope has by divine Right most full Power over the whole Earth, as well in Ecclesiastical Matters, as Political.* And in the Margin of the Book the Author has this Note: *The Pope is by divine Right directly Lord over the Universe.* The same say many others. But let us proceed to shew the use of this Expression. These are *Gregory VII's* words in his Epistle to the Bishop of *Passau*, and Abbot of *Hirsaug* *, where he speaks of the *Germans* electing an Emperor in the room of *Henry*. "We know, says he, that our Brethren are wearied with a long Contest, and with divers Disturbances; yet it is discover'd to be more noble to contend a long time for the Liberty of holy Church, than to lie under a lamentable and diabolical Servitude: For on one hand, those wretched Persons, to wit, Members of the Devil, contend that they may be oppress'd by his miserable Slavery: On the other, the Members of Christ contend, that they may bring back those wretched Persons to CHRISTIAN LIBERTY. Fair words, but a foul meaning. The Liberty of the Church properly so call'd is made shew of, and a diabolical Slavery is lamented. What Christian will be so stupid, whom those Words will not stir up, and inflame him with Hatred against his Prince? But we must remember, that in this place, and other such like, the Investiture of the Clergy is spoken of, of which the Pope of Rome had robb'd the Emperor and all other

* *Hirsaugienjem Abbatem.*

Princes, and challeng'd it to himself alone, and those who deriv'd their Right from him : And this is call'd *the proper Liberty of the Church* in a certain Canon of that Council, which the same Pope *Hildebrand* held at *Rome* in the Year of our Lord *MLXXX*. Here therefore, and in other Passages a-kin to this, the *Church* is taken for the *Pope* ; and those Rights which he claims to himself as the Vicar of Christ, God and Man, are call'd *Christian Liberty*. On the contrary in the Year *MCLVIII*. the Emp. *Frederick*, upon a Difference arisen between the State and the Church, writes thus to the Princes of the Empire :
 " Because we have hitherto endeavour'd to rescue
 " the Honour and LIBERTY OF THE CHURCHES,
 " (now a long time oppress'd with a Yoke of unjust Servitude) from the Hand of the *Egyptians*,
 " (he means Pope *Adrian IV.*) and intend to preserve
 " to them all the Rights of their Dignities, we
 " desire you all to condole with us so great an Injuriousness to us and the Empire. Here *Frederick* understands by the Church, either the universal Church, of which himself was a part, or only the Clergy : And so you will observe very often in the Histories of what has happen'd since the times of *Gregory VII.* when there were most grievous Dissentions between the Popes and Princes, and they were often at War with each other ; yet on both sides the Defence of the Liberty of the Church was the Pretence of the War. So true is what was said by that most wise Orator *Demosthenes*, in his Oration *contra Leptinen*, that many are wont μελαπτεργίας τὰ ὀνόματα ἀπιδόν, to deceive by changing the Signification of Words. For there are many who use the Names of things just as Juglers do their Balls and Goblets. And that *Frederick* defended the Liberty of the Church even those Cardinals attest, who wrote an Epistle which begins thus : *Ex quo contra honorem Ecclesia, &c.*
 Since

Since the time that, contrary to the Honour of God's Church, and of the Empire, Friendship was made between our Lord Pope Adrian, and William of Sicily, &c. We shall shew in the Sequel, that the Honour of the Church, and the Liberty of the Church, are us'd to be taken for the same thing. The Cardinal Presbyters therefore say: " But we on the contrary thought it meet, rather that the *Sicilian* should " be excommunicated, who had violently taken " away all the Rights of the Church, both Spiritual and Temporal; than the Emperor, who hath " taken true Pains, to recover the Rights of the " *Roman Church*, and of the Empire; and to restore the CHURCH from Servitude to LIBERTY. So that, if we believe these Cardinals, the Pope did only in shew defend the *Liberty of the Church*, but *Frederick* did it in reality. Nor ought this to seem strange to any one: for not only this, but many other Emperors, and many Kings of *France*, and *England*, and other Nations have been oblig'd to contend with the Popes of *Rome* for the Liberty of the Church: in which Contest, tho' the Cause of all Christians was the same, yet they had not every one always the same Mind, nor the like Constancy. As to the most Christian Kings, the Bishops, and all the Clergy and Nobility of *France*, it is their peculiar Praise, (I say it without Flattery) that with an heroick Piety, and religious Generosity they have, by the Blessing of God, preserv'd the Christian Liberty of their Church, if not wholly untouch'd, yet firm and unshaken to this Day: Who that dwells even in the most remote Regions, and has receiv'd but the slightest Account of the Affairs of *France*, has not heard something of the *Liberties of the Gallican Church*? so in the Language of the Law are the Rights of Ecclesiastical Liberty call'd; which tho' they were from the

Be-

Beginning to the universal Church, (for they have all one and the same Author and Founder *Jesus Christ*) yet by a certain Fate it has happen'd, that in all the noblest Kingdoms of *Europe* the Churches have suffer'd their Rights and Liberties to be taken from them; whence it is come to pass, that while the neighbouring People groan under their Servitude, the Name of the *Liberties of the Gallican Church* has been celebrated with great Fame, even among far distant Nations. Although other Kingdoms likewise have done the same, but more remissly, and with less Success. Thus in the Histories of *England*, there is mention of the *Liberties* of that Church, and of *the Liberties of the Kingdom*: which yet were of little Advantage to them against the Oppression and Exactions of the Pope of *Rome*. There are very many Monuments of theirs extant, in which with grievous Lamentation they bemoan the Burdens laid upon them by the *Roman Pontiff* or his Legats. But this shall be clearly shewn in its proper Place.

To return therefore from this Digression. They who by Ecclesiastical Liberty, will have meant the Exemption of Ecclesiasticks, do accurately explain the Force of this Exemption: and that is, that he who was just now subject to this or that Prince, as soon as he has got into any of the sacred Orders, does in an instant become free from all Jurisdiction of that Prince: no more owns him for his Sovereign; reverences his Majesty no farther than he pleases; pays him no Tribute; nor has any Fear of his Laws: for it is expressly affirm'd, that the Clergy are oblig'd to no temporal Laws whatever, as to their coercive, but only with respect to their directive Power. What if any Clergy-man (for it may happen) should commit some Crime worthy of Punishment in the State? What if any

of them should be scandalous for Debauchery. Shall the Prince have no Power to punish him? No; 'tis precisely determin'd he shall not. These are the Words of *John Mariana* the *Spanish* Jesuit; in the first Book and 10th Chapter of that elegant Treatise, in which he lays down Instructions for *Philip* the III^d King of *Spain*: "Farther the Prince
 " is oblig'd to take Care, that the Rights and Im-
 " munities of sacred Order be untouch'd: Let him
 " subject none of the sacred Order to Punishment,
 " THO' HE DESERVE IT. But what need we go
 into *Spain*? For we cannot learn the Meaning of the Roman Pontifical Law better from any Place, than from the City of *Rome*; especially since many very learned Men have within a few Months publish'd Books there, which will not permit us to be ignorant of the Force of this Exemption. Among many late Authors, whose Writings I have perus'd, *Johannes Antonius Bovius* a *Carmelite*, alone expresses the thing so very plainly in my Opinion, that it were a great Crime to pass over what he says, which I shall therefore give you here faithfully translated from the *Italian*; "Liberty is oppos'd to Necessi-
 " ty, to Bondage or Servitude; therefore as the
 " Liberty from Sin consists in this, that we are
 " freed from the Bonds of Sin: and the Liberty
 " from the *Mosaick* Law in this, that we are freed
 " and exonerated from the Yoke of the Ceremonial
 " Law: so the Liberty of the Church does herein
 " consist, that Ecclesiasticks are exempt in their
 " Persons, Goods, and Causes, and are not obnox-
 " ious to the Laws, Power, and Jurisdiction of
 " Princes, as Laicks are: and this is the true and
 " proper Definition of the Liberty of the Church,
 " which extends to all this; the two remaining
 " parts which follow, have the Force of a Declara-
 " tion. And as to what *Bartolus* says, (*In Au-*
 " *thent.*

" *ibent. Caus.*) that those Statutes are repugnant
 " to the Liberty of the Church, by which Ecclesi-
 " asticks are intimidated, and Laicks emboldened :
 " this is his Meaning, that by the Right of Exemp-
 " tion which Ecclesiasticks enjoy, it comes to pass,
 " that Princes cannot, I will not say directly, and
 " with effect lay Hands upon their Persons and E-
 " states ; but that they have not Power so much
 " as indirectly, or even in pretence only, to do
 " any Prejudice to their Liberty. If it be possible
 " I will speak yet more plainly : *Bartolus* means
 " to say, that Princes are so little empower'd to
 " do any Damage to the Clergy, THAT THEY
 " HAVE NO RIGHT SO MUCH AS IN THE LIGHT-
 " EST MANNER TO TERRIFY OR AFFRIGHT THEM:
 How justly or unjustly these things are affirm'd, I
 shall hereafter enquire. It is certain we have here
 a manifest Declaration of the Exemption of the
 Clergy, and of a full and perfect licentious Liberty.
 And yet all things that are establish'd in the Canon-
 Law for the sake of Ecclesiastical Liberty, cannot
 be referr'd to the Exemption of Ecclesiasticks.

Boniface VIII. the most strenuous Assertor of this
 Liberty, says (in *Sexto, tit. 23.*) " Those who have
 " temporal Dominion at any time, forbid their
 " Subjects to sell any thing to Prelates, Clerks, or
 " Ecclesiastical Persons, or buy any thing of them,
 " or grind them Corn, or bake Bread for them, or
 " presume to do them other Services ; since such
 " things are presum'd in Derogation of the Liberty
 " of the Church, we decree they shall on that very
 " Account lie under a Sentence of Excommunica-
 " tion. To compleat the Definition of Ecclesiasti-
 cal Liberty, this Decretal was not to be pass'd by ;
 which is not indeed concerning the Right of Ex-
 emptions, but adds as it were the last hand to the
 Prerogative of the Clergy : for if all Lay-men, of

what Dignity or Degree soever, may be condemn'd to eternal Flames for things of so little Moment, what else have they to take Care of, from the lowest to the highest, besides this one thing, by what means they may be able to pacify the Clergy? And in my Opinion, they will be able to do this, if they submit to them in all things, be Slaves to their Will, and allow them Liberty to determine as they please concerning their Affairs. That Boniface by that Canon intended thus much, none will deny.

From what we have hitherto said, we at last infer, that his Error will not be far different from the Opinion of the modern Doctors of the Pontifical Law, who shall frame this, whether Description or Definition of Ecclesiastical Liberty: *Ecclesiastical Liberty is a certain Right primarily indeed adhering to the Pope of Rome, by which he obtains the Dominion of all the World: but secondarily to Ecclesiasticks, by which they are jointly and severally exempt, themselves, and their Goods, from all Subjection, Jurisdiction, and Power of all Princes: and Laicks are render'd obnoxious to them for all kinds of Services.* Tho' this Definition be not perfect in all its Parts, which we do not promise, yet it sufficiently explains the Force of that, which by the Moderns and Men of the last Ages is call'd the Liberty of the Church. Now therefore it remains to be enquir'd, at what time, by what Endeavours, and by whom this Liberty was brought into the Church; then we will consider the chief Reasons which are wont to be alledg'd by the Patrons of it: and also briefly shew, how dangerous a thing both to the Christian Church and State such a licentious Liberty is.

CHAP. II.

What, and of what kind the Liberty of the ancient Church was, from its first Rise to the times of Constantine the Great. A Comparison of both Powers, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and concerning the Right of each, as well ordinary as extraordinary.

HAVING explain'd the various Measures of that Liberty, which is wont to be call'd Christian or Ecclesiastical, before I undertake to shew, what kind of Liberty particularly every Age of the Church used, I think it necessary in a few Words to compare the Sacerdotal Power with the Civil: for the State also has its Liberty, which how it differs from that of the Church, will evidently appear from this Comparison. Therefore that in an Argument of so large Extent, I may not wander farther than is necessary for my purpose, I will lay down certain Theorems, or (as they speak in the Schools) Conclusions, comprehending the Vertue and Rights of each Power, and add a brief Explication and Proof to each Theorem.

- I. *The Church and the State differ sometimes both in Reality and Conception; sometimes in Conception only.*

What Optatus Milevitanus said, that *the Church is in the State*, is indeed most true, but wants Explication: for sometimes the Church is so in the State, that it has its peculiar Interests wholly separate from those of the State; which was the Condition of the Church in her Infancy, before the Do-

ctrine of Salvation had subdued the stubborn Minds, and overcome the Obstinacy of the Infidels. Sometimes the Church is so in the State, that it is in some respect the State it self, as it then happen'd, when the Darkness of the Pagan Errors being dispell'd, the Profession of Christianity was generally embrac'd by all: for from that time the People which constitute the State, were also the Church: but that for a different Reason and End, as will be shewn presently. So that they are the same in some respect, and not the same. Authors here do not always observe the Propriety of Words, but either ascribe those things to the State, which belong to the Church, or those to the Church, which appertain to the State. In a *Synodical Epistle to Lewis King of France, Son of Charles*, the King himself is styl'd *Ruler of the Holy Church of God*. But the King is not properly Ruler of the Church, but of the State chiefly and primarily, and of the Church, as it is a Part and Appendage of the State: but there and elsewhere frequently the King is call'd *Defender of the Church*, and that properly.

II. *In every Society, which has different Ends, the same Persons may in different respects both be Superiors and Subjects.*

Societies set up by Men, whether private or publick, have sometimes one single End, sometimes more. When Passengers go on board a Vessel to cross the Seas, or pass over a River, they are understood to have entered into a tacit Society, the only and simple end of which is their Passage. When a Regiment of Marines embark to fight with an Enemy, here is a two-fold Society, and a double End: As they are all Passengers, they are in Subjection to the Captain of the Ship; as Soldiers, to their

their proper Officer, who himself, in respect of the Governour of the Ship, is only a Passenger, and his as well as all their Safety depends upon the Skill and Art of him that sits at the Helm; and yet he also, with regard to Military Command, is subject to the Colonel of the Regiment, and obeys his Orders. Now the Church and State have the Resemblance of a Ship, and are frequently represented by the Ancients under that Similitude. Before the Gospel was receiv'd, the State had only one End, which was to spend this Life with as much Convenience and Reputation as was possible, that being the End for which Nature incited Men to institute Societies. *Aristotle* sometimes calls it *ἀνδραγαθία*, as much as to say, a sufficient Plenty of all things; sometimes the Good of Mankind, which consists in the Fruition of those Endowments of the Body and Mind, of which Nature fram'd Man fit to participate in this Life: I say in this Life, because the primary End of Civil Instruction extends no farther. But there is besides another Good of Mankind, for the Participation of which, since God had first created Man fit, and he lost that Fitness by his own Fault, by the inestimable Benefit of our Saviour Christ he has recover'd the same Fitness, and indeed more effectually. That Good is the blessed State which is reserv'd for good Men in the next Life, to the Hope of which, what we stile the Church in the World, and within the State, is called by the Voice of Christ himself. As the End for which Civil Society is instituted, is the obtaining of human Good; so the Worship of God, and our Preparation for future Happiness, is the End of instituting a Church. Nor are the Church and State distinguish'd only by their different Ends: but also by their Condition, Constitution, and Government. The State is in this World, as in its own lawful

Country; seeks Riches, and all the Necessaries of this Life, procures it self Power, and promotes its own Ends as far as it can: For in that Men commonly think the good of Mankind, now mention'd from *Aristotle*, consists. The Church following the Prize of the High-Calling, as the Apostle speaks, and incessantly turning all its Hopes and Thoughts to the Fruition of a better Life, does not enjoy earthly Goods, but only uses them; nor dwells in this World as in its own Country, but sojourns in it as a Stranger, or Foreigner, not as a Citizen. Hence the Fathers often call the Church by another Name, the *City of God*: for it has its *Conversati-on*, (Franchises and Freedom) in *Heaven*, as the same Apostle speaks^k; and the Church has learnt of Christ her King to say, *My Kingdom is not of this World*.

This diversity which is so great, does also require different Governours: They who govern the Church are by a common Name styl'd Priests (or Bishops) and they Princes, who rule the State. The different Duties of these Governours depend on the difference of the Ends now mention'd, and on the diversity of the Subject Matter about which they are conversant. For as *Synesius* says, the Political Faculty is conversant about Matter, that is, about human and worldly Things, or (as Divines use to speak) about Secular Affairs. The Priesthood, says the same Author, is conversant about God, that is, Divine Matters, or at least about Human, as they are joined with Divine. Whatever therefore appertains to things Divine, is properly under the Priests Jurisdiction; and on the contrary, all things that belong to the publick Estate, or to the Goods, Interests, and Advantages of private Persons, are

^k *Philip. 3. 20.*

APPENDIX. cli

under that of the Prince. And because the Church is in the State, as a part in the whole, therefore its Defence and Preservation will so much the more belong to the Duty of the Prince, as this is the more noble part of the State, and as it is of more concern, that this be preserv'd and defended. Lastly, saith he, in Things merely Divine, the Priests obtain a Plenary Power, the Prince must be one of their Flock : but in Civil Affairs the Priest by common Right shall be rank'd with the rest of the People, unless by the Prince's Favour any Privileges or Prerogatives of Honour are indulg'd to him. Hence it necessarily follows, that a Christian Prince is subject to the sacred Laws and Canons of the Catholick Church, and a Priest to the Civil and Political Laws. This is the Doctrine and Opinion of Pope *Gelasius*, who about the Year of our Lord CCCCXII. succeeded *Felix* in the Administration of the Apostolick See : for thus he writes to the Emperor *Anastasius*. " There are two things, Great
 " Emperor, by which chiefly this World is go-
 " vern'd, the sacred Authority of the Bishops, and
 " the Regal Power; in which the burden of the
 " Bishops is so much the more weighty, as in the
 " Divine Inquest they are to give an Account to
 " our Lord, even for Kings themselves: for you
 " know, most gracious Son, that though in Dignity
 " you preside over Mankind, yet you devoutly sub-
 " mit your self to those that preside in divine Mat-
 " ters, and desire of them the means of your Salvati-
 " on; and in the participation of the heavenly Sacra-
 " ments, and in the due dispensation of them, you
 " know that by the Order of Religion, you ought
 " to be subject rather than to preside. You know
 " therefore, that with respect to these things you
 " depend upon their Judgment, and that they must
 " not be brought to your Will: For if even those

“ who PRESIDE IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS, know-
 “ ing that the Empire was conferr'd upon you from
 “ on high, OBEY THE LAWS, least even in things
 “ of this World they should seem to oppose the de-
 “ termination of Heaven; I beseech you with what
 “ Affection ought you to obey these spiritual Go-
 “ vernours, who are appointed to dispense the holy
 “ Mysteries? You see it is most manifestly the
 Opinion of *Gelasius*, that where Salvation is con-
 cern'd, that is, in spiritual Matters, the Emperor
 ought to submit: In all others, that the Bishop must
 obey the command of the Prince, whose Power in
 the State I shall hereafter shew to be supreme.

But here we meet with the Patrons of that Ex-
 emption of the Clergy, which is now call'd the Li-
 berty of the Church, who cry out, That it is a
 thing absurd, that they who administer Spiritual
 Things should be subject to those who manage
 Things that are Temporal. But these acute Men do
 not understand what we prov'd in the beginning,
 that nothing is more agreeable to nature, than that
 where there are different Ends and divers Powers,
 there should also be different commands; and that
 the same numerical Person should both command
 and obey, namely in a different respect. Thus
 we often see those, who have been the greatest
 and most honourable Civil Magistrates, when they
 go into the Army, obey those who were far their
 Inferiors. The Life of Physicians is for the most
 part private, and unacquainted with all Jurisdic-
 tion; yet Emperors themselves observe the Orders of
 Physicians. The same Person therefore may be
 both inferior and superior: on which *Themistius* of
 old elegantly jested, when being from the Professi-
 on of Philosophy, which by its own Right com-
 mands Kings, promoted by the Emperor *Constantius*
 to a great Post in the State, in a most elegant Epi-
 gram,

gram, he thus speaks to himself, Νῦν ἀνάβηθι κάτω, καὶ γὰρ ἄνω κατέβης. *Now ascend downwards, because you have descended upwards.* Like to which was that of St. Chrysostom in his lxvith Homily on St. Matthew, concerning the sublime Humility of Christ the Lord of all: His words are these; Ἡ κατὰ βᾶσις αὐτῆς πάντων ἀνάβᾶσις γέλυε. *This very Humiliation was the Exaltation of all Men.* And many other like Passages in the same Father.

III. The Christian Church and State acknowledges Christ only as King and Priest.

The holy Scriptures own the Priesthood of Christ alone to be of the Order of *Melchisedec*, that is, join'd with the Kingly Office. *Psal.* cix. 6. *Heb.* v. 6. and vii. 1, 17. Indeed in the beginning, when Kingdoms and Dominions were instituted among Men, the same Persons were both Kings and Priests; and that Custom remain'd among the *Egyptians* and other barbarous Nations, and even among the *Grecians* themselves for many Ages; as *Plato* (in *Politic.* 8.) *Aristotle* (lib. 3. de *Repub.*) *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*Strom.* 8.) and several others assure us. *Cicero* also in his first Book of *Divination*, affirms the same of the ancient *Romans*. This Custom was afterwards chang'd, and instead of the first Kings, who were also Priests, there were instituted at *Athens*, *Rome*, and other Places, *Sacerdotal Kings*¹, as it were only for the Name, not much unlike those represented on the Stage; for they had nothing of King except the Name: *Plato* calls them κληρονομῆς, *Kings made by Lots.* And there was formerly a like observance among God's own People; for to say nothing of *Melchisedec*, so much taken notice of in both Testaments as King and Priest, it is ma-

¹ Reges Sacrificuli.

nifest that the ancient Patriarchs, *Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and indeed all the First-born, as *St. Jerom* observes, were in some sort both Kings and Priests among their own People. But *Synesius* in his lviith Epistle says, it was God that chang'd that Custom; and he there gives us this Reason for the Change. "Because, *says he*, Divine Worship was "administred after the manner of Men, there-
 "fore God separated the Office of the Priest and the
 "Prince, which were before join'd together in the
 "same Person. And the same most excellent Writer says elegantly; ὅτι πολιτικῶς ἀρετῶν ἱερουργίᾳ συνάπτεται, τὸ κλῶθειν ὅτι τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα. That to join the Political Power with the Priesthood, is to connect Things into one, which are utterly inconsistent in their own Nature. But the Reasons for which God would have that distinction preserv'd in his Church, are accurately explain'd by Pope *Gelasius*, whose words I think it necessary to write down. "These things, *says he*, might be before
 "the coming of Christ, that some Persons in a Fi-
 "gure, though as yet appointed for carnal Employ-
 "ments, were at the same time both Kings and
 "Priests, as the sacred History acquaints us, holy
 "Melchisedec was. — And a little after, "But
 "when once the true King and Priest was come,
 "the Emperor no longer took to himself the Name
 "of High Priest, nor did the High Priest claim
 "the Dignity of King. For although as Mem-
 "bers of him, that is, of the true King and
 "Priest, according to the participation of his Na-
 "ture, they may be said, in the sacred Generati-
 "on, to have taken both Offices, that the Regal
 "and Sacerdotal Dignity might subsist together;
 "yet Christ being mindful of human Frailty, that

* Εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ θεῖον ἔρπον ἀνθρωπίνως ἐπετέλλεσθαι, διώκισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν βίους. p. 198. Edit. Par. 1612.

“ he might act in Conformity to the Salvation of
 “ his People, by a glorious Dispensation thus sepa-
 “ rated the Duties of each Power, distinguishing
 “ them by their proper Actions and Dignities, be-
 “ ing desirous that his Elect should be saved by a
 “ wholesome Humility, and not again destroyed
 “ by human Pride: And that Christian Emperors
 “ should stand in need of Priests for the attainment
 “ of eternal Life, and Priests depend upon the Em-
 “ perors in the Administration of Temporal Things,
 “ that the Spiritual Action might be free from Car-
 “ nal Incroachments, and therefore that no Man
 “ who is God’s Soldier, should intangle himself in
 “ the Affairs of this Life: And on the other hand,
 “ that he who is intangled in Secular Affairs should
 “ not preside over such as are Divine: and that by
 “ the balance of both Orders it should be provided,
 “ that none should have both to puff him up; and
 “ that a competent Profession should be peculiarly
 “ suited to the Qualities of both Actions. Thus
 Gelasius in his Book *de Anathematis vinculo*, from
 whence Pope Nicholas took it, and Gratian from
 him. You will here observe two very important
 Causes, why no Man can be King and Priest in the
 Church of God: The first is, the *Balance of both*
Orders. This judicious Author calls *modestia* what
 the Greek Writers of Politicks, when they treat of
 the Nature of Civil Governments, stile *ισορροπία*
 and *ζυγισμός*, an *Æquilibrium*; for they tell us,
 that a Government cannot be firm and steady, when
 the parts which constitute it in a Geometrical Pro-
 portion, are not on all sides by an equal Weight,
 kept in their proper and lawful Stations; that o-
 therwise it will necessarily come to pass, as *Gelasi-*
us here says, that the part which is buoy’d up
 with too much Power, will rise too high, and
 ὑψοῖται, as *Polybius* most aptly expresses it, that is,

go out of its place. Another Reason is, lest that should happen which was just now mention'd from *Synesius*; but on the contrary, that sacred Persons should take care of sacred things, and Persons not Consecrated, of things not Sacred. The Archbishops of the Provinces of *Rheims* and *Roan* use this Expression to *Lewis* their King; *God coming in the Flesh, who ALONE COULD BECOME KING AND PRIEST, and ascending into Heaven dispos'd of the Government of his Kingdom, that is, the Church, between the Pontifical Authority and the Regal Power.*

IV. *The Prince and the Priest, or the Bishop, receive their Power from Christ, both King and Priest; the one the Civil, the other the Sacerdotal Power, but in different respects.*

Christ, God and Man, is the Author of both Powers; nor does either the Sacerdotal in things Divine depend on the King; or the Regal in things Human on the Bishop. The latter of which many falsely assert now, and endeavour to prove; for indeed Christian Kings and Princes have most of them among their very Titles of Honour long since begun to profess, that they are what they are by the ^m *Grace of God*. And the Emperor *Justinian* says right, (in the vith Novel) that the Priesthood and Kingly Office flow from the same Fountain; namely, Christ, who as he said in *St. Peter* to all Bishops universally, *Feed my Sheep*; so speaking to the *Pharisees*, he gave this command to all People in general, of what Order soever, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are Gods*. And the same Christ by his Apostle *St. Paul* proclaims, *Let every Soul be subject to*

the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be are ordained of God. Where that he speaks of the Secular Powers, not of the Ecclesiastical, is so manifest from what follows, that it is senseless to doubt of it, and mere Sophistry to interpret it otherwise. Therefore Gregory of Nazianzum, in a Sermon deliver'd at that City, said, that the Civil Magistrate did *Χρῆσθαι* *ἑαυτοῦ*, *Χρῆσθαι* *τῷ* *Χριστῷ*, *ἑαυτοῦ* *ἰσχυρῶς*, share the Empire with Christ in a joint Administration. And Symmachus, Bishop of Rome, writing to the Emperor Anastasius, "Do you, says he, pay a deference to God in us, and we will pay a deference to God in you. Nor does it alter the Case, that some Princes obtain their Dominion by Hereditary Right, others by Election, and some by Conquest: For though God uses certain Men as his Instruments to establish a Prince, or constitute a Priest, yet it were an Impiety not to acknowledge all Dominion and Power whatsoever to come originally from God. For by him Kings reign, as 1000 passages of Scripture assure us. This Princes mean, when they affirm, that they have receiv'd their Power immediately from God. The Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, says, "Testimonies of both Civil and Canon Law manifestly declare, that the Imperial Dignity and Authority came of Old immediately from the Son of God, and that God by the Emperors and Kings of the World, did openly give Laws to Mankind. And afterwards; "We declare that the Imperial Power and Dignity is immediately from God only. And this very justly: For if neither he that planteth is any thing; nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the Increase: If neither Paul himself is any thing, nor Apollo, but God who giveth the Increase of Faith, shall we dare to say, that they are any thing, who elect a Prince on Earth, or set a Crown on his Head?

Head? Or shall we deny, that the Emperors of *Constantinople*, who receiv'd their Crown from the Patriarch, did justly and properly call themselves ΘΕΟΣΤΕΦΕΙΣ, *crown'd of God*? But this is common to the Regal and Sacerdotal Office, that both are call'd ἀρχαί, or *Principalities*. St. Paul in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, among Ecclesiastical Offices also reckons *Governments*, taking the Word either from such as sit at the Helm in Ships, or from Political Magistrates. St. *John Chrysostom*, both in his Books *de Sacerdotio*, and frequently elsewhere, tells us, that there is in the Office of a Bishop an ἔργον a Work, that is, the Duty of Teaching, of administering Sacraments, and in one word, of Feeding the Flock: And more than this, ἀρχὴν, τιμὴν, and αὐθεντίαν, a *certain Principality, Honour, and Authority*. Gregory Nazianzen also calls his Episcopal Charge δυναστείαν a *Dominion*, and attributes a Tribunal to himself. Nor this only, but comparing his Power with the Civil, he says, his is as much greater and more excellent, as the Spirit is superior to the Flesh, and Heavenly things to such as are Earthly. And the holy Fathers have frequently scatter'd up and down in their Writings, other Expressions of like nature, to gain Veneration to the Priesthood. And there are those who compare the Priesthood to the Sun, which is the greater Light, and the Empire to the Moon, which is the lesser: which Similitude is also us'd by *Innocent III.* in the very Words of the ancient Fathers, though with a different meaning. And indeed who, that estimates things aright, can doubt but that Heavenly things excel Earthly, and the Spirit, the Flesh, or even the Mind? Or who does not know, that a Priest duly administering divine Offices, is on account of his Function far superior to all earthly Empires? Which was perfect.

ly well understood by those Emperors of old, who first introduc'd that Custom, that (as themselves declare in a certain Law) they should approach Christ's Altar, without their Crown, without their Guards, and without the other Ensigns of Majesty; signifying thereby, that themselves are only Sheep within Christ's Fold; and that within the Pale of the Church only Christ, and such as represent him, have properly any Right or Power. But they who now abuse such like Testimonies of the ancient Fathers, in order to change their spiritual Power, confin'd to the administration of Spiritual things, into a Dominion that comprehends things Temporal, as well as Spiritual, do wonderfully impose upon the Ignorant: For that those venerable Writers had an other meaning, and that they did not so much as dream of that Exemption of the Clergy, or this Liberty of the Church, 'tis Ignorance not to know, Impudence to deny, Impiety, and that the greatest, to maintain the contrary. They urge that Similitude abovemention'd from *Gregory Nazianzen*, and the chief of them draw a monstrous conclusion from it; not seeing, or pretending not to see, that it was the Custom of those most eloquent Authors, to make frequent use of that force of Oratory, which the Greek Rhetoricians call *δ'εινότης*, *Vehemence*: And that therefore they express many things after the manner of Orators, loftily, magnificently, and with great Vehemence, which stand in need of a convenient Interpretation: For to endeavour to wrest all the Sayings of the Fathers, as they do especially upon this Subject, and not attend to the scope of them, is to imitate the Wickedness of Hereticks, who made use of this Method to vindicate their impious Inventions. So the wretched *Arius* of old defended his wicked Word *τῷ ὄντι*, or *Creature*, us'd of the true Son of God, out of an orthodox Father,

Dionysius Alexandrinus his Writings against *Sabellius*. Wherefore Pope *Honorius* in his Epistle to *Sergius* of *Constantinople*, did piously and learnedly observe, "That some of the Fathers condescending to inform the Minds and Understandings of little ones, have (as it were lisping) taught some things, which ought not to be drawn into Ecclesiastical Doctrines. In such instances he will not err, who shall keep in Memory that Golden Rule of *St. Athanasius*; Οὐ δὲ τὰ καὶ' οἰκονομίαν γεγραμμένα καὶ ὑπομνήματα ταῦτα κακῶς ὥπως διέχεσθαι: Things written or done by way of Dispensation, ought not to be maliciously interpreted. A Golden Rule, as I said, and of very extensive use. For that is most certainly the Case. Pious Men of old, both Fathers and Princes, did not only say or write, but do many things orderly, piously and holily for the times, which were taken maliciously and insidiously by those that came after, as *St. Athanasius* says; and which now, the wholesome and necessary Admonition of Pope *Honorius* being neglected, are drawn to Ecclesiastical Doctrines, and insinuated into the Minds of Men for Articles of Faith. They manifestly do this, who bring the abovemention'd Passage of *Gregory Nazianzen* to confirm the Exemption of the Clergy, as Cardinal *Bellarmino* and many others do. In that Sermon the holy Man propos'd two things to himself; First, to give some Consolation to the Magistrates, and all that had the Administration of Publick Affairs at *Nazianzum*, and deliver them from a very great Fear they were then under, by reason of an Offence committed against the President of the Province; his other end was, to mitigate the President's Anger, and incline his Mind to grant them his Pardon. Now it is natural, that when any thing of this kind is requested, chief regard should be had to the Condition of

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the Petitioner: For the Petition is generally esteem'd according to the Dignity of him that makes it, rather than to the Merits of the Cause. This is the true Reason why this Man of divine Humility, in the beginning of his Request, does so magnificently extol the Majesty of that Character of Priesthood which he sustain'd; not to set himself above Kings, but to make himself useful to his People then lying under great disgrace. Thus *St. Paul*, the elect Vessel, in whom all Vertue and divine Grace dwelt, that he might procure Honour to his Gospel, did not decline boasting of his own Excellence. And I beseech you what is there in *Gregory's* Words, which in the least favours this modern Doctrine? For to compare the Priesthood to the Spirit, and the Civil Power to the Flesh, that is, to the natural Man, as the Apostle speaks, what is it else, but to say what all Men readily confess, that Bishops preside in Spiritual, Princes in Temporal Affairs? But they who from hence argue the Exemption of the Clergy, and Subjection of Princes in secular Matters, with what Face can they read the Words almost immediately preceding, in which the same Apostolick Writer, suitably to the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, twice expressly inculcates the Duty of obeying Magistrates? Neither does *St. Gregory* put the Laity in the Condition of Subjects, and exempt himself and the rest of the Priesthood from that number; but including himself also among the Laity; "Let us be subject, *says he*, both to God and to one another, and to our earthly Princes: To God, for all things; to one another, for Brotherly-love; to Princes for the preservation of due Order. Afterwards going to repeat this very Precept in the Apostle's own Words, he says by way of Preface, that this is one of those Laws impos'd upon us

Christians, and that it is very good and commendable, and proceeds from the Spirit of God. I omit that the same holy Father, so great a Bishop, reckons himself among those, who are oblig'd to pay Tribute to the Prince: that he says in the same place, that Magistrates who rightly administer their Authority, become Gods; ἐξ ἐσι τοι θεὸν γινώσκῃ. *It is in your Power, says he, to become a God.* A Passage which might put a stop to these Mens boasting so much of a like Expression of *Constantine's*, concerning Bishops, especially since Bishops are no where in the holy Scriptures called Gods, and yet Lay Powers (as every one knows) are found so stiled. I might also add, that addressing himself to the President, the holy Father says thus: "I know thee to be a Sheep of my Flock, and of that great Shepherd, and to have been excellently instructed from above by the Spirit, and enlightened as well as we, by the holy and blessed Trinity. Which Expression of this most judicious Father is very different from the haughtiness of those Zealots, who exclude Princes, and all the Laity from what is Sacred, as if they were profane Persons, no way appertaining to God's Care, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Now let the Readers, who are desirous not to dispute, but to know the Truth, judge with what Fidelity the Writings of the Fathers are dealt with by those Men, who put their Wits upon the wrack to prove the Exemption of the Clergy from this Similitude of *St. Gregory's*. With like subtilty they also alledge some Passages of *St. Chrysostom*, in which that sublime Orator either extols the Priesthood up to the Skies, or treats some other like Argument with his usual Eloquence. I suppose they conceal what that Father in many places repeats, that the Rule or Government of Bishops, to such as
rightly

rightly consider it, is not so much a Principality, as a Ministry of Teaching; that it has no manner of coercive Jurisdiction whatever, but only a right to admonish and exhort. "We are instituted, *says he,* "to teach the Word, *ἐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰς ἀποκρίσιν,* "neither to govern, nor usurp Authority. In his Comments upon the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, and in his 2^d Homily on the *Epistle to Titus*, he compares the Bishop and ὁ ἐξωθεν ἄρχων, the secular Prince and Magistrate together; the latter, he says, "does νόμῳ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, govern by Law with a Penal Necessity of being obey'd: The former does ἐκόντων ἄρχειν, "rule such as are willing to be govern'd, that is, has no right to force. And in his first Book *De Sacerdotio*, explaining the same Opinion in more words, he says, "Secular Judges (οἱ ἐξωθεν) exert the force of "their Authority, when they oblige Malefactors "to submit to their Laws, and force them against "their Wills to obey their Constitutions. But a "Bishop is oblig'd to reclaim the Offender to a "better Life, not by Force of Arms, but by persuasion of Words: For neither have we such a "Power granted us by the Laws, as to enable us to "coerce Sinners, nor if it were granted us, should "we know how to use it. And with like Fidelity the Sayings of some later Popes are amass'd together, in which they seem to claim to themselves an infinite Power over the Lives of Kings and Princes, while at the same time that divine Humility of former Popes is conceal'd, which gain'd them as far more sublime a degree of Glory, as they were more averse to the vain Arrogance of the World. Out of many I will produce one Example, that of *Pelagius*, Bishop of *Rome*, into which See he was inthron'd about the Year DLV. For he sending the Profession of his Faith to *Childebert King of France*, says, "How much Study and Labour ought we to employ

“ ploy, (in order to remove the Scandal of Suspi-
 “ cion) to give an Account of our Faith to Kings,
 “ TO WHOM THE HOLY SCRIPTURES COMMAND
 “ US ALSO TO BE SUBJECT.

But to return to my Argument. What was said just now out of St. *Chrysostom*, that the Sacerdotal Government has no coercive Power, is to be understood of Temporal Punishment: for otherwise that can be no Discipline, which can propose no Reward or Punishment: That is the only Sinew of Discipline and good Order. But there are two Causes, why St. *Chrysostom* speaks thus: for since the ancient Church knew no other Punishment besides the Censures of the College of Bishops, and the Bond of Excommunication, which is the Sword of the Spirit, it was the Opinion of this great Father, that that dire Weapon was either very seldom, or not at all to be us'd against the Faithful; of which by God's Assistance, I shall say more elsewhere. The other Reason was, that this Spiritual Sword of the Bishops, unless it be supported by the material one of the Civil Magistrate, is wont to be despised by the Wicked even among the Clergy, much more among the Laity. See the 2^d Law in the *Theodosian Code*, *De Episcopali Judicio*; For because the Sacerdotal Punishment is not to have its Effect till the next Life, you will find more Persons, who will be allur'd by Pleasure set before their Eyes, than whom the Fear of a future remote Punishment will restrain within their Duty: therefore though this Sword be as much more formidable than that of the Magistrate, as the Death of the Soul is more terrible than that of the Body; yet such are the Dispositions of Men, that the latter is of more avail than the former, towards the Preservation of Ecclesiastical Discipline: and this is what Divines are us'd to call the Insufficiency and

Imperfection of the Sword of the Spirit. *Decreti Quæst. v. c. xx.* " There would not be the necessary Powers within the Church, if what the Priest is not able to effect by the Word of Doctrine, Authorities should not fulfil by the Terror of Discipline. *Richardus Cantuariensis*, in his Epistle, put by *Petrus Blesensis* among his, says, " Let the Church first exercise her Jurisdiction: and if that be not sufficient, let the Secular Sword supply ITS DEFECT, The same Author observes the like Insufficiency also in the material Sword, and that therefore it is necessary, that they conspire friendly together, and mutually help each other. His Words are these: " There are two Swords, which want each other's Assistance, and mutually impart their Strength to each other; that of the Priesthood to Kings, and that of the King to Priests: therefore if one supplies the other's Insufficiency, it does not seem a double Suffering, or a two-fold Punishment. But *St. Bernard* said very well, that the material Sword is moved at the Emperor's Command, and at the Signification of the Bishop*; that is, the Bishop pointing out, and as it were accusing and consenting; for that is understood by *Nutus*: not what they mean, who frame us Princes as certain Executioners, or publick Servants of the Roman Pontiff, when it is undoubted, that the Prince draws his Sword as the Minister of Almighty God, the Vicar on Earth of Christ our King, not at another's Discretion, but by the Force and lawful Power of his own Government; to whom Priests, Bishops, and all sorts of Ecclesiastical Persons whatsoever, are as much oblig'd to submit their Necks, as he is his to them in the Church, as *Gelasius* said: For Divinity considers three things in Man, the Body, the Soul, and the Spirit. Of these three that which is the noblest of all, is the Spirit, by

* *Nutu Pontificis.*

which we receive the heavenly Doctrine, which neither Flesh nor Blood have reveal'd, belongs to the Government and Power of the Priest. He informs the Spirit with the Knowledge of God; he opens the way of Heaven; he delivers the Contumacious over to Death by the Force of his Spiritual Sword: for to be separated from the Communion of Christ, and of the Christian Church, is the most dreadful Death. And can this Power seem little to any one? Or can he be justly said to be contumelious against the Sacerdotal Order, who believes it to be the Judge of Eternal Life or Damnation, if, as Divines speak, the Key do not err? But the Body and the Soul are altogether in the Prince's Power; the Body by reason of things corporeal, and (as they call them) temporal, necessary to it; and because the Prince may by his own Right, for a Crime and for the publick Benefit, take away the Life from the Body of any of his Subjects whatsoever: the Soul, because the Prince informs it with Civil Laws, and instructs it for a Civil Life. Therefore the Sacerdotal Power is the more noble; but that of the Prince is more extensive in the Government of a Christian State. *Theodorus Balsamon*, a most judicious Canonist, says in one of his Meditations: "The Assistance of Emperors offers
 " it self for the Illumination and Establishment, as
 " well of the Soul as of the Body: whereas the
 " Majesty of Patriarchs is restrain'd to the Advan-
 " tage of the Soul only; for they have little Care
 " of those things, which regard the Conveniences
 " of the Body. *Balsamon* here teaches us the very same thing that was just now said, but more obscurely; for that threefold Distinction mention'd above does wonderfully illustrate the matter: And the Holy Scripture makes the same Distinction between the Soul and the Spirit. But under the Ap-
 pellation

pellation of $\Psi\upsilon\chi\eta^*$, or *Soul*, the Spirit also is often comprehended, So you will frequently read, that the Priest is the Governour of Souls, to wit, with respect to things Spiritual; for as to Political Matters the Prince is the Governour of Souls. On which Account that Saying of *Constantine the Great* is commended, who in his Discourses at a Table, where there were many Bishops sitting, and among them *Eusebius Pamphili*: $\upsilon\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, says he, $\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\ \tau\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\ \tau\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\ \tau\ \epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\omega}\delta\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\ \alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\gamma$, *You indeed are Bishops of those things which are done within the Church: but I may be said to be appointed of God a Bishop or Overseer of those things which are done without.* Or thus, because the Article $\tau\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ is here ambiguous: *You indeed are Bishops of those who are within the Church, I of those who are without.* The Greeks call those things which do not belong to the Church, or to the Ecclesiastical Court, $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, *things without*; and on the contrary, Spiritual things, $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$, *things within*; and Clergy-men, $\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$, *Persons within*. So we observ'd above, that Secular Judges are call'd by St. *Chrysostome*, $\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\omega\theta\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma\alpha\iota$, *such as judge without*; but not prophane Persons, or Pagans, as some have thought. So *within the Church*, in the Canon-Law, signifies in *Ecclesiastical Matters*, (*Causâ xx. Quest. 5.*) "Secular Princes sometimes hold the Supreme Power within the Church, that thereby they may defend Ecclesiastical Discipline. And in what Sense *Constantine* acted the Bishop, *Eusebius* thus explains: "Meditating in his Mind things suitable to the Discourse he had made, $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota$, he perform'd the Duty of a Bishop towards all his Subjects, and to the utmost of his Power exhorted them to undertake a godly Life. As *Constantine* call'd himself a Bishop, so other Emperors have styl'd them-

* *Animus vel Anima.*

selves *Priests*, by a much harsher and more dangerous Expression: *Leo Isaurus* wrote thus to *Gregory* the II^d. Ἐγὼ Βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς εἰμι, *I am an Emperor and a Priest*, and yet is not reprov'd by the Pope so much for writing in that manner, as for not making good that Title in his Works. It may be worth while to set down *Gregory's* Words: "In compliance
 " with your own stubborn Mind, and your domestic Disturbances, you have written, *I am an Emperor and a Priest*: and indeed your Predecessors demonstrated this, both in their Works and
 " their Discourse, who built Churches, and took Care of them together with the Bishops, inflam'd
 " with a zealous Desire, and following the Truth of the right Faith. And a little after: "These
 " are Priests and Emperors, who shew'd that by their Works. So far was it beyond all Controversy among the Ancients, that Princes were not only Defenders of the Church, which was of old the peculiar Title of the Kings of *France*, but also Keepers and Assertors of Ecclesiastical Discipline: not to make any Innovations upon the Doctrines of Faith; God forbid! but as often as it was necessary, to admonish the whole Clergy of their Duty. For which Reason *Ludovicus Pius* calls himself *Admonisher of the Ecclesiastical Laws*, not *Legislator*. Which the great Emperor *Justinian* signify'd in other Words, when he said, (*Novell. 137.*) "That
 " God had given him as it were the ἐξουσία of the Civil Laws, the Power of making and repealing
 " them, according as the common Benefit of the Republick and different times requir'd; but
 " the ἀρραφολακίη, the Custody and Defence of the Canons, and Ecclesiastical Laws. And in the
 " *Greek* Authors of the Canon Law, the Emperor is said in Affairs of the Church, ἐκ αὐθεντεῖν, ἀλλὰ κανονικῶς διεξάγειν, not to determine by his Imperial

rial Authority, but to transact all things by the Direction of the Canons. And that this Inspection into things sacred belongs to Princes by Divine Right, appears from the Institution of Kings by God, in the 17th of *Deuteronomy* ; and from the Examples of the Kings of *Judab*: 2 *Kings* 12. King *Joash*, when he saw that the sacred Treasure was not rightly administred by the Priests, took that Care upon himself, and compos'd the Matter by his Royal Authority : and that without the Complaint of any one, not so much as of *Jeboida* the High Priest, who had anointed him King. *Jehosopbat* is commended as a Religious King, 1 *Kings* 22. but is there noted for not having fully done the Work of God : for he had not pull'd down the Altars ; and how could he have done that, unless the Authority of doing it were in the King ? The same thing is said of several others : but *Hezekiah* alone has the Praise of restoring Religion, 2 *Kings* 18. Ecclesiastical History is full of like Examples of Christian Kings, who in *France, Spain, England*, and elsewhere have of their own Accord, and by their Royal Authority, reviv'd the decay'd Institutions of ancient Piety. Of whom I shall speak in another Place.

Here therefore we must observe the Difference between the Civil and the Sacerdotal Power : for the Civil has not only a direct Authority in Temporal, but an indirect one in Ecclesiastical Affairs : Whereas divine Matters are so committed to Ecclesiasticks, as that they are forbid to concern themselves in those that are secular. They may indeed out of Charity act in these too, but not by any sacerdotal Power or Authority. They who think otherwise, and allege that Place of *St. Paul*, in the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, ch. vi. and others such like, are refuted in the viiith Chapter. We know there are

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Examples of the ancient Priests of the *Jewish* People, who did not only meddle in the State, but acted the greatest things in it. But that was done either by God's express Command, as when *Elisbah* anointed *Jehu* King, (2 *Kings* ix.) or by a certain extraordinary Right; of which sort are those Duties, which the *Greek* Philosophers call *ἐκ περισσίου*, in extremity: for they teach, that besides the proper Duty of every Citizen according to the Place and Station he enjoys in the City, sometimes with respect to the State there happen such times, that it is lawful for every one to consult the publick Safety, if he can contribute any thing thereto, even by going out of the ordinary Course. These they call Duties *ἐκ περισσίου*, in the Extremity, or according to the Circumstance or Exigence of the State, such as depend as it were on the Necessity of the case or times of the Republick. Thus though it is not lawful for any private Person to kill any one, yet when the Republick is oppress'd, if any one slay the * Usurper, he has a Reward decreed to him, as to one that has deserv'd well of the Common-wealth. These Duties can be prescrib'd by no other certain Law, than the regard which is to be had to the publick Utility; for the Sake of which the *Greek* Sages tell us, that we ought *χαλάσαι τι τ' ἀρεβείας*, to abate something of what is rigidly just. And for a Rule in such Cases, they allege that Verse of the Poet, which defines that to be the best Augury, by which the Safety of his Country shall be procur'd. On which Occasion I cannot but add the Precept of St. *John Chrysostom* in his 25th Homily on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*: Τὸτο κανὼν χριστιανισμοῦ, τὸτο ὅρος ἡμερωμένον, αὐτὴ ἡ κορυφὴ ἡ ἀνωτάτω, τὸ τὰ κοινῇ συμ-

* Tyrannum.

APPENDIX. clxxiii

ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ πρώτη *This is the Rule of Christianity, this its perfect Definition, this the highest point of it above all, TO CONSULT THE PUBLICK UTILITY.*

V. The Supreme Power in a well-order'd State is the Civil, not the Sacerdotal Power.

I lay it down for a thing certain and granted, which in Politicks is easily demonstrated, and of which no wise Man doubts, that it is not possible for the Safety of a State to be provided for by any other means, than by its having only one Sovereignty in it, whether that be sustain'd by one Person, as in a *Monarchical State*, or by many, as in an *Aristocracy* or a *Democracy*: for in those also there is but one Supreme Power. This being laid down and granted, there does not seem so much as the least doubt, but that the Supreme Authority in a Christian State does of Right belong to him or them, in whom is that Sovereignty. Indeed the Church and the State are two Systems and Bodies, each of which in things properly pertaining to it have receiv'd a plenary Power from Christ, but with this difference, that the Church should be subject to Kings in this World, and expect its own Kingdom hereafter in Heaven, and then reign, and not till then, with its own Head. That the State should hold its Kingdom on the Earth, but that a Temporal Kingdom begun in this World, and to end here. Besides, the Sacerdotal Power was not instituted by God to bear Civil Rule; but for the Ministry of the Word, and of things divine, as I have already shewn. St. Bernard says to *Eugenius*, Lib. 2. " Dominion is forbidden to the Apostles, and therefore to thee. Darest thou usurp either the Apostleship, being a Prince, or the Principality, being an Apostle? The Apostolick Form is this: Dominion is forbid,

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“Ministration is introduc’d. If this be true in the Apostles, (and it’s most true) how much more in Presbyters, Bishops, and Popes, whom I suppose no modest Man will assert to be equal in Dignity with the Apostles? Add to this, that the State extends farther than the Church: why therefore should the lesser part rule over the greater? especially seeing the Methods of governing the Church, are very different from those of ruling the State. *If a Plowman in high Shoes, unskilful of Sea Affairs, desires the Government of a Ship, Melicerta the Sea God cries out, there is no Modesty left in the World.* And will you, whose Province it is to manage and take Care of things sacred and divine, and to renounce the Cares of the World, contend that you have Right to govern the State? And seeing that Civil Prudence, which is the Soul of the State, is join’d with the Administration of Wars, the Effusion of human Blood, and many other things altogether contrary to the Holiness of the Priesthood, will you challenge to your self alone these two things, that are so inconsistent in their own Nature? Certainly the State existed before the Church was admitted into it, and Emperors and Kings enjoy’d the Supreme Power. Let any place of Scripture be produc’d, which takes away their Right from Princes, which divests them of the Sovereignty, and gives it to the Christian Priests. In the mean time let us believe with the universal Church, that our Lord Jesus, when he bestow’d this new Benefit upon States, which were before ordain’d, that they should also become Churches of God, did in no sort diminish or weaken their former Rights, otherwise those Verses of *Sedulius* sung in the Catholick Church would be false:

Hostis Herodes, &c.

*Why, impious Herod, dost thou fear,
That Christ our Saviour should appear?
He comes not earthly Crowns to snatch,
Who does us Crowns Celestial reach.*

To this Testimony, not now of *Sedulius*, but of the Catholick Church, agree those of many Popes of *Rome*, as those of *Gelasius* and *Pelagius* produc'd above. Of *Gregory* the Great I shall speak in the 4th Chapter. Pope *Nicholas*, who succeeded *Benedictus*, in the Year of our Redemption DCCCLVIII. says in his Epistle to the Emperor *Michael*, *Do no Prejudice to the Church of God; for she does no Prejudice to your Empire.* If the Church is no way prejudicial to Princes, who before Christianity was embrac'd, enjoy'd the Supreme Government in their Principalities, then their Rights remain to them untouch'd; nor is that true which is now taught, that the Pope of *Rome* is the Lord of the whole Earth, and that directly, as is daily asserted in Publick at *Rome*, and by some Persons also elsewhere: Besides it is most certain and notorious, that whatever Right Ecclesiastical Persons now enjoy in things Temporal, is all owing to the Liberality of Christian Emperors and Princes; who when they indulg'd so many Rights and Privileges to Ecclesiasticks, assuredly thought of nothing less, than of thereby divesting themselves of the Sovereign Authority, and transferring it upon the Church: On which Account that has Place here, which Pope *Hormisda* says in his Epistle to *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Thessalonica*, "With what Face, I pray you, do you desire that their Privileges should remain with you, who do not keep their Commands? Or covet that that Reverence should be paid to you by the Ecclesiastical Authority, which you

“ you your self do not pay to the Faith ? *Hormisdas* indeed speaks of another Matter, but the same Reason does plainly hold also in this Argument : for there is likewise this Rule in the Canon Law of the *Greek Church*, Ὁ δωρησάμενος βασιλῆς, εἰ ἀχαρισίας παρεμπέσοι λόγῳ, ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν δωρεάν : *A King who bestows any Gift, does upon the Ingratitude of him on whom it is bestow'd, resume his Grant.* And the *Greek Fathers* allege this Rule in the Dispute concerning Privileges granted to the Church by the Emperors. And that most just Axiom of the *Longobardick Law* is known to every one ; *He loses his Fief or Fee*, who wittingly denies he holds it as a Fief.* Which yet is a much less Crime, than if you contend that he is your Subject, whom formerly you acknowledged as your Lord and lawful Prince. We may add the Examples of former times, which ought to have the Force of Law : for from *Constantine the Great*, who was the first Christian Prince, all the Emperors, especially those of the East, and as many also of those of the West, as understood that the Authority of their Dominion was given them by God ; they all, I say, enjoy'd the Supreme Authority in the Christian State : and the very same Right was afterwards most deservedly claim'd by the Kings of several Nations, who succeeded in the Place of those Emperors. Therefore that was ever most firmly believ'd by all, which is frequently inculcated by the *Greek Interpreters*, both of the Civil and Canon Law : τὸ νομοθετεῖν ἀνῆται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, *the Right of making Laws in the State is granted only to Princes.* And when the same Princes, by the Suggestion or Consent of the Bishops, summon'd Synods, especially such as were greater than ordinary, they presently confirm'd the Decrees of those Synods by their Authority : for the Right

* Feudum.

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of summoning and convening Assemblies is deriv'd from the Prince. But they who deny that Synods of old us'd to be conven'd by the Command of the Emperors and Princes, deny a thing that is most true, most certain, most notorious, and attested beyond all Contradiction : they deny a thing, of the Truth of which even to doubt is shameful Ignorance and Stupidity : they deny a thing, the Proof of which is so manifest, that to go against it is making War upon Truth, openly undertaking the Defence of a Lie, and bidding Defiance to Ingenuity and Modesty. Excuse me, I beseech you, candid Reader, for I am not able to contain my self, when I see great Men using or rather abusing the Subtlety of their Wit, not to rescue the Memory of things done from Oblivion, but to overwhelm them with it. All Men know, not only that Bishops were call'd together by the Prince's Letters ; but also that they had the use of the publick Carriages allow'd them by the Royal Grants. And Princes were present at Councils, either themselves in Person, or by their Command the Presidents of Provinces, or others whom they appointed. But the Dignity, Authority, and Power of the Church was then most eminent, when the Prince being contented to act as an Asserter of good Order and lawful Power, in all things else behaved himself as a private Person : and the Fathers on the contrary transacted all things according to the Authority deliver'd to them by God, presidid over the Council, determin'd Ecclesiastical Controversies, pronounc'd concerning the Orthodox Faith, confuted Hereticks out of Christ's Doctrine, deliver'd over the Contumacious to Destruction, prescribed Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws to the Church, and lastly amended and superseded the very Decrees of the Emperors, concerning Matters only Ecclesiastical, where they were re-

in pugnant

pugnant to the sacred Canons. This was the lawful Power of the Fathers ; this the true Liberty of the Church, which if any one think is to be little esteem'd, I would fain know what such a one accounts great in human Affairs. But because, as has been shewn above, Bishops have receiv'd no coercive Power from God, whereby they may forcibly compel the Christian People to receive their Decrees, *though Synodical Canons had their Authority with Godly Persons without any Imperial Sanction, nay even in spite of all the Opposition and Rage of the Emperors against them*, as in the first Ages of the Church, yet that they might have a Place in the Christian State, and that Process might be issued out against such as disobeyed them, the Assistance of the Civil Power was implor'd : accordingly the pious Emperors, by their Imperial Authority, or (as the *Civilians* speak) according to the Plenitude of their Power enacted, that those things which the Fathers had decreed in the Church, should be receiv'd by all the People, and gave Sanction thereto by the Addition of a Penalty. Thus those Canons, which while supported only by the Episcopal Authority, were receiv'd by none but the good and holy, as soon as the Weight of the Civil Authority was added to them, restrain'd the Wicked, and such as despis'd the heavenly Deity. And this is what was said above of the material Sword's supplying the Deficiency of the Spiritual. There are extant almost innumerable Edicts of Emperors and Kings, by which Synods, especially such as were general, are confirm'd. The *Greeks* call them Διατάγματα, or Διαπισματα, or χρυσόβλλα κυρηντα τὰς συνοδικὰς ἀποφάσεις, *Edicts, or Golden Bulls to confirm Synodical Sentences by Royal Authority*; that is, κυρην, to authorize. The *Greek* Writers of Politicks, by the Words τὸ κῆρυξ and τὸ κράτος express that Principality

pality or Sovereign Authority, which we said must be only one in a State, as there is but one Head in one Man : for which Reason, as the Bishop is wont to be call'd the Head of his Church ; so in ancient Monuments the Emperor is stiled *Caput temporale Populi Christiani*, the temporal Head of the Christian People, and *temporale Caput Mundi*, the temporal Head of the World : and likewise *Rector & temporale Caput Fidelium*, the Ruler and temporal Head of the Faithful. As therefore the τὸ κῆρυξ, or supreme Authority in the State is but one : so the τὸ κύριον, the Right of authorizing and giving Sanction to any thing, that it may have the Force of a Law, is in the Prince alone. To the Fathers therefore assembled in Council the Greeks do rightly ascribe τὰς ἀποφάσεις, the Right of pronouncing what is holy, and what not : But the Right τὸ κύριον, of giving Sanction to the Decrees of a Synod, so that they may obtain the Force of a Law, this they attribute to the Princes. So you read in the Canon Law, that Ecclesiastical Affairs are administr'd by a Synodical κρίσις, or Judgment, and are confirm'd by the Royal ἐπικρίσις, or as it were second Judgment. In the Synodical Epistle about not forcing away Bishops from their Metropolis : εὐρήθη τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ᾠκούμενον ΚΡΙΣΕΙ συνοδικῇ, καὶ ΕΠΙΚΡΙΣΕΙ βασιλικῇ κυρωθὲν, that is, there was also found something like done by the DECREE of the Synod, and confirm'd by the AFTER-DECREE of the Emperor : a Propriety of Words worthy to be observ'd. To the same purpose it is written there a little after, that the Emperors do ἐπισφραγίζεν τὰ κεχωρημένα, put the Seal of their Authority to the Decrees of the Fathers. Nor ought it to be pass'd by in Silence, that in the same Canon-Law the Canons of the Fathers are call'd ἐπιστάγματα, as if you should say *Injunctions* ; the Emperors Edicts, πρὸςτάγματα, *Commands*. What need of more Words?

Read over carefully the Lives of all the ancient Christian Princes, and peruse the ancient Civil and Canon Law, you will never find one Instance, where the Decrees either of any Council, or of any Pope, relating to the universal Church had the force of a Law in the State, before they receiv'd that right from the Prince, who is the Head of the State: Which Custom as in the most noble Kingdom of *France*, it was both instituted from the beginning, and afterwards observ'd with great Religion by our Ancestors; so is it now also preserv'd as a great *Arcanum* of Government by the most honourable Bench in all the supreme Courts. This is that Right and Liberty of the Kingdom, upon which those, that in the Language of the Law are call'd *the Liberties of the Gallican Church*, rest as upon their Basis and Foundation.

Having thus explain'd the Comparifon which I made between the Sacerdotal and Civil Power, I now come to that which was propos'd in the beginning, to enquire whether the Primitive Church knew and made use of any Liberty: For all Catholics agree in this, That the Church of God, the nearer it was to the Times of Christ its Head, and of the holy Apostles, did the more plentifully and signally abound in all those Vertues, which are proper and necessary to God's Church. Let us see therefore if possibly any Footsteps of the modern Ecclesiastical Liberty can be observ'd in the ancient Monuments of those Times.

But here we ought to call to mind what was said above, that the Church in the time of its Infancy was so in the State, as that yet it was not reckoned a part of the State; insomuch that it had its Interests wholly separate and distinct from those of the State. For its Ruine was for some Ages attempted with all kinds of Punishments, and the most cruel Torments,

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Torments, by those who govern'd the State. God could indeed from the Beginning have inlightned the Minds of the *Roman* Emperors with the bright Beams of the Gospel; he could have made them nursing Fathers to his Church, as the Prophet foretels, and as it afterwards happen'd; and have made use of their Help and Ministry for the Propagation of the Christian Doctrine: But our great and good God is thus always us'd to despise the Assistance and Counsels of Men, in bringing about all Matters of the greatest Moment: And it was besides most just, that that Pattern of Life which he had set them upon Earth, should be follow'd also by his Disciples, and that they should leave an Example of the same to their Posterity. And as before the Sun was created God said *let there be Light*, that Mortals might not think themselves oblig'd for so great a Benefit only to the Sun: So that we might not believe, that the Doctrine of Salvation was first embrac'd, and afterwards propagated through the World by the Power of Princes, the Providence of God discharg'd all earthly Powers from this Province. Add to this, that while the Church of God was by this Method sever'd from the rest of the World, and subsisted not so much in Place, as in its Doctrines and Institutions; it did so much more conveniently preserve its Holiness, Piety, and Integrity undefil'd, as it was farther set apart and removed from the Commerce of this Life: For those first Believers used this World after such a manner, as if they had not used it all, as the Apostle adviseth; while at the same time by the flagrant Zeal of their Piety, the Innocency of their Manners, their mutual Love and sincere Affection among themselves, their unfeign'd Humility, their constant Meditation upon future Blessedness, their Fidelity and Obedience to the Civil Powers, as far as their Consciences would

permit ; and lastly, by their inexpressible and more than human Constancy in suffering Torments for the true Religion, they became daily a Spectacle to the whole World, and extorted Admiration from their very Enemies whether they would or no. These were the beginnings of the Christian Religion when first born, this the Infancy of the Church of Christ, which was render'd happy by Torments, glorious by Ignominy, rich by contemning Riches, and august by a Crown, not of Empire, but of Martyrdom. And yet this holy Church and beloved of God, knew no other Liberty but Spiritual, which the ancient Fathers call Christian. This, as was said above, is nothing else but a vehement desire of serving God ; and those first Christians inflam'd with that desire, notwithstanding all their Princes endeavours to hinder them, held their Communion, and conven'd their Synods at first indeed privately, but afterwards daring to break out into the open Light, they intrepidly exercis'd all the parts of Ecclesiastical Discipline with a holy Liberty : For they had learnt of the holy Spirit, and by the Example of *St. Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, that God was to be obey'd rather than Men, *Acts* v. 29. Nor indeed did they know any other Title of that Liberty which they us'd ; for as to that which is now call'd the Liberty of the Church, and is defended with so much Zeal, as if it were a certain *Palladium* of the Christian Religion, and is commended, and augmented daily ; those pious Souls did not know so much as the Name of it.

That there are three principal Heads of this Ecclesiastical Liberty, appears from the definition of it above collected, *viz.* The Empire of the Pope of *Rome* over all secular Dignities, the Exemption of Ecclesiasticks from all Civil Power, and the Subjection of the Laity to their command in every thing

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thing. Which of these can we find in the Primitive Church? To wit the Emperors were under the Government of the Popes of *Rome*, who all down to *Sylvester*, except a very few, ended their Lives by cruel Torments at the Command of those Princes. If those magnanimous Heroes thought, that the Government of the World, as we are now taught, did belong to them by divine Right, why did not they give some signification of it, at least at that time, when the Multitude of Believers had been sufficient to have asserted their Dominion? For that they were able to prosecute their Right by Arms, was shew'd many Ages after by *Gregory II.* by whose Example afterwards almost innumerable other Popes have waged very dreadful Wars with Princes for the Pontifical Dignity. And as to what many now say, that the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiffs is only over believing, not unbelieving Emperors, and that therefore it was necessary for them to dissemble this Right 'till the Times of *Constantine* the Great, that is both false and very ridiculous: for we do not speak here of the spiritual Power, in regard of which even Princes bowed their Heads to the Bishops, as *Gelasius* said. But why should *Constantine's* Power in Civil Matters be less full and free, than that of his Father *Constantinus*, or of *Dioclesian*, or any other of the former Emperors? And there is also the same Reason with respect to the Exemption of the Clergy. For as he is to be accounted an Enthusiast, who pretends that they enjoy'd that Privilege before there were Christian Princes; so they that exempt them from subjection to such Princes, act both unjustly and ridiculously: To say nothing of their manifest Impiety, who (as I shall shew in the Sequel) miserably wrest the most plain words of the holy Scripture, to make them speak their own Sense. But

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they who refer the Original of this Ecclesiastical Liberty and Immunity to the Laws of *Zephyrinus* and *Caius*, or of other Popes, Laws made amidst the very Flames of a cruel Persecution, if they had any thing of right Judgment left, would never traduce these holy Men with a Suspicion of so absurd an Ambition. For it cannot be deny'd to be most absurd, that those Popes should attempt to take off the Yoke of that Civil Power from others, to which they themselves were so much subject, that themselves were led forth to suffer Punishment at the command of their most barbarous Princes. And to what purpose is it to speak of those Services perform'd by the Laity towards the Ecclesiasticks; which at that time were so much the more willingly paid, as they were less demanded. The Apostle writing to the *Gallatians* says, *I bear you Record, that if it had been possible, ye would have pluck'd out your own Eyes, and have given them to me*, (Chap. iv. 15.) But neither was that Apostle, as his Epistles shew, nor the rest of the Apostles such as would burden the Churches of God with superfluous Exactions, and fresh demands of Services without end, as was afterwards done. And when the first Bishops of the Church, being Men of great Sanctity, did wholly conform themselves to this Example; there is no doubt but the People also on their side were most ready to pay all those observances, which were requir'd of them: for those pious Pastors, contenting themselves with what was necessary, neither coveted to lord it over the People under them, nor over one another: but as *St. Cyprian* says, "Every one govern'd that Portion of the universal Flock which was allotted to him, as one that was to render an Account of what he did to the Lord. But in truth the Church of God is not without Reason compar'd

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to a Field in the Holy Scriptures: this Field at first sowed with good Seed, and cultivated with the greatest Diligence by the Householder, was after a very little time attempted to be corrupted by that old Deceiver the Devil; and from that time amongst the bright and good Corn there began to grow up Docks, Thistles, and wild Oats: Some from the known Path of the right Faith have deviated into unknown Ways: other have chang'd the heat of their former Zeal into a remiss Luke-warmness: some have heap'd up Riches: many even of the very Husbandmen of the Lord's Field have gaped after Honours, and wholly given themselves up to Ambition: For no sooner had the Church a little enjoyment of Peace allow'd her by her external Enemies, but all these intestine Evils immediately breaking in upon her together in Crowds, did wonderfully destroy her former Beauty. St. Cyprian (*de Lapsis*) speaking of the most severe Decian Persecution, says, " If the Cause of the Slaughter is known, the Cure also of the Wound is discover'd. " Our Lord had a mind that his Family should be prov'd, and because a long Peace had corrupted that Discipline which was given us from Heaven, this divine Chastisement has rais'd our Faith, which was fallen, and I had almost said, was asleep. The holy Man afterwards describing the Corruption of the Church at large, among other Evils mentions this as much the greatest, that Bishops did already in that Age begin to mingle Secular Cares with their Spiritual Ministry. " Very many Bishops, says he, who ought to have been both a Consolation and an Example to the rest, despising the Providence of God, became providers of Secular things for themselves; leaving their Sees, deserting their Flocks, and wandring about through other Provinces, they frequented Markets, and hunt-

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“ ed after Gain; gave no Relief to their hungry
 “ Brethren in the Church; coveted great Wealth;
 “ seiz’d upon Estates by Fraud and Treachery, and
 “ increas’d their Riches by Usury. And those Evils are very like these, and yet more grievous, which *Eusebius* relates concerning the Ambition of the Bishops, and their desire of Power, in the beginning of his viiith Book, where he is explaining the Causes for which God rais’d that most violent Persecution, which the Church suffer’d under the Reign of *Dioclesian*. Besides at that time the Discipline of the Church was fallen into so much Contempt, that the Authority of the Spiritual Sword being grown obsolete, the Synod which met at *Antioch* about the Year of Christ CCLXXV, was oblig’d to implore the Assistance of the Civil Sword against the Contumacy of *Paul of Samoseta*; from *Aurelian* a Heathen Prince, and soon after a most deadly Enemy to the Church. And this was the State of the Church then, when divine Providence beyond all hopes, was pleas’d to put a new face of Affairs upon it.

C H A P. III.

What and of what kind the Liberty of the Church was from the Times of Constantine the Great, to Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome.

THE Church of God had pass’d near 300 Years amidst almost continual Torments, adorn’d with a Crown of Martyrdom, and generally with the Purple of her own Blood, when it pleas’d our great and good God at last to rescue her from the Yoke of the most cruel Tyrants: For now those with’d for Times were come, which the Lord had promis’d

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promis'd many Ages before, and his Prophets had foretold, when the Kings of the Earth should surrender themselves and their Scepters to *Messiah* the King, and not only adore him in an humble manner, but also become nursing Fathers, Pastors, and Defenders of his Church. Therefore the Church's long Servitude was at last succeeded by that Liberty which *Constantine* the Great first procur'd for her, and which the Christian Emperors that follow'd him did afterwards preserve, and variously augment. But because the Meaning, Extent, and Rights of this Liberty alter'd according to the Times, as we have shew'd in the first Chapter; therefore that it may be clearly and distinctly understood how that ancient Liberty differ'd from this Modern, which is so often call'd the Liberty of the Church, we will mark the difference of Times, and consider them separately. Therefore we observe three Ages of Ecclesiastical Liberty in History, which are wonderfully different from each other. For from *Constantine* the Great, the first Author of it, for three hundred Years and somewhat more, the Church flourish'd under the Reign of Emperors and Kings, contented with the sole administration of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Matters, and perfectly free from all Contagion of Temporal Dominion. This is the second Age of the Church, which for Method sake we bound with the Pontificate of *Pelagius* the II^d, Predecessor to *Gregory* the Great. After that follow'd another Age, in which the Clergy were first compell'd to concern themselves in the Administration of Secular Affairs, the Exigence of the Times so requiring. But afterwards of their own accord they undertook the Care of such things, and pretended that it belong'd to them. We fix the Bounds of this Time from *Gregory* the Great to *Gregory* VII. Then first were laid the

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Foundations of the Modern Liberty of the Church, which being remarkably augmented and confirm'd by *Gregory VII.* when it had now taken deep Root, was afterwards enlarg'd by various Occasions and divers Arts in the following Times, and at last brought to that Form, which was shewn in the first Chapter. And that this Liberty of the later Ages had nothing common with that former Liberty, of which *Constantine* the Great was Author, I am confident will be acknowledged by all, who impartially read what shall be said in this Chapter. But lest in this most copious Argument I should wander too far, I shall fix certain Bounds to this present Disquisition.

I. *The Christian Church receiv'd the Liberty of Religion from Princes.*

Whatever Right the Church obtain'd from the Liberty granted her by the ancient Emperors, may be all conveniently referr'd to these four Heads; The free Profession of Religion, which the Emperors *Constantine* and *Licinius* in their Edict, call the *Liberty of Religion*: That Immunity which *Justinian* stiles *ἐλευθερία καὶ ἀπελευθερίων*, *Liberty from publick Burdens*: The Exemption of the Clergy from Secular Tribunals: And lastly, the Authority also of hearing and judging the Causes of the Laity. Of what sort these Rights were in those Times, of which I propose to treat in this Chapter, shall be explain'd in their Order. Liberty of Religion was the Name given by the Emperors to that free Power of doing all things, which were requisite to the Plenary Exercise of the Christian Religion: Of which kind are the Right of meeting together at Publick Prayers, and the holy Communion; that of building Churches; convening Synods; and u-

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ing Ecclesiastical Discipline. Therefore *Eusebius* relates, that after the publication of this Edict, the People with an incredible Joy and Alacrity met freely together; began to build Churches in several Places, and held many Synods; and all this the Christians had done long before: But then first *ἑλθέτως καὶ ἀπλᾶςως*, as the Emperors express it, that is, *freely and without any reserve*. They err dangerously in many things, who make no distinction between the Power given by God to the Church, and that which is owing to the Prince. The former distinguishes the Church from the State, and makes it a People peculiar to God: the latter unites the Church and State together, and admits the Church to a participation of the same Right with the other Members of the State: for, as was said above, the Church was hitherto so in the State, as that yet it was not reckon'd a part of it; and therefore did not enjoy an equal Right with the rest of the People, nor had almost any other Avenger of her Injuries and despis'd Discipline, but God only. But when she obtain'd Liberty of Religion from the Prince, he also became both the Avenger of her Injuries, and the Keeper and Defender of her Ecclesiastical Discipline. From whence it came likewise to pass afterwards, that Hereticks, who till then had been in the same Case with the Orthodox Catholicks under the Government of Heathen Princes, were separated from the Church by *Constantine's* Edict, and depriv'd of that Liberty which was granted to the Catholicks. (See *Sozomen*, Lib. ii. cap. 31.) And Ecclesiastical History is full of the like Edicts of Princes against Hereticks.

II. *The ancient Church under Christian Princes was wont to convene Synods, either by the Prince's express Command, or with his tacit Consent.*

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I have already said, that when the Emperors by their Edicts, granted the Church Liberty of Religion, they gave her at the same time a Right of freely convening Synods; for this is a part of the Christian Worship altogether necessary and essential. Therefore those Synods which *Eusebius* mentions to have been conven'd immediately after this Liberty was granted, (as those of *Ancyra* and *Neocaesarea*, the Canons of both which are still extant) though they are not said to have met by the Command of *Constantine*, yet were supported by the Royal Authority, no less than their daily Assemblies. But here we meet with a Distinction especially to be observ'd between Local and particular Synods, and OEcumenical or General Councils; for those indeed are said to have been gather'd together sometimes by the Metropolitans and other Bishops, without the express Command or Consent of the Prince; sometimes by the Emperor's Mandate: But OEcumenical Councils are never read to have been assembled in those Times without the Prince's Command. The reason of the difference is, that as Metropolitan Bishops and Patriarchs had a Plenary Power first from Christ, and then also from the Prince, to provide for the Necessities of the Churches committed to their Charge: So the Prince look'd upon it as his Duty and Right, to preserve Ecclesiastical Discipline as well in all the Parts of the Church, as in the whole; and to take care that the orthodox Faith should receive no manner of Innovation. Therefore *Constantine* the Great, as was observ'd above, was wont to say, that he was constituted by God a Bishop or Overseer, ἡγεμὼν, of those without; which *Eusebius* in the first Book of his Life, refers to this Care of calling Synods: For speaking there of the other Care he took to assist and reform the State, he says, *Ter bestowing*
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a peculiar Concern upon the Church of God, seeing Dissentions in divers Places were risen among the Bishops; he like some common Bishop appointed by God, *ἡρώδης ὁ δεῦ λείσεργών ἡμετέρῳ*, summon'd Synods of God's Ministers. This is to be understood of Local Synods. And hence it manifestly appears, that Constantine, by his Authority, conven'd lesser Councils, as often as either of himself, or by the Suggestion of the Bishops, he judg'd there was need of a publick Assembly of the Fathers. It was also the Custom, that they who suspected the Synods of their Province, petition'd the Prince to grant them Judges. The *Donatists* did this, when *Anulinus* Proconsul of *Africk* urg'd them by *Constantine's* Command, to be reconcil'd to *Cæcilianus*, orthodox Bishop of *Carthage*. That was the first Example given in the Christian Church in a matter of this nature: for they who say, that before that *Paulus Samosatenus* appeal'd from the Synod to the Emperor *Aurelian*, do not consider, that they were pious Bishops, conven'd in the Synod of *Antioch*, who prudently and profitably made use of the Assistance of the Civil Power, to expel that contumacious Heretick out of the Bishop's See. But the reason of the *Donatists* was quite different. For they petition'd the Emperor for impartial Judges, such as were not suspected, who might take Cognizance of an Ecclesiastical Cause. For these are their words in *Optatus Milevitanus*: *There are contentions between us and the other Bishops in Africk: We beseech your Holiness to command, that Judges be given us out of Gaul.* You see that Judgment in Ecclesiastical Matters is not remov'd by Appeal to the Emperor; but only this, He is desir'd by his Authority to command a Synod, that is unsuspected to be conven'd. They therefore who condemn the Example, because it comes from the *Donatists*, do

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judge very much amiss; for at the same time they condemn a great many Bishops of *Rome*, and other most holy Men, who are known to have petition'd the Emperors, to summon new Councils against former Synods, as I shall observe of the *Nicene Fathers*, *St. John Chrysostom*, *Innocent I. Leo*, and others. And as to what *Optatus* says, that *Constantine* answer'd the *Donatists* with great Anger, and reprov'd them for asking Judges of him, who was invested only with Secular Authority, and had nothing to do in the Spiritual Government of the Church: The meaning of it is, that *Constantine* gave them to understand, that it were better and more desirable, if the Bishops would act among themselves with so much Friendship and Concord, that none of them might have any occasion to desire Help from the Prince; which because it was then done first by the *Donatists*, and that without just Cause, what wonder is it, that the Emperor, being most desirous to preserve Peace and Unity in the Church, and mov'd with the newness of the thing, receiv'd them with Expressions of some Sharpness? especially since wise Men are us'd to animadvert, not without severity, upon all new Examples. And that Example of the *Donatists* could not but be New, since it was not long before that, that the Church of God began to be subject to Christian Emperors. *Constantine* did indeed judge very rightly, that nothing was more to be wish'd by all Men, than that no such Contention should ever happen among Bishops. But the same pious Emperor also knew and firmly believ'd, that when any such Misfortune did happen, it was the Duty of a Christian Prince, to take Care by his Authority, that the matter should be determin'd by those, to whom it appertain'd to judge of Causes relating to the Faith or Discipline of the Church. Therefore *Op-*

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tatus adds; And yet Judges were granted them, Maternus of the City of Cologne, Rhetitius of the City of Autun, Marinus of Arles. Afterwards he mentions a Council held at Rome by Constantine's Command: For neither did those three Bishops alone hear the Cause, but among many others, whose Names are there mention'd, these Three with Melchiades Bishop of Rome, were the chief. There is extant in the xth Book of Eusebius's History, a Letter of Constantine in Form, sent to Melchiades and these Three abovemention'd (in the same Words as is usual in Letters of Formⁿ) upon the calling of that Council. The Letter is subscrib'd thus: Κωνσταντίνος Σεβαστὸς Μελτιάδῃ (as most of the Greek Books call Melchiades) Ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Μάρκῳ. The learned interpreter of Nicephorus translates it, *Constantinus Augustus Miltiadi Episcopo Romanorum & Marco*, &c. *Constantine the Emperor to Miltiades Bishop of the Romans, and to Mark*, &c. It seems to have been in the Greek Copy, καὶ Μάρκῳ καὶ λοιποῖς, and to Mark and to the rest. So they who copy Letters of Form put down the Name only of one, or at most of two of those, to whom these Letters were sent; therefore those words, καὶ λοιποῖς, and to the rest, signify that like Copies were also sent to the rest, whose Names are set down, as those of Rhetitius, Maternus, and Marinus are in this Epistle: From whence it appears, that the Name of Mark has erroneously crept into this Superscription, in the room of that of Maternus or Marinus, and that instead of καὶ Μάρκῳ, and to Mark, should be written καὶ Μαρτίνῳ, and to Marinus, or (which I less like) καὶ Ματέρνηῳ, and to Maternus. In that Letter the Emperor commits the Cognizance of this Cause to Pope Melchiades, and to those Three others in

these words: *It seems good to me, that the same Cecilian, with ten Bishops, who seem to accuse him, and ten others whom he thinks necessary towards the bearing of his Cause, sail to Rome, that there before you, and Rhetitius, Maternus, and Marinus your Colleagues (whom therefore I have order'd to hasten to Rome) they may be heard, as you shall find the most venerable Law directs.* You see that an Assembly of Bishops was commanded by the Prince; and that in the Words wherein the Sovereign Authority is administred, *Visum mihi, It seems good to me, iussu, I have order'd or commanded:* But that the Judgment is left to the Bishops, to determine by the divine Law and Canons: for this is what he calls νόμος (ἐκ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων), *the most venerable Law.* Besides the Donatists did not acquiesce in the Sentence of the Council of Rome, but appeal'd to the Prince; a very ill Example, as the pious Emperor most deservedly exclaim'd against them: *O raging and audacious Mad-ness! they have interpos'd an Appeal, as is usual in the Causes of the Gentiles.* But the Donatists defend-
ed themselves with this Pretence, that there were fewer Judges present in the Roman Council, than the greatness of the Cause requir'd: And indeed the Event shew'd, that they only pretended this, be-
cause they would not come to the Point. Nor was the Emperor ignorant of this, as appears from his Epistle to Chrestus. But again, Constantine also ob-
serves, that so many sick Minds of those, who ab-
stain'd from the Communion of the Catholicks throughout Africk, could not be restor'd to Health by Force and Punishments; therefore being com-
pell'd by Necessity, he summons a great Council at Arles. In a Letter of Form written for that purpose, are these words. *I was to take care that the Business, which long since after the Sentence given ought to have been determin'd by their ready Consent,*

may now when more are present, be at last certainly brought to an end. Therefore having order'd very many Bishops from divers, and almost numberless Places to meet in the City of Arles, before the first of August, I thought fit to write also to you. And St. Augustin says rightly in his CLXII^d Epistle, that Constantine in summoning this Council, did by no means take upon him to judge himself concerning the determination of the Fathers of the Roman Council; but only so far receiv'd the Complaints of the Donatists, as to grant them other Bishops to judge of them. Therefore St. Augustin found nothing to condemn in this proceeding of Constantine. And in the same Epistle, as he shews that he was not like to commend that Bishop's design, who voluntarily desir'd to be clear'd by the Proconsul's Judgment, or appeal'd to the Emperors; so he strenuously defends those Bishops, who had not declin'd the Judgment of him, to whom the Emperor had delegated the Cause; not obscurely commending the Prince himself, for having with his Authority assisted the Church in her Distress. The most holy Father's words are these: *A certain Donatist says, the Bishop should not have been clear'd by the Judgment of the Proconsul, as if he had procur'd this for himself, and it had not been got by the Emperor's Order, TO* WHOSE CARE, *of which he must give an Account to God, THAT MATTER CHIEFLY BELONG'D.* If in the Judgment of so great a Father Constantine did well, when the Donatists were raising Tumults in Africk, to delegate the Cause to the Proconsul; Who can blame him, if after the Council of Rome, being overcome by the pertinacious Animosity of those most wicked Men, he chose rather to renew the Hearing at Arles by Bishops, but those far more in number, than to use Violence, or punish with the Sword? Therefore it is without reason, that in

the Ecclesiastical *Annals* there is a far different Judgment given of this Fact of *Constantine's*. But none can wonder, that he who from the beginning undertook by all sorts of Arguments to defend an Opinion concerning Ecclesiastical and Pontifical Power, very different from that of *St. Augustin*, should also think and determine in this matter much otherwise, than *St. Augustin* and all the ancient Church did. Besides when the *Donatists* did not acquiesce in the Judgment of the Council of *Arles* neither, *Constantine* seem'd to have something deviated from the rigour of the Law, when he determin'd to take Cognizance himself of a Cause, so often judg'd by the Bishops; not by his Imperial Authority to annul, what had been well decreed by the Fathers, to whose Cognizance those things belong'd; but wholly to cut off from such obstinate Men all occasion of wrangling, and by this means if possible, to save them even against their Wills. Therefore *St. Augustin* intimates, that he was afterwards to ask Pardon of the Bishops for this too hardy Proceeding, but that an easy Pardon, and deservedly join'd with the Praise of him, who seem'd to have offended. *I wish*, says he, *the Donatists had put an end to their most furious Animosities, at least upon the Judgment of the Emperor; and as he yielded to them, to judge in that Cause after the Bishops, for which he was afterwards to ask Pardon of the holy Prelates; while yet they had nothing farther to say, if they would not submit to his Sentence, to whom themselves had appealed: so they would also once yield to Truth.* Therefore the Prince's taking Cognizance of a Cause that had been judg'd by Bishops, being done οἰκονομικῶς, and by dispensation, as the ancient Divines speak, should neither be interpreted maliciously, as they do, who severely accuse the Emperor on that Account; nor again be rashly

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rashly drawn into Example, as was observ'd from *Gelasius* in the former Chapter. But his calling the Synods of *Rome* and *Arles*, and delegating the Cause to the Bishops, this the Emperor did by vertue of his own Authority; and the same Right was always most religiously made use of, both by other pious Emperors, and especially by this Emperor *Constantine* during his Life. He therefore, when he saw that the Flame kindled in *Egypt* by *Arius* was not extinguish'd by so many local Synods of the *Egyptian* Bishops, interpos'd his own Authority; and by a sharp Epistle call'd back to their Duty both *Arius*, whose Impiety was not yet perfectly known, and *Alexander* the Bishop; and between these two contending Parties (as himself elegantly says) εἰρήνως περὶ τανν ἑαυτὸν πρεσβύτῃ εἰκότως, *by his own Right he makes himself a Mediator of Peace*. But when that also had no Success, the most noble, most famous, and most august Council of *Nice* follow'd: I beseech you by whose Persuasion, and at whose Command? If that be true which is now taught as an Article of Faith, that no body but the Pope of *Rome* alone has Right, I don't say to convene a Council, but so much as to mutter any thing concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, there can be no doubt, but that *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* was the Person that summon'd this Council: this is therefore affirm'd as certain and undoubted by all those, who are Advocates for the Liberty of the Church. I pass over such Sophisters and Triflers as know nothing of ancient History. But who would not admire that *Cardinal Baronius* should write and assert this so positively? For 'tis what none of the Ancients have said. Why therefore does he affirm it? At least so industrious an Author might produce something out of the Treasures of Antiquity, which should seem to have given some Occasion to suspect this: But he cannot

do so much as that, and therefore flies to miserable Conjectures, concerning the Example of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, formerly accus'd before *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and concerning the Legatine Commission of *Osius*. As to the old Instance of *Dionysius*, I shall speak of that by and by, when I treat of appealing from Synods. But that *Osius* the Pope's Legate did those things; which *Baronius* says he did, may be as easily deny'd by any one, seeing no History speaks of it, as it is affirm'd by him, contrary to all Historians. But to grant him this for the present, what will follow from it more, than that the Emperor summon'd this Council at the Suggestion of *Sylvester*? And this will be readily own'd by all pious Men, that the Emperors were us'd to be advis'd in this matter by the Bishops, and especially by the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Metropolitan of the chief See: for we read that the Bishops of *Rome* have also made use of most humble Petitions, to obtain of the Emperors, that they would call Councils, or if Occasion requir'd, that when call'd they would delay their Meeting. Pope *Leo* in his ixth Epistle to the Emperor *Theodosius*, says, *If your Piety vouchsafe to listen to our Suggestion and Supplication, that you may command a Council of Bishops to be held in Italy, all the Scandals may immediately be cut off, which are rais'd to the Disturbance of the whole Church.* The same *Leo* saith in his xliii^d Epistle to the Emperor *Marcian*, *I had begg'd of your most illustrious Clemency, that you would command the Synod, which was desir'd by us, and was judg'd necessary by you, for to restore the Peace of the Eastern Church, to be deferr'd a little to a more convenient time.* And *Liberius* ancienter than *Leo* writing to *Constantine* saith, *To entreat your Lenity, that you would vouchsafe to bear our Allegations, I thought fit that my Brother and Fellow-Bishop the holy Man Lu-*
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cifer, with Pancratius my Compresbyter, and Hilarius a Deacon should come to you, who we trust will be able without Difficulty to obtain a Council of your Clemency for the Peace of all the Catholick Churches. I pass over like Instances, which are very many, from which no Man in his Wits can conclude, that the Emperor has no Right of calling Synods: but from such Testimonies it will rather clearly and evidently follow, that Bishops, especially the Bishop of Rome, as Metropolitan of the chief See, were wont according to their pastoral Care in the Church of God, to put Princes in mind of calling Councils; and that Princes by vertue of their Supreme Authority in the State, of which the Church is a part, did summon Councils to meet. Therefore also that the *Nicene Council* was summon'd by the Emperor both manifest Reason shews, and the Testimonies of ancient Writers evince. *Eusebius* in his III^d Book of the Life of *Constantine*, calls the Emperor's Letter, by which this Council was summon'd, *ἐπιτάγμα Constantini*, *Constantine's Mandat and Command*. *Theodoret* in his Ist Book says, *Constantine* being deceiv'd with the hope of appeasing the Tumults at *Alexandria*, τὸ πολυεὐλόγητον ἐκείνῳ πριστῶν εἰς τὴν Νικαίων Σύνοδον (ῥωδοῶν, *conven'd that most celebrated Council of the Faithful at Nice in Bithynia*. *Socrates* and *Gelasius* and others do for that purpose make use of the Word συλλεγεῖν, *to summon or gather together*: and the *Nicene Fathers* themselves, in the beginning of their Epistle to the *Alexandrians*, attest themselves συλλεγθῆναι, *to have been gather'd together* by God and the Emperor: an Expression usual among the *Greek Ecclesiastical Writers*, concerning the Person who caus'd any Synod to be held, and who summon'd it: it was properly said of the Masters of the Chorus among the *Athenians*, whose Office it was to furnish out a Chorus, each in

his respective Tribe at his own Expence. Hereto *Eusebius* had regard, when he call'd this very Synod χορείαν ἐπισκόπων, a Chorus of Bishops, and εἰκὼνα χορείας Ἀποστολικῆς, an Image of the Apostolick Choir or College. It is said also of a General who raises an Army : for in the Greek Historians you frequently read συγκελεῖν στρατόμα, to raise an Army. *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* speaking of the Synod celebrated some Years after at *Casarea* in *Palestine*, use the Words προσέταξεν and ἐκέλευσεν, ordered and commanded, and signify that it was held by the Command of *Constantine*. That Synod was for the most part a Conventicle of Factions and wretched Men, that had conspir'd the Destruction of *St. Athanasius* : for the good Emperor was impos'd upon by the Bishops, not discerning that they were ravenous Wolves hid under Sheeps Cloathing : therefore *Theodoret* excuses him for giving Credit to wicked Men, because they were Priests. The same Prince understanding the Deceit of these Bishops, προσέταξεν ἀθροισθῆναι, says *Theodoret*, commanded another Synod to be conven'd in the City of *Tyre*. The Emperor himself in his Epistle to that Synod, calls his Edict, by which he appointed the meeting of it, κέλευσιν, his Order or Command : also ὅρως ἀντοχεράτορ ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας ἐξενεχθέντας, Imperial Decrees publish'd for the Sake of Religion : and that Bishops might not again abuse their Power of assembling to perpetrate any ill Design, he says he has sent *Dionysius*, a Person of Consular Dignity, to be καλίσκοπον, an Inspector and Observer of all that should be done by them, but especially of the Moderation of each of them. But this *Dionysius* abusing the Power committed to him, did not behave himself as the Keeper and Defender of Discipline, but using open Violence, chang'd the Form of a Religious Synod into that of a Secular, and even of a Tyrannical

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Convention. Therefore St. *Athanasius* in his 2^d *Apology* does with Justice deny, that that can be call'd a Synod : *With what Face*, says he, *dare they give the Name of Synod to a Convention, in which a Count presided ? Where an Executioner appear'd, and a Jailor admitted us, instead of the Deacons of the Church ? He spoke, the Bishops held their Peace, or rather obey'd the Count : He commanded, we were lead by the Soldiers.* This and more St. *Athanasius* says of the Violence us'd in that Council. But the Author of all this Ill was not so much the Count, as the *Arian* Bishops themselves, who in the end of *Constantine's* Reign, and afterwards under *Constantius*, *Julian*, and *Valens* spar'd no Violence nor Barbarity to destroy the true Faith, and its great Patron St. *Athanasius*. But as soon as *Constantine* understood from St. *Athanasius*, how things had been carry'd at *Tyre*, exerting his Royal Power against the Bishops of that Conventicle, he commands them all to appear in their Formalities at *Constantinople*, and give an Account of the ill things they had committed. A Synod also was assembled there, concerning which *Ruffinus* says, *The Emperor makes Arius come, who staid at Alexandria to no purpose, and by his Imperial Edicts calls a Council again at Constantinople.* I pass over the Council of *Jerusalem*, which follow'd that of *Tyre*, and consisted for the most part of the same Bishops. Since that assembled chiefly to celebrate the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, it cannot be so much as doubted, but that it was conven'd by the Emperor's Command. But this great and pious Emperor dy'd not long after the Council held at *New Rome* or *Constantinople*.

That his Son *Constantius* did not only make use of the same Right with his Father in summoning Councils ; but also far transgressing the Bounds of his

his lawful Authority, did by the Ministers of his Royal Power convene very many Synods in favour of his *Arians*, is too evident from Ecclesiastical History. And those Assemblies, which by his Authority met at *Antioch* more than once, at *Philippopolis*, *Jerusalem*, *Sirmium*, *Nice* in *Thrace*, *Nice* in *Bitbynia*, and in other Places, are rightly call'd by the Ancients *Parasynagmata*, *unlawful Meetings*, not Synods. Hence *St. Athanasius*, *St. Hilary*, and the other Writers of that Age, so frequently complain of the wicked Attempts of *Constantius* (whom they call *Antichrist*) in violating all the Rights of the Church. Yet the same Authors do willingly own his Princely Authority in those lawful Councils, which were call'd by him. *St. Athanasius* acknowledges, that the Council of *Sardica* was summon'd *καὶ ἐπὶ ἐντολῇ*, by the Command of the most pious Emperors *Constantius* and *Constans*. Also the Fathers of the Orthodox Council of *Ariminum* profess, that Councils are wont to be assembled *καὶ ἐπὶ ἐντολῇ* by the Command of God, and *ἐντολῇ* by the Precept of the Emperor: which also the Fathers of the above-mention'd Council of *Sardica* signify'd in other Words in their Epistle, (*Theodoret* lib. II. to be cited *ch. viii.*) Concerning the General Council appointed at *Nice* by *Constantius's* Letters, and afterwards by others of his Letters divided into the Council of Western Bishops at *Ariminum*, and that of Eastern at *Seleucia*, you may read in *St. Athanasius*, in a little Treatise written concerning those Councils. We have also shewn above, that *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* did with earnest Entreaties desire a Council of this very Prince, tho' he was both wicked and heretical. But those Councils which were held by Pope *Julius* in *St. Athanasius's* Cause, under the Reign of *Constantius*, since they were not General, did (as was observ'd above) stand in no need of the express Command

mand of the Prince. Therefore you will often find, that Metropolitans and Patriarchs did by their own Authority hold Episcopal Assemblies in their respective Dioceses. It is certain that St. *Athanasius* alone conven'd many Synods at *Alexandria*, of the Bishops of his Jurisdiction. And that an extraordinary Right above others began even then to be ascrib'd to the Bishop of *Rome*, shall be shewn hereafter in this very Chapter. I will not lose my time in mentioning all the greater and lesser Councils, which we read to have been afterwards assembled within the compass of that time, of which I am now treating: it will be sufficient to have hinted at the chief; from which it may appear to all impartial Readers as clear as the Sun, that they do wonderfully impose upon the Credulity of the common ignorant People, who deny a Fact that is so true and certain.

In the Reign of *Valentinian* I. * about the Year of our Lord CCCLXV. there was a Council of some Note held at *Lampsacus*. And *Sozomen* relates, (*Lib. vi. cap. 7.*) that *Hypatianus* sent the Bishops of *Hellepontus* and *Bitbynia* to the Emperor, ὡς ἐμπραπῆναι σωελθεῖν ἐπὶ διορθώσῃ τῷ δόγματι, *that leave might be granted them to meet for the Reformation of the Christian Faith*: who brought back from the Emperor this Answer, *It is not lawful indeed for me, who am rank'd among the Laity, to enquire with too much Curiosity into those matters: but let the Bishops, to whose Care those things belong, meet wherever they please by themselves.* In the Greek it is, ἐμοὶ μὴ λατὶ τελαγμένῳ, *for me, who am seated with the Laicks.* The Emperor alludes to his Place in the Church, in which whereas before the time of St. *Ambrose* the Emperors sat within the Partition

* The Author writes *Jovian* by mistake.

of the Sacerdotal Order, he first alter'd that Custom, and appointed them a Place indeed apart from the People, but without the Seats of the Clergy, as *Sozomen* tells us in the viith Book of his History. The Emperor therefore does not deny, as some falsely and ridiculously assert, that the Right of calling a Council belongs to him: but being made wise by the unhappy Example of *Constantius*, he says he will not πολυπραγματεῖν, too busily enquire into Matters of Faith. But he manifestly exerts his Princely Authority in the Word προσίτωσαν, let them come to the Council.

In the Year CCCLXXXI. there was a General Council held at *Constantinople*, not so famous for the Number, as for the Eminence of the Bishops that were present. By whom was it summon'd? The Bishops in their Synodical Letter own themselves oblig'd for it only to the Emperor *Theodosius*; and all the Historians that have mention'd that Council, agree with them herein. Yet *Cardinal Baronius* argues out of his own Head, that the Praise of it ought to be ascribed to Pope *Damasus*: but that upon such weak Conjectures, that they do not deserve so much as to be refuted. *Socrates* relates, that it was decreed in this Council, that the Affairs of every Province should be determin'd by Provincial Synods: and adds, as though it were a thing necessary, that that Decree was confirm'd by the Sentence of the Emperor.

Concerning the Council of *Rome* the Year following, let us hear *St. Jerom* in his Epistle to *Eustachius*: When, says he, the Emperor's Letter had drawn together to *Rome* the Eastern and Western Bishops, by reason of some Dissensions among the Churches; he saw those admirable Men, and Bishops of Christ, *Paulinus Bishop of the City of Antioch*, and *Epiphanius Bishop of Salamina in Cyprus*, which City

is now call'd Constantia. From which Words it appears, that when a greater Council was appointed to meet even at *Rome*, it was done by the Emperor's Letter, not by those of the Bishop of that See. And therefore the Bishops of the *East*, who were assembled at the same time at *Constantinople*, writing to this *Roman* Council, attest that themselves were call'd to old *Rome* to that Council, διὰ τῶν τῶν Θεοφιλεστάτων βασιλέως γραμμάτων, by the Letters of the most pious Emperor. And if those with whom we have to do, would allow as much Authority as they ought to the undoubted Monuments of true Antiquity, this Epistle alone would be sufficient to prove what I here contend for. For that the Bishops of the *East* were invited to the Council of *Rome*, they themselves interpret it only as an Office of mutual Charity and Christian Love, and return their Thanks to them upon that Account: but do not understand it to imply any Subjection in them, or Dominion in others; for they behave themselves towards the Western Bishops no otherwise than as Brethren, as Ministers of equal Rank in the same Family, and equally subject to the Civil Powers. Where therefore is the Temporal Monarchy, which some mad Priests do now dream of, and bring into the Church of God.

In the Year CCCXCIX. *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria* condemns the Errors of *Origen* in a Synod call'd by himself. The Year following *St. John Chrysostom* Patriarch of *Constantinople* convenes the Council of *Ephesus*, and to restore the decay'd Discipline of the Church deposes twelve or (as *Sozomen* writes) thirteen Bishops of his Jurisdiction from their Sees. Both these Patriarchs rais'd themselves great Troubles and much Hatred by these Proceedings; and yet among those that found Fault with them, there was not one, who charg'd them

with usurping an Authority due to another. And that they had no need of the exprefs Command of the Prince, has been often observ'd above : which also is the undoubted Reason, why in so many lesser and greater Councils, which at this time were assembled by the Metropolitans and Primates of *Africk*, at *Carthage*, or in other Provinces of their Comprovincial Bishops, for the most part there is nothing said of the Command or Permission of the Prince. That the Synod which depos'd St. *John Chrysostom* was call'd by the Royal *ὑπεράγχαλι*, Command, we are assur'd by *Sozomen*. When St. *Chrysostom* had appeal'd from this Synod to a General Council, which was the only Remedy for the Injury that he had receiv'd (as Pope *Innocent* writes to the Clergy of *Constantinople*) there was a great deal of Pains taken both by *Innocent*, and by all the *Roman* Synod, conven'd for that purpose, that by the Mediation of *Honorius* Emperor of the West, they might obtain of *Arcadius*, who then govern'd in the East, Right and Leave to call a General Council. *Palladius* Bishop of *Helenopolis* in his History of the Life of St. *Chrysostom* says, *The Bishops of Italy being assembled, beseech the Emperor, that he would write to his Brother Arcadius, to command a Council to be conven'd, that both parts of the East and West might the more easily meet together.* *Sozomen* at the end of his viiith Book tells us, *That Innocent Bishop of Rome desiring that St. John Chrysostom should be recall'd, sent to the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius Legates, σύνθετον αὐτήσωντας, καὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, desiring he would appoint a Synod; and the Time and Place for it.* Afterwards a Contention arising concerning the Priesthood of the * eternal City between the Antipopes *Boniface* and *Eulalius*, Anno Domini CCCXIX. it appears

* Rome commonly so call'd.

that in a short time many Councils were call'd by the Emperor *Honorius*.

In the Year CCCCXXX. the General Council of *Ephesus* met, which condemn'd the Heresy of *Nestorius*. It is certain, that in that Council, and in all the Business of it great Deference was paid to *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome*. Yet *Celestine* did not call that Council; but the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. There are extant the Circular Letters of those Emperors sent to the Metropolitans, in which they are commanded, laying aside all Excuse, to repair to *Ephesus* against a Day appointed: Therefore when the Fathers were come together, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* does before all other things require, that the Emperor's Command should be recited in the hearing of all, which accordingly was immediately done. I will not produce out of the Acts of that Council the Words of the Fathers, by which in many Places they expressly acknowledge, that they were assembled in that Place by the Mercy of God, and ὡμολογῶντες ἐν δεσποτικῇ, by the Intimation and Command of the Emperors. I will only set down *Celestine's* Words in his Epistle to *Theodosius*, *On this Heavenly Care and Glory every one of us as far as we are able, according to our Sacerdotal Office, employ our Pains, and at this Council, which you have commanded, we afford our Presence in the Proxies we have sent. And afterwards: This we humbly request of your Piety, which we believe you also desire, that what you ask of God, you may perform your self for his Sake in the Faith; that is, that as you ask of God for your self a firm and unshaken Empire, so you may procure by your Royal Authority, that the true Faith may remain unshaken. So also St. Cyril, writing concerning the same Nestorius to Juvenalis Bishop of Jerusalem, says, that the Emperors were to be earnestly entreated,*

intreated *χαριστάς τῇ οἰκουμένη τὸ βέβαιον εἰς πίστιν ὀφθῆναι*, to grant the World a true and unshaken Faith. I omit the Council held in the Cause of Pope *Sixtus*, at Rome in the Atrium of *Sessorius's* Palace, by command of the Emperor *Valentinian* in the Year *CCCCXXXIII*. For neither can it be call'd a Council, having been an Assembly of Presbyters and Senators mix'd together, which sort of Meetings came to be very frequently us'd afterwards, as I shall observe elsewhere.

In the Year *CCCCXLVIII*, by the command of *Theodosius* the Younger, a General Council met at *Constantinople*, which condemn'd *Eutyches*. *Theodosius* in his Letters to the Council writes thus: *Because we know that the most magnificent Patricius Florentius is faithful, and has good Testimonies of his orthodox Faith, it is our Pleasure, that he be present at the holding of the Council.* Also *Nicholas* the First, writing to the Emperor *Michael* says, that the Emperor has no Right to be present in Ecclesiastical Assemblies, except where there is any Debate concerning the Faith.

Of the Council call'd at *Ephesus* the Year following by the same Prince, *Liberatus Diaconus* speaks thus: *The Emperor directing his sacred Epistle to Dioscorus at Alexandria, commanded him to choose ten Metropolitan Bishops whom he would, and come to Ephesus; and a Council being conven'd, to discuss Eutyches's Cause, himself commanding Barsumas the Abbot to be present.* The holy Imperial Letter it self is extant in the Acts of the Council: If yet that Name ought to be given to that infamous Band of Robbers, in which inpius *Eutyches* was absolv'd, and *Flavianus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, a pious Man, was condemn'd as a wicked Person. Pope *Leo* being call'd to this Council by the Emperor, among other things writes back to him thus: *Although the Cause*

of the Faith is so evident, that for very good Reasons a Council should not have been call'd; yet in as much as my Lord does vouchsafe his Assistance, I have contributed my Endeavour, that Obedience may in some measure be paid to your Clemency's Laws. Wise and holy, as the Event shew'd, was the Resolutions of Leo, who had no mind, that this Council should be call'd: But when by dissuading the Emperor from it, he had discharg'd the Duty of a pious Pastor, he laid aside all Excuses, and obey'd his Prince's Command to the utmost of his Power. So ignorant of the Rights of the present Liberty were the Roman Bishops of those Times. And there are many things of like nature in Leo's Epistles: As when he writes thus to Theodosius, desiring a General Council may be conven'd in Italy: *All the Churches of our Parts, all the Bishops beseech your Lenity with Sighs and Tears, that you would command a General Council to be held in Italy.* And in his Epistle to the Clergy and People of Constantinople, he says: *Because it behoves you, under the divine Assistance, to promote the Favour of Catholick Princes, that the most gracious Emperor may vouchsafe to grant our Petition, in which we beseech him, that a full Council may be summon'd.* What need many words? It appears from the Epistle of the Empress Pulcheria to Leo, that the Emperor Marcian yielded up to Leo almost all his Right of calling this General Council: For thus Pulcheria writes; *Your Reverence will vouchsafe to signifie whatever way you shall provide, that all the Bishops even of the whole East of Thrace and Illyricum (as it is also the Pleasure of our Lord, the most pious Emperor, my Husband) may be able to meet speedily from the Eastern Parts in one City, and there in a holy Council by your Direction determine according as Christian Faith and Piety shall require, both concerning the*

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Catholick Confession, and those Bishops who were formerly excommunicated. Yet Leo kept to the old Customs, and leaving the Authority of calling a Council to the Prince, in whose Power he observes the 𐤓𐤁𐤅𐤇𐤇, the Authority of the State and Supreme Government is, he thought it his Duty only to suggest those things, which he accounted necessary. Thus therefore he afterwards wrote in those Letters, which he sent to the Emperor: From whence by a Legat, who God willing shall immediately be with your Clemency, whatsoever I think appertains to the Advantage of the Cause may be more fully and opportunely suggested to you, who are pleas'd to have so pious a Concern for calling a Council. See therefore the Custom of the Church still in those Times. The Bishop of Rome adviseth, the Emperor summons the Council. Therefore in the Emperor's Letters, by which the Bishops are call'd to this ivth General Council, it is thus written: Because some Doubts have been mov'd concerning the true Faith, as is signified by the Letters of Leo the most holy Archbishop of Rome, as well as the greatest Blessing to that See: It was our Pleasure, that a holy Council should immediately be assembled in Nice, a City of Bithynia.

Afterwards by the command of the Emperors the Fathers of this Council remov'd to *Chalcedon*, where a Council was held in the Year of our Lord CCCCLI, very memorable for the Disturbances that follow'd on that Occasion, which for a very long time divided the Eastern Church from the Western. To *Marcian* the Emperor *Leo* succeeded; of whom when ill designing Men earnestly desir'd another General Council, and he was not very averse to it; Pope *Leo* by Letters of great Modesty as well as Prudence, hinder'd him from giving his Consent: *I receiv'd, says he, with Veneration, your Clemency's*
Letters,

Letters, full of the Power of Faith, and of the Light of Truth, which I was desirous to obey; but I suppose that will please you more, which Reason shew'd us should be chosen. Then he brings Reasons, why a new Council is not necessary. Indeed it is plain, that from this Time even Provincial Councils were less frequently celebrated in the East, and no General one for above a hundred Years: For

The vth General Council met in the Year IOLIII. the Seat of that Council was *Constantinople*. They who perswaded the calling of it were *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, who was then at *Constantinople*, and *Menas*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Author and Commander of it was the Emperor *Justinian*. Therefore the Fathers, when they address themselves to him, use that Form accustomed on the like Occasion, professing themselves to be conven'd, *κτ' Δείον νόμα*, by the Will and Pleasure of God; but *κτ' Δέαισιμα*, by the Decree of the Emperor.

Hitherto we have mention'd only those Councils, which were call'd by the Authority of the Roman Emperors: But what Method was observ'd in summoning Councils under the Dominion of other Princes, and what Custom obtain'd, shall be clearly explain'd in the following Chapters. But because the Empire of the Romans was already much decay'd in those Times whereof we speak, not only in many Provinces; but even the capital City, formerly Mistress of the World, was for some time in the Hands of barbarous Nations, we will add something concerning that matter also in this place; for it manifestly appears, that those Kings and Princes, who succeeded in the place of the Roman Emperors, did together with the holy Rites of the Christian Religion, also take upon them the Right of protecting the Church, and preserving Ecclesiastical Discipline. Therefore these also each in

his respective Dominion did, as much as the *Roman* Emperors, most deservedly challenge to themselves a right of summoning Councils, and confirming them by vertue of their Authority; and that, as was now said, as soon as they had submitted their Sceptres to Christ the King of Kings. Of all the Kingdoms which had their rise from the Ruins of the *Roman* Empire, the most ancient, the most noble, and the most Christian is that of *France*. And the first Christian King of *France* was *Clovis* the Fifth from *Faramond* their first King. He, not long after he had embrac'd the Christian Religion, gave his Successors an Example of summoning Councils. *Hincmarus* in the Life of *St. Remigius*, makes mention of the Council of *Orleans*, conven'd by his command about the Year *IOVII*. By the Advice of *St. Remigius*, he assembled a Synod of Bishops in the City of *Orleans*, in which Assembly many useful things were appointed. The Acts of the Synod sent to the King begin thus: *To their Lord, the Son of the Catholick Church, Clovis the most renown'd King. All the Priests whom you commanded to come to the Council, &c.* Of the Council of *Lyons* conven'd in the Cause of the Bishops *Salonius* and *Sagittarius*, *Gregory of Tours* in his fifth Book says: *Which when King Guntheramnus had found, he commanded a Synod to be assembled at the City of Lyons.* Soon after he mentions that of *Chalons*: *In the ivth Year of Childebert, which was the xviiith Year of the Kings Guntheramnus and Chilperick, a Council met at the City of Chalons, by the command of the Prince Guntheramnus.* The same Author in his viiith Book speaks of the Council of *Mascon*. *In the mean time the day of the Edict came, and the Bishops by the King's Command met in the City of Mascon.* And of the ii^d Council of *Orleans* held under *Childebert*. *When by the Precept of the most glorious Kings, the holy Fa-*
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APPENDIX. ccxiii

thers by God's help, conven'd in the City of Orleans, to treat concerning the Observance of the Catholick Law. And the same is professed by other Fathers of other Councils which met in those Days, either in that City or elsewhere. In like manner Sigismund King of Burgundy, as soon as he became a * Member of the Church of God, commanded a Synod to be assembled at the City of Pau.

I must not omit a most noble Example, with which the Histories of Spain furnish us. The Goths, when they invaded that Country, had brought the Poison of Arius into those Parts. It happen'd by the Mercy of Christ, that about the Year IOLXXXIX the greatest of their Princes King Recared, embracing the Christian Religion, undertook to reform the Confession of Faith, and the whole Ecclesiastical Discipline throughout his Kingdom. Do the Bishops therefore meet on their own accord upon a matter of so great Importance? Or do they expect Letters of Citation to be sent them from Rome? They do neither, but the King commands them, and they chearfully obey and hasten together. The King himself tells us this, who addressing himself to them after the usual manner, says, *And therefore, venerable Fathers, we have commanded you to assemble for the holding of this Synod.* The Fathers themselves say the same. *Seeing the most glorious Prince, according to the sincerity of his Faith, had commanded all the Prelates of his Kingdom to meet together.* This is that most famous third Council of Toledo. And we have a like Profession at the beginning of the ivth Council of that City. *Seeing that we the Lord's Bishops were met together in the City of Toledo, by the Prince's Order and Command, to treat about certain Matters of Di-*

* Ecclesie Dei quis.

Discipline relating to the Church. But what pains does the most famous Author of the *Ecclesiastical Annals* take, speaking of the iii^d Council of *Toledo*, to prove that the Pope's Authority interven'd in the Affairs of that Council? Therefore this most learned Author, like the old Wife to the Wine Bottle, as the Latin * Proverb is, betakes himself to his usual Artifice. He says that *Leander* Bishop of *Sevil*, Legat of the See of *Rome*, did in that Council transact all things with absolute Authority. Indeed *Leander* was present at that Council, but as Metropolitan of the Province of *Bætica*, not as the Pope's Legat, as appears from the Order observ'd in the Subscriptions: For *Massonas* Bishop of *Merida*, being possess'd of the first place, and *Euphenius* Bishop of *Toledo* of the second, *Leander* is here set down as low as the third: which I know *Baronius* would not endure in a Legat of the *Roman* See. Add to this, that concerning that Legantine Power nothing is said in all the Councils, neither by the King, nor by the Fathers, nor so much as by *Leander* himself, when in the beginning of that Council he made a Speech, in which he gives God thanks for the Conversion of the King and Kingdom to the Faith: Nor does *Isidore* say any thing of it in his Chronicle, or in the Life of *Leander*.

Besides, the orthodox Fathers were us'd to beg leave to assemble Councils, even of the *Arian* Kings. The Council of *Agde* met about the Year of our Lord DCVI. The Acts of it begin thus: *Seeing that in the Name of God, and by the Permission of King Alaric, a holy Council was assembled in the City of Agde.* Now *Alaric* was an *Arian* King, as were almost all the barbarous † Nations at that time, who infested *France, Italy, Africk, and Spain.* And

* *Ut Anus ad armillum.*

† *Goths, Vandals, &c.*
Theodo-

Theodorick King of Italy, was an Arian, whose Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical was nevertheless own'd by the Bishops of Rome, who were subject to him. When therefore during his Reign the fourth Schism arose in Rome, between the Anti-Popes Symmachus and Laurentius, a Cure for this Evil was implor'd from the Authority of the Prince, tho' an Arian. A Contention arising (says Anastasius) the Fathers appointed, that both Parties should go to Ravenna, to be judg'd by King Theodorick: and when they were both enter'd into that City, they found this to be a Judgment of Equity. And afterwards the dissention being renew'd, Theodorick to compose the Disorders, did more than once call together the suburbicary Bishops, that they might either renew the Tryal by the Authority of a Synod, or without a new Tryal transact the Matter, and restore Peace and Quiet to the City. The King in his Epistle to the Bishops, (which has this Inscription, The Royal Precept) says: Because we do not think it our Duty to determine any thing in Ecclesiastical Matters, therefore we have caused you to be called together out of divers Provinces. But concerning Councils held in this Cause, I shall say more hereafter in this Chapter.

III. *The Councils of the ancient Church of these Times were confirm'd by the Emperor, and not by the Pope of Rome.*

How the Canons of Councils stood in need also of the Prince's Authority, has been explain'd in the last Chapter. *There we distinguish'd the Royal Authority, by which they have the force of Laws in the State, from the Episcopal and Divine, by which they are of force in the Church, and upon the Consciences of Good Men. But the Court of Conscience is different*

from the Civil Court: Nor can such as transgress the Canons of Councils, be punish'd with the Penalties of Civil Laws, before the Prince has given the Force of Laws to them. They who pretend, that the Decrees of Councils do now stand in no need of Confirmation from the Prince, and that the Establishment of the Church, which they receive from the Bishop of *Rome*, is abundantly sufficient, are either Ignorant, what difference there is between the Church and the State; or (which I rather believe) they design by it, that the Church and the State over all the World being blended into one, may as well in Spiritual Matters as in Temporal, acknowledge only one supreme Monarch, the *Roman* Pontiff, according as they do in *Rome*, and in all *St. Peter's* Patrimony. There indeed, I will own, Ecclesiastical Decrees have their Sanction only from the Pope; but then it is as he is now consider'd under two very different Capacities, of a Priest, and of a Prince. In *France*, *Spain*, and wherever these Powers are separated, which are different in their own Nature, the Case is quite otherwise; which manifest Reason and the Practice of all Times demonstrates, as was observ'd above. Besides Confirmation by the Prince is wont to be made many ways: Either not expressly, when by giving leave to meet in a Council, the Prince is understood to approve also of the Decrees of the Council, as in lesser Councils is usually done: Or expressly, suppose by Edict, or Letters writ to that purpose, or by the bare Subscription of the Prince. Examples of all these kinds are frequent in the Acts of the Councils. Many Councils both *Greek* and *Latin*, are found subscrib'd by the Emperors: But that all the General Councils were confirm'd by the Emperors Letters or Edicts, shall presently be made appear.

But

But this does not please Cardinal *Baronius*, who treating of the Council of *Nice*, will have the Confirmation of that to have been made, not by the Emperor, but by the Pope. First he produces a Passage out of the Acts of *Sylvester*, in which that is so expressly affirm'd, that nothing can be more express, if yet that may be said of so barbarous and worthless a Writer. Next he adds the Testimony of Pope *Felix* the III^d. and that also most evident. At last he brings a Canon of the ancient Church, to prove that this Custom was always observ'd in the Church, and that inviolably, as he pretends. As to the Acts of *Sylvester*, I will say nothing more now, but that Cardinal *Baronius* himself does in so many places ingenuously confess, that they are false and full of Fables, Lies, and the most absurd Trifles, that it is rather incumbent upon so judicious a Writer to give an Account, why in a Matter of this Moment, he brings so scandalous an Evidence, than upon me to search for Arguments to destroy his Credit. And indeed although there are many things very foolish in those spurious Acts, yet there is nothing more so, than all that Section, which brings in the *Nicene* Fathers, begging the Confirmation of their Decrees from *Sylvester*, where there is neither Sincerity in the Words, nor Truth in the Sense of them. The Epistle of *Felix* the III^d. which is alledg'd, though it be reckon'd among his Epistles, yet is really not *Felix's*, but the Council's, held at *Rome* about the Year CCCCLXXXIV. The Fathers of that Council say: *The three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers assembled at Nice, address'd themselves to the holy Roman Church, to confirm and authorize their Proceedings; which Custom, by the Grace of Christ, all Successions down to our Age have observ'd.* To understand the right meaning of these Words, we must call to mind what was said above
concern.

concerning a twofold Authority of Synodical Canons: For both the Prince confirms them by the Sanction of the Royal Authority, and the Bishops, if present, by Voting and Assenting; if absent, only by ratifying what is decreed. And it was the constant Custom especially of greater Councils, to send Synodical Letters to the Patriarchs and Bishops of the more considerable Sees, to inform them what had been done in the Councils: And there are Examples of this Custom extant even in *St. Cyprian*. Therefore the Bishops who admitted the Synodical Decrees, and us'd their endeavour to have them observ'd in their Churches, were not without Reason said to give Confirmation and Authority to them, although they who are present at the Council are more properly said to confirm the Canons, when they Decree them by their Suffrages. Take it which way you will, it is not without some Reason, that this *Roman* Council claim'd that Right for their Bishop *Felix*; for even at that time the Popes of *Rome* maintain'd, that that Right belong'd to them, as shall be shewn hereafter in this Chapter. But what they say, of that Right having been given to the See of *Rome* by the Fathers of this Council, is contrary to the Testimony of all History: therefore it is as difficult to imagine, on what ground this is affirm'd; as why *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine* ascribe the Right of Appeals to the Grant of the Council of *Nice*; a Right concerning which it is most evident, the *Nicene* Fathers had not the least thought. But why Cardinal *Baronius*, who interprets the Words above-mention'd, whether of *Felix* or of the Council, so as to infer from them, that it was not the Custom for Princes to confirm the Canons of Councils, why he should ascribe to the Pope, or to the Fathers of the *Roman* Council, an Opinion manifestly false,

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I leave him to consider. This I know, and shall presently prove, that there never was any Council held under the Emperors, especially any General Council, which they did not confirm by their Sanctions.

Nor does the Canon alledg'd by the same Author make any more to his purpose. When Pope *Julius* saw the *Arians*, who infested the Churches of *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, convene Local Synods, violate the Rule of Faith with new Inventions; and for that Reason to have expell'd *Athanasius* from the See of *Alexandria*. He, in order to overthrow the impious Decrees of those Synods, and give Relief to the afflicted Churches, deny'd that those were to be accounted lawful Assemblies, because he said there was an ancient Law or Custom, which forbid Churches to make any Canon without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Bishop of *Rome*. *Sozomen* in his iii^d Book, expresses it thus: Εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ἱερὰν, ὃς ἀκυρεῖ ἀποφαίνε τα ὅσα γινώμω πρὸς τὸ νόμον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπων: *For that there is a Canon extant relating to the Rights of the Priests, which pronounces those things null, which shall be done contrary to the Opinion, or without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Bishop of Rome.* *Socrates* in his first Book does more than once express it with little difference thus: Κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κελεύον, μὴ δεῖν ὅσα ἢ γινώμω ἢ ἐπισκόπων Ῥώμης τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν; the meaning of which words is, *That there is a Canon of the Church which enjoins, that no Churches make Canons without the Knowledge of the Bishop of Rome.* And indeed with good Reason: For since the Bishop of *Rome* was both esteem'd to be, and really was the chief part and consequently the Head of the universal Church, which is but one; who can deny that it is most just, that without consulting him, no Innovation should be made

made, either in the Faith or Discipline of the Church? But from thence to infer, that therefore Princes have no Right to confirm the Canons of Councils by their Authority, and procure them the Force of Laws in the State, I beseech you what a Consequence is this? Where is the Force of this Argument? From whence is this Conclusion? Does it follow, because a Parliament in *France* can enact nothing without the President's Concurrence, that therefore the most Christian King has no Right to confirm its Acts? Or because the Auditors of the *Rota* can Decree nothing in the Absence of the President, that therefore the Pope has no Right to give Authority to the Decrees of that Court? *ὅτι γνώμῳ* in this Canon signifies, *Without bearing the Pope's Opinion concerning it*: For though a General Council might determine any thing, where the Pope of *Rome* was of a different Opinion; because as *St. Jerome* * says, *If the Question be about Authority, that of the whole Christian World is greater, than that of Rome*: Yet it could not determine any thing, without first hearing the Opinion of the Pope concerning it, from his Legates: For which Reason *Theodoret* in his ii^d Book, Chapter 22, explains what is meant in this Canon by *ὅτι γνώμῳ*, when among divers Reasons alledg'd by him, why the Council of *Ariminum* was unlawful, he also produces this, that it wanted the Assent of the Pope of *Rome*, *ὅτι πρὸ πάντων ἑὸν καὶ γνώμῳ ἐκδέχασθαι*, *Whose Opinion*, says he, *they should have waited for before that of all others*. But I will now shew, that the ancient Church was of a different Belief in this Matter from that of Cardinal *Baronius*, and of the Advocates of this modern Liberty of the Church.

* *Si Autoritas quaeritur, orbis major est Urbis.*

APPENDIX.

CCXXI

That the Council of *Nice* was confirm'd by *Constantine's* Letters, we are assur'd by *Sozomen*. There were two principal Decrees of that Council: The Regulation of *Easter* Day, and the Condemnation of *Arius* and his Doctrine. Concerning the former *Constantine* writ to all the Churches that Circular Letter, which is set down by *Eusebius*, *Gelasius*, *Sozomen*, and others. In that Letter the Emperor commands the Bishops of the Church, to notify the Decree of the *Nicene* Fathers concerning the Celebration of *Easter* to all Men; to receive it, and to appoint the use of it in the Church. Concerning *Arius*, the Emperor sent all the Churches that Edict, which contains his Condemnation; and denounced capital Punishment against all those, who should not burn any of *Arius's* Books that were brought to them.

The second General Council was that of *Constantinople*, which was summon'd by the Emperor *Theodosius*. The Fathers of that Council, after the Conclusion of it, write to the Emperor, and after returning him Thanks in a very solemn manner, for his great Care of the true Religion, they add these Words: *We beseech your Clemency, that the Sentence of the Council may be confirm'd by your Piety's Edict, that as you have honoured the Church with your Letters, by which you call'd us together; so you may by your Seal confirm the Decrees, which are at last made by our common Suffrages.* See how these holy Fathers do not only acknowledge the Prince's Right to convene Councils, and confirm their Decrees; but also profess, that it is an Honour to the Church for the Emperor so to do. But Cardinal *Baronius*, whose design it was from the beginning, to infringe the Rights of Princes; and to bring in a Monarchy of the Church upon the State, when he was not able to impair the Credit of this Writing of the

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Fathers,

Fathers, did not omit the only thing left him to do, to endeavour by misrepresenting the Fact, to enervate the Emperor's Power: For he pretends, that by begging this with so much earnestness of *Theodosius*, the Fathers meant nothing more, than by this means to engage the Emperor to persevere in the true Faith. Besides he is pleas'd to assert, that this Council was confirm'd by Pope *Damasus*, and that this is attested by *Photius*. Indeed I cannot but wonder, that he should appeal in this Case to the Evidence of *Photius*, a *Greek*, and whom in other places of his *Annals* he calls a proud and an impious Schismatick, and a most deadly Enemy to the Church of *Rome*. Who therefore can believe, that such a Man has own'd the Monarchy of the *Roman* See? The Passage he cites out of *Photius*, is in his little Tract concerning the seven General Councils: Where after he has by Name set down the principal of the *Nicene* Fathers, whom he calls ἑξάρχαι, *Exarchs*, he adds these words: Οἷς ἔ ποτὶς χρόνῳ καὶ Δάμασος ὁ τῷ Ῥώμης τὰ αὐτὰ κατελιώνων ἐγνωρίζετο, (ὅμφων) τοῖς περιλαβέσαι καθιστάμενος. that is, To whom not long after it was known, that *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome* did also confirm the same Decrees, declaring himself of the same Opinion with the Fathers above nam'd. *Photius* speaks of the Episcopal Authority, the vertue of which is all Spiritual, and which was common to the Bishop of *Rome* with the other Bishops: But we are speaking here of that Authority, by which Canons obtain the Force of Laws in the State. Therefore how great an Absurdity is it, because *Photius* says, that the Pope of *Rome* did by his Episcopal Authority, confirm what had been decreed by the Fathers sitting in Council, to make him for that Reason deny Princes their Right in the State? And is any one ignorant that those words, κατελιώνων, ἐπικυρεῖν, κατελιώνων,

reglatus, to corroborate, authorize, and confirm, are us'd of a Prince and of Bishops in a different Signification?

Indeed the Council of *Constantinople*, which met the next Year, writes in such a manner to the Council of *Rome*, concerning its own Decrees, as manifestly declares, that their Authority did by no means depend upon the Pope's Confirmation: For having given a summary Account of what had been done in that Council, and nam'd some Fathers, whom the Council had made Bishops in the most considerable Sees, they add these Words: *Seeing therefore these Fathers have lawfully and canonically obtain'd their Sees at our Hands, we exhort your Reverences, that you would congratulate with them on this behalf, as Spiritual Charity obliges you, and the Fear of the Lord, by which all human Actions ought to be regulated.*

The Royal Confirmation of the iii^d General Council is extant at the end of the Acts of that Council, together with the Emperor's Sentence pronounced against *Nestorius*, and against his Writings, which were condemn'd to the Flames.

The ivth General Council held at *Chalcedon* was confirm'd by the same Emperor *Marcian*, by whom it was summon'd. These are his Words in his Epistle to *Palladius*, the Pretorian Prefect: *Let no Clergyman, nor Soldier, nor Person of any other Condition for the future endeavour to treat of the Christian Faith before Crowds of Auditors gather'd together, seeking from hence an occasion of Tumult and Treachery: for if any one shall endeavour to consider over again, and publicly call in question those things, which have been once determin'd and rightly order'd, he does an Injury to the Judgment of the most Reverend Council; since those things, which have been now by our Command establish'd concerning the Christian Faith by the Bishops,*
who

who assembled at Chalcedon, are known to have been determin'd according to the Apostolick Explications and Institutions of the Three Hundred and Eighteen Holy Fathers in the City of Nice, and of the Hundred and Fifty in this Royal City. For the Despisers of this Law shall not fail of Punishment.

The vth General Council begg'd confirmation of its Decrees from the Emperor *Justinian* : and indeed those Holy Fathers address themselves to that Prince in the same Form, when they beg this of him, in which the Bishops of the Second General Council apply'd themselves to the Emperor *Theodosius* on the like Occasion : so much did they approve of the Modesty of their Predecessors, which we commended a little above. And these are the General Councils, which fall in with those times of which we are now speaking.

IV. *There lay an Appeal in those times from the Sentences of Councils, to a greater Council, or to the Prince.*

To set the Truth in a clear Light concerning the Right of Appeals observ'd in the ancient Church, I shall not think much to go something back towards the Original of the thing. You must know therefore, that the ancient Fathers did so attend the Government of the several Flocks peculiarly committed to their Charge, that they thought the Care of the universal Flock did likewise in some measure belong to them : For which Reason *St. Cyprian*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, and other Persons of the same Dignity did not confine their Care within the Bounds of the particular Churches intrusted to them, but through the Fervour of their Piety, and Desire of Unity, extended it to the universal Church of God. *St. Chrysostom* in his *Encomium* of *St. Eustathius*

Marburius Bishop of *Antioch* shews this very plainly, writing thus: *He was perfectly well taught by the Grace of the Spirit, that a Governour of the Church ought to take care, not only of the particular Church, which is committed to him by the Spirit; but also of the universal Church, which is dispers'd over the whole World: And this he learnt from our holy Prayers: for if we must pray for the universal Church, which is extended from one end of the Earth to the other; much more ought we to look to the Salvation of all, to take care in like manner of all, and to be solicitous and concern'd for all.* There is a like *Encomium* of *St. Athanasius* in a certain Epistle in *St. Basil*: It is sufficient, says he, for most of the other Bishops, if each of them diligently take care of that Church, which properly belongs to him: this does not satisfy you; but there lies upon you as great a Care and Solitude for all the Churches, as for that which was peculiarly committed to your charge by our common Lord. Therefore also he styles *St. Athanasius* κεφαλὴν τῆς ὅλης, the Head of the whole Church. In another Epistle he owns the same Father to be the universal Physician of the Diseases of the Church. His Words are: Σε ἰατρὸν τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀρρώστωνμάτων ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐταμίωσατο, Our Lord has constituted Thee the Physician of the Infirmities in the Churches. For which Reason *Gregory Nazianzen* also writes * of *St. Athanasius*, that he, when he was made Bishop of *Alexandria*, πισθωθῆναι τῇ διοικεμένης πάσης πρεσβυσίας, was intrusted with the Prefecture of all the World. And the same Father describes *St. Cyprian* and *St. Athanasius*, just as if they had been certain General Bishops of all the Churches: Nor this only for that Reason, because they, of whom we speak, were Bishops of the largest

* *Orat.* 21. p. 377.

Dioceses : for though, as St. *Augustine* speaking of Deacons observes, the Magnificence of the See did very much contribute to the Prerogative of Dignity ; yet in those things which are proper to the Episcopal Office, they were reputed to be of the same Merit, and Partakers of the same Priesthood, as St. *Jerom* writes in his Epistle to *Evagrius*. Nor does any thing more seem to be meant by those Bishops, of whom St. *Athanasius* in his ii^d *Apology* says, that they paid the same Honour to all Bishops, and did not measure their Esteem for them by the Greatness of their Sees. Therefore the Bishops of the lesser Cities, as well as the Metropolitans, judg'd that Expression to belong to them, which is read in the viith Book and 13th Chapter of the *Clementine Constitutions*, concerning all Bishops in common, that they ^ἡ καθόλου ἐπισκοπήν πρὸς ὅλους, *are intrusted with the Inspection of the whole*, as if they were each of them after a certain manner universal Bishop of the whole Church. The Author of the Epistle which is ascrib'd to Pope *Eleutherus*, says : *For the Sake of this thing the universal Church was committed to your care by Christ Jesus, that you should labour for all, and not neglect to bring help to all.* *Sidonius Apollinaris* in his viith Book, writing to *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes* in *Champagne*, says : *Blessed be the Holy Spirit, and the Father of [Christ] the Almighty God, that you a Father of Fathers, and Bishop of Bishops, and another St. James of your Age, do, as from a certain * Watch-tower of Charity, and not from the lower Jerusalem, oversee all the Members of the Church of our God; worthy to comfort all the infirm, and to be deservedly consulted by all.* And the Reason which persuaded the ancient Fathers of this is, that the universal Church spread over the whole

* De quâdam Speculâ Charitatis.

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World is only one, its Body but one, its Head but one, *Jesus Christ*, therefore also the Episcopacy but one, though expanded as it were into many Branches. *St. Cyprian* in his Tract *de Unitate Ecclesiæ* says, *Let no Man deceive the Brotherhood by a Lye : Let no Man corrupt the Truth of the Faith by a perfidious Prevarication : Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur : the Episcopacy is but one, part of which each Bishop shares, so as to have a Right to the whole ; for in solidum tenere signifies to hold by a plenary Right, and ὁλοκλήρως, as Heir of all, not by way of Deputation from any other Lord upon Earth, nor as Joint-Bishop with any other : for of one Church there can be but one Bishop, as the Canons direct, and as the same Father proves in so many Places. Also in his Epistle to Pope Stephen he says : Though we are many Shepherds, yet we feed but one Flock, and are oblig'd to gather together, and to cherish all the Sheep which Christ has purchas'd with his Blood and Passion. St. Cyprian alludes to St. Paul's Words in the xxth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, verse 28. Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the Flock, over the which the Holy Ghost has made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own Blood. Again St. Cyprian in his Divine Treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiæ* says : We ought firmly to hold and defend the Unity of the Church, especially we who are Bishops, and preside in the Church, that we may prove the Episcopacy it self also to be one and undivided. Whoever considers this, will at the same time understand the true Cause of many Orders and Institutions of the ancient Church, out of the vast Multitude of which it may suffice to have here mention'd à few, before we come to explain the Rights of Appeals.*

The Fathers therefore were accustomed to send an Account to the other Bishops of all Matters of any Importance, which they had done or determin'd in their Churches or Provinces. As for Instance: The Council of *Africa* had decreed not to receive the *Lapsed* to Peace, till after a long Penance. Afterwards when they were threaten'd with a Persecution, they thought fit to alter this Sentence. St. Cyprian gives an Account of this to Pope *Cornelius* in a Letter, in which he also explains at large the Reasons for calling a Council; not as an Inferior giving an Account to his Superior; but out of Christian Charity for the Preservation of Unity. For which Reason the same Father elsewhere * gives this Account, why he writes with so much Solitude to the *Roman* Clergy, concerning the Supplication of the Lapsed, and the immodest Demands of the Confessors, *Both common Charity, most dear Brethren, and Reason requires, that we should not conceal from you any of these things, which are done among us; but take common Counsel together concerning the Interest of the Ecclesiastical Administration.* And the *Roman* Clergy in Answer to his Epistle ingenuously profess, that St. Cyprian did not do this, because oblig'd thereto upon the Account of Subjection; but from the Affection of Charity: *It is no wonder, Brother Cyprian, that you do this, who according to your Modesty and natural Industry did not so much desire that we should be Judges as Partakers of your Counsels, that we might share with you in the Praise of your Actions, while we approve them; and be Partners of your Counsels, because we assent to them.*

* Epist. 35.

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From this Custom the use of Synodical Epistles came, of which something was said above. *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the beginning of his circular Letter, which he writ to all the Bishops, after he had condemn'd *Arius* in a Provincial Synod, explains the cause of this Custom thus: *Seeing the Body of the Catholick Church is one, and we are oblig'd by the Tradition and Command of holy Scripture to hold the Bond of Concord and Peace: it is fit we should converse with one another by Letters, and give each other an Account what things are done by every one of us, that whether any of the Members suffer or rejoice, we also among our selves may suffer or rejoice with them.* They were wont also in the Creation of Bishops, both sometimes to send their Suffrages, and when it was over, to declare the new Bishop by congratulatory Letters. Thus *St. Cyprian* by his own Authority, and that of the other Bishops of *Africa*, approves of the Election of *Pope Cornelius* in his xliid Epistle according to *Pamelius's* Edition. And they who were promoted to Episcopal Sees, signify'd their Vocation by circular Letters, written to all the Bishops, or at least to those of the Principal Sees; which Letters contain'd the Profession of their Faith. There are many Letters of that kind extant to this Day, especially of the Bishops of * *Rome* and *Constantinople*, performing this Office mutually to each other. But it appears from *St. Cyprian*, whose Epistles are a vast Treasure of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, that Letters were us'd to be sent to the Churches beyond the Seas, even concerning the Ordinations of inferior Ministers in the Church, to wit, of Presbyters, Readers, Deacons, and Sub-deacons. And sometimes also they mutually admonish'd, exhorted and reprov'd one

* *Romæ Veteris & Novæ.*

another. Thus St. *Cyrian* comforts Pope *Cornelius*, and exhorts him to despise the Threats of the Hereticks. But in his lxxviiith Epistle he gives his Opinion very freely concerning Pope *Stephen*, on whom through his Neglect *Basildes* had impos'd unawares: which he does also upon another Occasion in a very severe manner, in his Epistles to *Quirinus* and *Pompeius*. But the same Pope *Stephen* is yet much more vehemently accus'd by *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, in those Letters which he writ to St. *Cyprian*; and which though they defended a Cause, that the Church afterwards did not approve, yet afford nevertheless a certain Argument of what we have asserted. Thus when the *African* Council held about the Year CCCCVII. understood that there was a Disagreement between Pope *Innocent* and *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, they made no doubt but it was part of their Duty to admonish the Patriarchs of the *East* and *West*: It was resolv'd, says the Canon, that a Letter should be written to the Holy Pope *Innocent*, that both Churches might preserve that Peace with each other, which the Lord has commanded. And to how many Bishops over the whole World the Bishops of *Rome* have perform'd the same Office, cannot but be very well known to every one. They were wont also with Impunity to institute Priests and other Clergymen in the Districts of other Bishops, how much soever by the ordinary Canon Law *αἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἐκκλησίαι*, Ordinations in other Dioceses were forbid: as we see in the xxxvth Apostolick Canon: Yet pious Bishops are often read to have done that, not out of any Ambition, but by vertue of that universal Episcopacy above-mention'd: and it appears that this has been done especially in the Exigency of the Church. *Theodoret* in his ivth Book, chap. 13. gives us this Relation concerning *Eusebius* Bishop

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shop of *Samofata*, that great Champion of Christ, when the Emperor *Valens* made Havock of the Church : *Eusebius* understanding that many Churches were depriv'd of their Pastors, cloathing himself in the Habit of a Soldier, and putting a Turbant upon his Head, went over all the Countries of Syria, Phœnicia and Palestine, to ordain Priests and Deacons, and perform other Ecclesiastical Offices among them. And if at any time he happen'd to meet with Bishops, who agreed in Doctrine with him, he set them over those Churches that wanted Pastors. *Ruffinus* says of *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari*, who in the times of the Emperor *Constantius* was an Exile in *Asia* : *Lucifer* with a fixed Mind goes to *Antioch*, where the Parties still disagreeing, yet not without hopes of being united, if they might have such a Bishop chosen for them, as not only one but both parts of the People should like, he makes haste to constitute *Paulinus* their Bishop, an Orthodox and Holy Man, and in all things worthy of the sacred Order. In like manner *Osus* Bishop of *Corduba*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelli*, and *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Salamina* in the Island of *Cyprus*, and other great Men, while upon divers Occasions they pass'd through different Provinces, redress'd their Grievances as far as they could, confirm'd the true Faith, and solemniz'd Ordinations. And as often as new Heresies or Schisms arose, if they were neglected by the nearest neighbouring Bishops, or such who liv'd at no great distance, yet they were by no means neglected by such as dwelt afar off, who would not place their Hope of the Church's Safety in the Diligence of others, and be unconcern'd Spectators themselves. Thus *St. Cyprian* sent *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus* from *Carthage* to *Rome*, to compose the Schism ; again when *Cornelius* was Bishop of that See, the same Father sent *Mettius* a Sub-deacon to *Rome*, to re-

claim the Confessors seduc'd there by the Wickedness of *Novatianus* and *Novatus*, and bring them back to their Mother, that is, to the Catholick Church, from which they had departed: and the same Man of God, when he understood that *Martianus* Bishop of *Arles* had join'd himself to *Novatianus*, wrote gravely to Pope *Stephen*, and shew'd him in a brotherly manner, what was necessary to be done. *It is*, says he, *most dear Brother*, our duty to take care of and remedy that matter, who considering the Divine Clemency, and holding the Balance of Church-Government, do denounce a vigorous Censure against Sinners. And presently after: *Wherefore you ought to write most fully to those, who are our Fellow Bishops in France, that they do not any longer suffer our Episcopal College to be insulted by Martianus, an obstinate and proud Man, and an Enemy to Piety towards God, and to the Salvation of his Brethren.* So also *St. Hilary*, that Light of the Gallican Church, when he knew that *Auxentius* an *Arian* sat in the See of *Milan*, hasten'd thither, and endeavour'd with all his Might to expel that pestilent Heretick. *St. Basil* tells us of *St. Athanasius*, that he never gave over, sometimes in Person, sometimes by Letters, and often by his Legates, endeavouring to reclaim all the Churches every where to Soundness of Mind, and to Concord and Unity. And that the same *St. Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, did particularly at *Antioch* appease very great Tumults by his Authority, is both asserted by *St. Basil*, and confirm'd by the History of the Church. By the same Right also *St. Cyril*, knowing that *Nestorius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* was sowing certain blasphemous Doctrines against the Nature of Christ, and the Honour of the blessed Virgin, the true Mother of God, not mattering the *Prator's* Interdict for the regulating of Bounds, sets him-

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himself to oppose him, at first with more Mildness, but afterwards with all manner of Freedom and Courage : and not long after invites *Celestine* Archbishop of *Rome* to share with him in the same Praise. Lastly, in the Dissensions of Churches, the greater any one's Authority was, and the more he abounded in Divine Graces, the more he concern'd himself in the Affairs even of the most remote Churches: Nor was that in those times a matter of Envy to any one, but rather of the greatest Glory with all Men. So much nearer at that time was the Administration of the Church to a certain most beautiful Aristocracy, than to that absolute and new invented Monarchy, which afterwards began to be brought in. Therefore *Nestorius* himself is forc'd to commend his Enemy *St. Cyril* on that Account, although he would not reap any Benefit from his pious Admonition. His Words are these : Τῆς δὲ γε τῆς σκανδαλιζομένων Φεβνλίδος καλῶς ποιεῖς ἀντιχόμην, καὶ χάρις τῇ τῆς θείων μερμηνηλικῇ σα ψυχῇ, καὶ τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Φεβνλίζεσθαι. By which Words he commends the Care of *St. Cyril*, in consulting the Peace of the Church, by removing Offences, and gives him Thanks for expressing so much concern for the Church of *Constantinople*, over which *Nestorius* himself presided.

These things were necessary to be premis'd, that we might be able to understand what Rights of Appeals there were in the ancient Church. For because it was known to all, that whatever broke the Unity, or disturb'd the Quiet of the universal Church, did equally belong to the care of all the Bishops ; therefore they, who in their own Province, whether justly or unjustly, had suffer'd a Sentence of Condemnation, often fled to the Bishops of other Provinces, to implore their Help. Again, because amongst all the Churches the *Roman* was the

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the most eminent upon many Accounts, many therefore betook themselves to *Rome*, that by the Favour and Authority of the Bishop of that See, they might recover their Episcopal Thrones, if they had been depos'd from them, and if suspended from Communion, might be restor'd to it. So formerly *Marcion* in *Helenopontus*, which was the Native Country of that Monster, being excommunicated by his Father, says *Epiphanius*, that is, by the Bishop of *Sinope*, as I suppose, not able to bear this Reproach among his own People, went to *Rome*: so afterwards *Felix* and *Fortunatus* in *Africk*, cut off from the Church by St. *Cyprian's* spiritual Sword, go to the same Place. In like manner also St. *Arhanasius*, St. *John Chrysostom*, *Flavianus* of *Constantinople*, the Monks of *Scythia*, and others in the East, being evil entreated, did either in Person, or by their Procurators, seek the Pope's Help. Therefore they who pretend, that such Instances as these are certain Testimonies of Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*; will be of another Mind, if they will consider what we have been hitherto saying, concerning the care of the universal Church, which was of old common to all Bishops; and will yield to Truth: For although the See of *Rome* excell'd in a certain Prerogative of Honour, and therefore by its Favour and Authority was able to do something more, than any one of those other Churches, even which had most Power: yet if the Right be consider'd, it was no more the Custom in those first Ages to appeal to *Rome*, than to *Alexandria*, or *Carthage*, or *Milan*, or any where else, from whence in a like case it is manifest, Help was sought: For *Privatus* a Heretick being condemn'd in the Colony of *Lambesca* in *Africk*, came to *Carthage*, to plead his Cause there. *Novatianus* a Roman Presbyter being excommunicated by a Council at *Rome*, peti-

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tion'd to be receiv'd into Communion by the *African* Churches, and that of *Alexandria*. The *Scythian* Monks being refus'd Communion by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to make way for their Readmission, sent two Messages into the West, one into *Italy* to Pope *Hormisdas*, and the rest of the *Italian* Bishops; the other to the Prelates of the *African* Churches. St. *John Chrysostom* himself, whose Example is us'd to be so much urg'd, did in his Exile with the same Ink write Letters upon the same Subject to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*, and *Chromatius* Bishop of *Aquileia*. For indeed it is an old Observation, and the naked Truth of the Matter stood thus of old: They who had been condemn'd by an Episcopal Sentence, in order to get themselves restor'd, made use either of the ordinary Canon-Law, or of that which was extraordinary. The ordinary Law was, that there should be an Appeal from a less Assembly to a greater: Now the greatest Ecclesiastical Assembly is a General Council: but before *Constantine* there neither ever was any such Council, nor is there any Instance of an Appeal to such a one: For which Reason neither in those which are call'd the Apostolical Canons, nor in the *Clementine* Constitutions, where there are so many things concerning Ecclesiastical and Episcopal Decisions, is there any mention of a General Council, any more than of Appeals to the See of *Rome*. And yet it is manifest, that even in those times Controversies were us'd to be referr'd from a less Assembly to a greater. St. *Cyprian* upon the Approach of a Persecution, did in the Cause of the *Lapsed*, communicating his Purpose to a few, determine to receive them into the Church. Afterwards many disapproving the thing, as soon as the Church had Rest and Tranquillity, and they had Liberty to meet together, he assembled

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bled a great number of Bishops, and proposed this Question to be debated by them. And when neither by that means the scrupulous Minds of many were satisfy'd, St. *Cyprian* of his own accord, being the most rigid Observer of Ecclesiastical Discipline, brought the Matter to be controverted a new by a yet more numerous Meeting of Bishops: For he writes thus to *Antonianus* his Accuser: *If the number of Bishops in Africk seem'd not sufficient, we write also upon this subject to our Colleague Cornelius; who also himself assembling a Council of many provincial Bishops, with like Judgment and wholesome Moderation, agreed with us in the same Opinion.* And the same thing is also manifest from the repeated Condemnation of *Jovinus* and *Maximus*, of which we shall speak presently.

But farther, there was so much Rigour in the Discipline of those Times, that he who was excommunicated by the Sentence of his Bishop with the Consent of the Presbytery, was as much banish'd from all the Churches of the whole World, as if that Sentence had been pronounc'd against him by any General Council: For to such a one no Admission was given into any Church whatever, without Communicatory Letters: and those Letters could be had only from that Bishop, from whom he had receiv'd the Sentence of Excommunication, and from no Mortal besides. For if any one despising this practice, admitted to Communion in his Church, one that was excommunicated elsewhere, he was so far from hereby absolving the guilty Person, that he actually involv'd himself in the same Sentence of Excommunication. Read the xth, xith, and xiith Apostolick Canons, and also the xxxii^d and the xxxiii^d, together with what *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* write upon them. By this means that Rule of St. *Cyprian* was necessarily observ'd, that
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every one's Cause was heard there, where the Crime had been committed. From whence also by a like Necessity it follow'd, that there was no occasion for Appeals to Judges without the Province. And this was the ordinary Law, when the strict observance of those Canons was requir'd.

They who conspir'd with more obstinacy against the Discipline of the Church, sought for Assistance wherever they could find it, against the Authors of their Condemnation. But we read of none, that in those first Ages made use of this extraordinary Means; or if any, yet very few, and those for the most part Hereticks. *St. Cyprian* tells us, that it was the constant Custom of the ancient Hereticks and Schismaticks, that after they were thrown out of the Church by their own Bishop, they went from Door to Door, and from Town to Town, seeking such as would communicate with them: and that for two ends; for they both long'd to spread their Poison as far as they could; and most of them desir'd to return to the Communion of the Catholick Church. Hence that running up and down of such sort of Men, and frequent sending of Messengers out of their own Province. These are *St. Cyprian's* Words in his xlist Epistle concerning those sent by *Novatianus* to the *African* Bishops. *And lest their audacious Madnes should ever stop, here also they endeavour to draw aside the Members of Christ to join in their Schism, and to divide and tear in sunder the one Body of the Catholick Church: that running about from Door to Door through the Houses of many, or from Town to Town through certain Cities, they may seek to themselves Companions of their Obstinacy, and schismatical Error.* Writing to the same *Cornelius* in his xlixth Epistle, he says: *By your Letters I both understood my self, and have begun to instruct and acquaint others, that Euaristus*

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who was just now a Bishop, does not enjoy * so much as Lay Communion, being banish'd both from his See and People, and wandring in exile from the Church of God, through other far distant Provinces; and having himself made Shipwreck of the Truth and Faith, endeavours to procure like Shipwrecks among certain others like himself. But these Wretches coming without Communicatory Letters, the pious Bishops order'd them to be sent away, as St. Cyprian also in those two Epistles assures us, he did himself. Nor did they only drive from their Communion such as were cut off from Communion elsewhere; but they also gave notice of them in their Letters. The same great Writer in his lvth Epistle says: *When Privatus, an old Heretick, condemn'd by the Sentence of ninety Bishops in the Colony of Lambesca, now several Tears ago for many grievous Crimes, and severely animadverted upon in the Letters of my Predecessors, Fabianus and Donatus, profess'd himself desirous to plead his Cause before me in a Council, which I held on the 15th of May last, he was not admitted. Yet sometimes they were not wholly rejected, who came without Communicatory Letters; but their Cause was reheard; especially when the first Sentence had been pronounc'd but by a few. We have an instance of this in the same Epistle: For says Tertullian's Disciple, a greater Man than his Master: There were also present, as Companions to Privatus the Heretick, Jovinus and Maximus, who had been condemn'd for abominable Sacrifices, and Crimes prov'd against them, by the Sentence of nine Bishops my Colleagues, and again excommunicated by more in Council with me last Year. Although the rigid observance of the Canons requir'd, that they who did not exhibit their own Bishop's Commu-*

* Nec Laicum remansisse.

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nicatory Letters, should immediately be driven away without hearing them; yet because they complain'd of the paucity of their Judges, *St. Cyprian* condescended so far, as to allow their Cause a rehearing in a more numerous Assembly. This was lawful for *St. Cyprian* and the other Bishops, according to the Christian Liberty, which the Churches then enjoy'd, and also by the Right of an universal Care, or, as it is in the *Clementine* Constitutions, τὴ καθ' ὅλης ἐπισκοπῆς, of a General Episcopacy, which we spake of above. By which Right also the Prelates of those Times did sometimes take upon them, if any Bishop in another Province was said to think amiss concerning the Faith; not altogether to reject such an Accusation, but to think it very much belong'd to them. Therefore *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, when he was inform'd by the *Pentapopolitans*, that *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, had wrong Sentiments concerning the Nature of Christ, and publish'd them in his Writings, did not neglect this Accusation, though no more than a false Calumny, as the Event shew'd; but at the same time undertook the Defence of the true Doctrine, and wrote a Confutation of the false; and debated the Matter by Letters with him, who had been accus'd, as *St. Athanasius* informs us, who has wrote that History at large.

But farther, Those Hereticks who had suffer'd Sentence of Condemnation, and run up and down the neighbouring Provinces in vain; that they might the more easily deceive, went to those farther off: Therefore most of them repair'd to *Rome*. *St. Cyprian* in his lvth Epistle to Pope *Cornelius*, says: *To conclude, because they know their own Conscience, they neither dare to come to us, nor approach the Threshold of the Church; but wander up and down abroad through the Provinces, to circumvent and make spoil*
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of the Brethren; and being now sufficiently known to all, and every where excluded for their Impieties, they also sail thither to you. Who doubts but it was of old the common endeavour of all Hereticks and Schismatics, that (what St. Cyril in two places writes of Nestorius) they might be able with regard to the Church of Rome, *ὑπαρπάσαι*, that is, by Stealth to reconcile her to themselves, and draw her over to their Party? For they could not by any more compendious Method come to the Communion of the other Churches, than by shewing, that they had obtain'd Communicatory Letters from that of Rome, whose Faith was the most known, and her Authority the greatest. With this design there went formerly to Rome, or (as St. Cyprian says) endeavour'd fraudulently and by stealth, to procure Letters from the Bishop of that See, Cerdon out of Syria, Marcion from Pontus, Valentinus out of Egypt, Basilides and Martialis from Spain; and out of Africk, Privatus, Felicissimus, Fortunatus, Novatus, and many others. And in imitation of these a great many more in latter Times. But a wide difference is to be made between the design of these wretched Persons, and the Cause of some most holy Men, as St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostome, and a few such like, whom History relates to have, in their Adversity, sought to Rome for Relief from their Troubles. But that neither those former, nor these latter, when they came to Rome themselves, or sent their Procurators thither, did Appeal to the Bishop of Rome, I will shew in a few Words, and afterwards speak of the Right, and last of all of the Advantage or Danger of this Right.

I pass over Cerdon and Valentinus, because no one (that I know of) so much as of the modern Writers has said, that they appeal'd to Rome. Mar-

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cion does in Cardinal Bellarmine stand in the Front of the Catalogue of such, as have appeal'd to the Pope. But neither *Irenæus*, nor *Tertullian*, who mention his coming to *Rome*, say this: nor indeed *Epiphanius*, the only Author quoted by the Cardinal. From whence therefore has he this Fact? *Epiphanius's* Relation is this: *Marcion* being expell'd Communion in his own Country by his Bishop, by many Prayers αἰτήσεις μελάνοιαν having sued for Peace, could not bend the Mind of the pious and circumspect old Man: Hereupon not bearing the Scoffs of his Countrymen he went to *Rome*; and because by the Death of *Hyginus* the See was then vacant, he apply'd himself to the Presbyters of the *Roman* Clergy, and desir'd of them (ὑπαχθῆναι, to be admitted to the holy Communion. They unanimously rejected his Petition. Upon this *Marcion* began to rage, and join'd himself to *Cerdon*: And when, being admonish'd of his Error, he transferr'd the Blame upon the *Roman* Presbyters, and said, *Why would not you receive me?* The pious Presbyters answer'd: *Because we cannot do this without the Permission of your venerable Father;* (so they call'd his Bishop) *for there is one Faith, one Consent of all; nor is it lawful for us to oppose your Father, our Colleague, and Fellow Priest.* What is here, I beseech you, that can afford even the lightest Suspicion of an Appeal? For to *Appeal* is to remove a Cause from a less Power to a greater. But the *Romans* expressly deny, that he can be loos'd by them, who had been bound by another: And this they had Right to deny; for it is a Canon of the ancient Discipline, the xiith among those call'd Apostolical: *If any Clergy-man or Lay-man excommunicated or suspended from Communion, going into another City, be receiv'd without Communicatory Letters, let both him be excommunicated who is receiv'd,*

and him, by whom he is receiv'd. Nor was there any Exception added to this Canon, concerning any Privilege on this Account indulg'd to the See of Rome: Therefore here is no greater Power, and consequently no Appeal. But you will say, *Marcion* desires to be receiv'd by the *Romans*; which was to reverse the Sentence before given. Therefore *Marcion* believ'd, and commonly all were then persuaded, that the Reversal of Episcopal and Synodical Sentences was to be sought for from *Rome*. Ridiculous! I have already said, and prov'd it from *St. Cyprian*, that this was the Custom of Hereticks and Schismatics, that when expell'd their own, they rambled to the neighbouring Churches. What therefore did they seek from them? No Man in his Wits will deny, that they sought that Communion and Peace with them, which they had lost among their own Countrymen: For in those Times the Belief of the Unity of the Catholick Church was so thoroughly rooted in the Minds of the Faithful, that as he that was separated from one Church, was banish'd from all; so he that was join'd with one, had access to all by the Commerce of Letters Communicatory. This occasion'd that running up and down of those that were excommunicated. So that if desiring the Communion of the Church of *Rome* is appealing to *Rome*, then they appeal'd likewise to all other Churches. Had we not better say, what all that have any insight into History know to be most true? For because nothing was wont to be done in this matter by Authority, but ἀσυνήκως, as the *Greek* Fathers are used to speak, that is, out of the Duty of Christian Charity; therefore there was no Appeal, nor any inequality of Power for that purpose. Besides that the Clergy of *Rome*, in the Vacancy of the See, had also a Right of giving Communicatory Letters, they themselves shew

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in that Letter which they wrote to St. Cyprian, where they make mention of *Privatus* of *Lambesca*.

Next to *Marcion* Cardinal *Bellarmino* produces *Fortunatus* and *Felix*, who being depos'd in *Africk* by St. Cyprian, went to Rome, and appeal'd to *Cornelius*. This, he says, he has from St. Cyprian, in his iii^d Epistle, which in *Pameli*'s Edition is the lvth. St. Cyprian, good Sir, does not say in that place, either that *Felix* or *Fortunatus* went to Rome: but that *Felicissimus* was sent to Rome, with many others, by *Fortunatus*, an * Intruding or Mock-Bishop, and Ring-leader of Sedition in *Africk*; with whom *Felix* another intruding Bishop took part. That he appeal'd to the Bishop of Rome, is neither said by St. Cyprian, nor is it true. A Schism arising in *Africk*, those two Bishops were made, partly by *Privatus* an old Heretick, partly by a few others, Followers of the same Heresy. When after the Example of St. Cyprian, and others who were of his Opinion, the rest of the *African* Bishops also had, as it were striving who should do it first, pronounc'd these Church-Robbers †, or Usurpers, to be Aliens from the Church; and they had without Success sued for Admission to Communion from City to City through the Provinces of *Africk*; that they might uphold their sinking Faction, many daily returning and knocking (as St. Cyprian says) at the Church-Door, they sent *Felicissimus* to Rome, with most ample Letters from a few intruding Bishops, whom they falsely pretended to be the Catholick Church of *Africk*. It was said above, that it was the Custom of the ancient Church, that they who were promoted to Bishopricks, sent Letters to the other Bishops, thereby to procure other Letters back

* *Pseudo-Episcopo.*

† *Prædones Ecclesiæ.*

from them, by which it might appear, that they were of the same Communion: For by this means they were said to confirm the New Election, who wrote to the new Bishops even from the most remote Countries. Thus *St. Cyprian* and the rest of the *African* Bishops, approve the Creation of Pope *Cornelius*. There is no doubt, but the Letters which *Felicissimus*, Procurator of the intruding Bishops, brought to *Rome*, were upon that Subject; for that was like to be the most effectual Method to deceive the People of *Africk*. Therefore that they might bring Communicatory Letters from *Cornelius*, they did not only make use of Entreaties, which *Cornelius* immediately rejected; but they also apply'd Menaces and Terrors, which almost conquer'd the *Roman* Bishop: But when he was staggering, *St. Cyprian* made him steady by that divine 14th Epistle. But because *Felicissimus* with great Clamour boasted at *Rome*, that he was prepar'd to prove, that himself and his Adherents had been without Cause excommunicated by the Catholicks in *Africk*; and therefore desir'd, that his Cause might have a Rehearing at *Rome*: *St. Cyprian* says a great deal concerning the Injustice of that Request, to dissuade *Cornelius*, who was inclining that way, from a Sentence like to be prejudicial to the Liberty of all the Churches. Great part of that Epistle is employ'd in proving, that the Faith and Discipline of the Church are ruin'd, if the Episcopal Dignity be not inviolably preserv'd, *if * it be not thought that in Christ's stead there is but one Bishop and one Judge at a time in the Church*. But *St. Cyprian* speaks of himself, and of all Bishops in common, who each of them held then several Churches, as Bishops of the whole; and does not speak of the Bishop of *Rome*, as some falsely and

* *Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, & —judeus vice Christi.*
absurdly

absurdly write. On the contrary, in that place *St. Cyprian* does to *Pope Cornelius*, defend his own Right, and that of the rest of the *African* Bishops, against *Cornelius* himself. Did *Felicissimus* therefore Appeal to *Pope Cornelius*, or they who sent him to *Rome*? By no means: But by the Custom of those Times abovemention'd, they brought their Complaint of an Injury, as they thought, receiv'd from their Bishops, first to the *African* Bishops, and then to the Bishop of *Rome*; by equal Right to both. But *St. Cyprian*, who could not bear, that *Cornelius* a holy Man, should use a little more Authority in that matter, than seem'd to agree with Christian Charity, in that he so severely rebukes him in the aforesaid Epistle, and puts him in the same Rank with others; does with one Trouble inform us of two things; that neither in those former Times there was any thing of that nature usually done in the Church of God; and that it ought not to appear wonderful to any one, that in latter Times things have happen'd far more grievous. For new Examples never stop there, where they first begun: the proof of which was not long deferr'd, as will appear from what I shall presently add:

For Cardinal *Bellarmino* goes on, and says: *Not long after, Stephen being Pope, Basilides, who was depos'd in Spain, appeal'd to Stephen. Basilides and Martialis were depos'd in Spain for very great Crimes. But Martialis staying at home, Basilides goes to Rome, where he obtains of Pope Stephen Communicatory Letters, both for himself and for Martialis: Upon his return to Spain both Martialis and he recover'd their Sees. Yet I deny that it can be said, that they appeal'd to the Pope of Rome; they only us'd what I have frequently mention'd to have been the Custom of the ancient Church, when they sought for themselves that help from the Bishop of Rome,*

which without doubt they had in vain expected from the Bishops of the neighbouring Provinces. But *Stephen* perform'd the Office of an Intercessor, or rather of a Witness, but not of a Judge, exercising a superior Authority upon his Brethren, and assuming Dominion over them. It is a most certain and clear Argument of this, and almost palpable in a literal Sense, that as *Basilides* and *Martialis* guarded themselves with the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, against their Collegues in *Spain*, by whom they had been expell'd from their Sees; so their Collegues arm'd themselves against the Sentence of the Bishop of *Rome* with the Judgment of *St. Cyprian*, and of the *African* Bishops. If *Stephen* had pronounc'd Sentence in behalf of the Excommunicate by the Authority of a Supreme Judge, and that Right was ascrib'd to the Bishop of *Rome* in that Age; what did the Authors of the former Sentence mean, when after the return of *Basilides*, they brought the whole Business before the Bishops of *Africk*, and consulted them upon it? *St. Cyprian* in his lxxviiith Epistle says: *When we were met together, we read your Letters, most beloved Brethren.* And then having related the Fact, he adds: *And you desir'd that we should write you an answer to these things, and ease your just and necessary Trouble, either with the Comfort, or with the Assistance of our Sentence.* Then he discusses the Question, and shews them from the Divine Precepts, what ought to be done. Last of all he thus in a few words explains, what was to be judg'd concerning *Stephen's* proceeding: *Nor can be rescind an Ordinance rightly made, because Basilides after having discover'd his Crimes, and laid open his Conscience even by his own Confession, going to Rome, impos'd upon Stephen our Colleague, placed at a distance, and a stranger to the Matter of Fact, and to the Truth, which was con-*

ceas'd

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ceal'd from him, and prevail'd with him to restore him unjustly to his Bishoprick, from which he had been justly depos'd. Even this alone, that with so little difficulty, and with so few words *St. Cyprian* reverses the Sentence of *Stephen*; whether he do this by his own Authority alone, or with the Advice of a few Collegues, whom he consulted in this matter; even this alone, I say, affords no contemptible Argument for the Truth: For if those Prelates had believ'd, that the Pope had then been lawfully appeal'd to, as to a Supreme Tribunal, can it be thought they would have dared to reverse the Sentence of an unaccountable Judge in so light and negligent a manner? But you will say, they revers'd a false Sentence, and one which had been pass'd by a Mistake: If it had been otherwise, that they would have agreed, and acquiesc'd in the Judgment of the Bishop of *Rome*. I do not deny it; but readily confess, that such was the simplicity of that golden Age, that Men of their own accord comply'd with such as advis'd them well, tho' Persons of the meanest Condition, much more with the Bishop of *Rome*, the Successor of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, as well in their Doctrines, as in their Throne. Yet this I say, and affirm it again and again, that those Monarchical commands were in that Age unheard of in the Church of God, which was hitherto free, and subject to no other Lord but Christ. Therefore there was no Sovereign Tribunal at *Rome*, nor any Appeal to the Court of *Rome*.

Thus far the Right of Appeals to the See of *Rome* has been defended by the Examples of Hereticks and Schismatics, whose Doctrine it is not usual to propose in the Church for Proof, nor their Practice for Imitation. But after these Cardinal *Bellarmino* give us Examples of some few holy Men: Of the

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great St. *Athanasius*, who appeal'd to Pope *Julius I.* of St. *John Chrysostom* who appeal'd to *Innocent I.* of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who appeal'd to Pope *Leo*; Lastly even of *Theodore*, who also appeal'd to *Leo*. But here I desire the Reader, who desires to know the Truth, to think it his Interest not to be ignorant, how truly and how appositely these Facts are alledg'd; but to understand and know them thoroughly. Indeed I will not deny, but rather most readily acknowledge, that for a few Ages past there have been Men of great Authority, who to maintain the Right of all Appeals to the See of *Rome*, have produc'd Examples of so great Heroes, and maintain'd that they ought to be a Rule to all good Christians. But to this I have these two Answers. 1st. I utterly deny, that these holy Men did Appeal to the Pope of *Rome*. 2^{dly}. I positively assert, that whatever they did, when compell'd by Necessity, that is wrongfully and absurdly alledg'd in proof of the ordinary Right. But the Reader must remember, that I speak here concerning a true Appeal, that is, an Appeal taken according to the propriety of the Word: For it is a great Mistake, to give the Name of an Appeal to every Petition for help, made by a Person that has suffer'd Injury; whereas that only is a true Appeal, which is made according to the Laws by ordinary Right, and which is made from a less Power to a greater. But where the Power is either none, or equal and the same, that is not appealing, but flying for Refuge. And he that is appeal'd to, how much soever he may excel in Authority, unless the Arbitration of the matter be left to him by both Parties, only does the Office of an Intercessor, and not of a Judge. The humanity of the *Athenians* was of old so much celebrated among the *Grecians*, that many who had been oppress'd by the Injury of such as

were

were too powerful for them, fled from all the Parts of *Greece* to the Altar of Mercy set up at *Athens*, as to a common Refuge. The *Heraclids*, the *Argivi*, the Children of *Hippocrates*, and a thousand others found Help and Assistance there. Yet if any one had said, either at *Lacedæmon*, or at *Thebes*, or among the People of *Megara*, who dwelt in that Neighbourhood, that Men appeal'd to the *Athenians* from all parts of *Greece*, without doubt he would not have escap'd unpunish'd: But rather, so jealous were that People of their Liberty, would have been in great danger of being torn to pieces by those that heard him, or certainly would have been condemn'd of the most stupid Ignorance, for not knowing how to distinguish between the Rule of Right, and the Offices of Humanity. Thus whereas among the People of the *Jews* it was by divine Institution allow'd for Manslayers to fly to certain Cities of Refuge, it were a madness therefore to affirm, that there lay an Appeal to those Cities. In a word, it is one thing to procure an Intercessor against an angry Father, or to desire the Assistance of a Friend against an Enemy, and to leave the judgment of the Cause to him; and another, to appeal from the unjust Sentence of an inferior Judge to that of the *Prætor*, or from the *Prætor* to the Prince. That St. *Athanasius* therefore, and St. *Chrysostom*, *Flavianus*, and other holy Men implor'd the Assistance of the Popes against manifest Violence, I readily acknowledge; and I own and willingly declare, that the Church of *Rome* cannot be sufficiently commended upon that account; that she hath by the same means both defended the true Faith against the mad Opinions of *Arius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and other ancient Hereticks; and reach'd forth her hand to the Relief of faithful Bishops suffering for the same Cause; but

but I assert that it is improper and dangerous to call that an Appeal, which was no more than suing for help, seeing that, as we have already observ'd, there is no Appeal properly so call'd, but to a greater Power. Therefore when St. *Athanasius*, St. *Chrysostom*, and *Flavianus* submitted their Sees to the Decrees of Councils, he that says they appeal'd to another Council, says what is true, and agreeable to the Ancients: For as yet that Age own'd no superior Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs, but that of a greater Council, or perhaps of the Prince, of which I shall speak hereafter. But if you say, that they appeal'd to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, or of *Jerusalem*, or to the Pope of *Rome*, you speak either falsely, or improperly: falsely, if you mean a true Appeal: but improperly, if you speak only of a Petition for help. There are many things extant of their own Writing, concerning the Cases of St. *Athanasius*, and St. *John Chrysostom*: but I deny that there can so much as one Passage be produc'd out of them, where they have said, that they appeal'd to *Rome*. I deny likewise, that either *Socrates*, or *Theodoret*, or *Sozomen* ever us'd the word of appealing in that Affair. For the Historians say nothing else of St. *Athanasius*, but that he went to *Rome*, to consult his safety; nor any thing more of St. *Chrysostom*, than this, that he sent Letters to *Innocent*, and the Bishops of the West, in which he inform'd them of the Injury he had suffer'd, and desir'd their Help and Assistance. I have shew'd in the beginning of this Disquisition, that the ancient Bishops had so great a regard for the Unity of the Church, that each of them thought, that in some sort the Care of the universal Church belong'd to him: And this was the reason, that an Injury offer'd to any one of them, concern'd them all. Therefore although the Apostolick Canons, and those of the Council of
Nica,

Nice, and many others requir'd, that all Controversies should be determin'd in those Provinces, in which they first arose; yet as often as any one was not able to obtain a fair Hearing in his own proper Ecclesiastical Court, the Cause was remov'd to any other Bishops, or rather the Arbitration of the matter submitted to them; nor did they decline the Trouble of it, who were apply'd to in any such Case: Yet what they did was by no other Right, than that of the universal Episcopacy, which I have explain'd above, and of Christian Charity, the Cement that compacted them all together, and made them one Body. Thus *Sozomen* in his viiith Book relates, that *Ammonius* and *Isidore* sought Relief from *St. John Chrysostom* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, against the Injuries done them by *Theophilus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*. Was there a Right therefore of appealing from the Patriarch of *Alexandria* to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*? By no means: but the Offices of Humanity are very different from, and of more extent than the observance of strict Right. By what Right therefore did they apply themselves to *St. Chrysostom*? This Question is thus satisfy'd by the Words of *Sozomen's* Relation of the Fact: *ὡντο γὰρ ἐνδίκῃ παρρησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελόμενον, δύνασθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς* for they thought, says he, that *St. John Chrysostom*, through his Concern for preserving lawful Liberty, could give them Help in a just Cause. The learned Writer calls that Care to procure the Advantage of the universal Church *ἐπιμέλεια ἐνδίκῃ παρρησίας*, common to all Bishops: For *παρρησία ἐνδίκῃ* is that lawful Right of taking Care, which (as has been often observ'd) is in the *Clementine* Constitutions styl'd *ἡ καθόλου ἐπισκοπή*, the Inspection and Oversight of the whole. And thus *Socrates* plainly speaks in his ii^d Book, when he calls that Letter of Pope *Julius*, which

which he writ to St. *Atbanasius* and the other Bishops in Exile, that they might be restor'd to their Sees, *παρρησιασινὰ γράμματα*, a Letter wrote with that Liberty, which belongs to every Bishop, but especially to the Prelate of the chief See. If any one had rather refer it to the Liberty of the Church, 'tis all one; for then will be meant that Care, which the Pastors ought to have, to preserve the Liberty of every one of the Faithful, especially of the Ecclesiasticks, as these were; that the weaker be not oppress'd by the stronger, as *Ammonius* and *Isidore* complain'd had happen'd to them. Afterwards *Sozomen* * adds, that St. *John Chrysostom* wrote to *Theophilus*, to receive those Fugitives into Communion, because they were orthodox in the Faith. If he thought their Cause was to be rehear'd, that he would send τὸ δικάσόμενον, that is, some body to begin the Process against them. For St. *Chrysostom* takes upon him the Part of a Judge by the same Right, that he afterwards when condemn'd by a Faction, brought the Judgment of his Cause before *Innocent*, and other Bishops. In that Epistle of St. *Chrysostom* to Pope *Innocent*, the ordinary Right is excellently distinguish'd from the extraordinary: For he says of *Theophilus*, and of himself; *But we being absent, and desiring to assemble a Council, and earnestly praying for Judgment, not declining the Hearing of our Cause, but only complaining of Injuries, they yet admitted our Accusers.* And soon after: *Getting (says he) on board a Ship, I sail'd by Night, because I was willing to call a Council for the hearing of that Cause.* And a little below: *Going in to the Emperor we begg'd, that he would call a Council to revenge their Wickedness.* And presently: *We trusting in our own Conscience urg'd the most pious Emperor to*

* *Hist. Eccl. lib. viii. c. 13.*

assemble a Council. And after a few Words: *We continu'd incessantly requesting, that there might be a Trial, in which we might be heard and judg'd.* This was the true Discipline of those times. A Synod maliciously deposes the Patriarch: He against a Synod of his Enemies appeals to another Synod, namely to a greater, or even to a General Council: here is not one Word of the Pope of *Rome*. But when *St. Chrysostom's* lawful Petition was despis'd, and all things carry'd by Violence, nor any Place left for Ecclesiastical Discipline: then at last the holy Man is forc'd to use an extraordinary Right, and beg Help from his Brethren. Hence those Letters of his to the Eastern and Western Bishops, but especially to *Innocent* Bishop of *Rome*, as Prelate of the chief See, and of the chief Authority. Therefore after he had said so expressly, and repeated it so often, that he being willing to make use of a Canonical way of Proceeding, did appeal to a Council, but without Success: At length declaring the Injuries that had been done to him, and to other pious Bishops: *Therefore, says he, my most Holy and Reverend Lords, do ye, thinking on these things, apply that Authority and Care, which is suitable and worthy of your Constancy; and avert, we beseech you, this great Calamity, which has invaded the Churches.* And then he desires, that they would exert a vigorous Censure upon his Adversaries; and if it should be necessary, undertake the Hearing of his Cause: And by this means the Cognizance of the Cause between *St. Chrysostom* and *Theophilus* was brought before Pope *Innocent*, and the *Western Bishops*; and that (as you see) by the Complaint of *St. Chrysostom* himself.

In the Cause of *St. Athanasius* it happen'd a little otherwise: For both Parties invited Pope *Julius* to bring the Hearing of that Cause before himself. Af-

ter the Fall of St. *Athanasius* a Synod of pious Bishops was conven'd, who wrote a Synodical Letter to all the Bishops of the whole World, and also sent Legates to the more considerable Churches, to shew the Innocence of St. *Athanasius* to them all, and exhort them universally to espouse his Cause. This Letter, says St. *Athanasius* in his *Apolo-*
logy for his flying away, was sent both to all the other Bishops, and to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*. So that by writing that Letter the Synod did as it were sound an Alarm against St. *Athanasius*'s Enemies; and at the same time constituted Judges of his Cause, all the Bishops who were in a condition to help him. Afterwards were added the Prayers, not only of St. *Athanasius*, when he was come into the City, but also of the other Bishops, who were likewise in Exile there; And these were Men of great Authority and Reputation, viz. *Paul* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, and *Asclepas* Bishop of *Gaza*. But that the other Party also brought the Cause before *Julius*, St. *Athanasius* shews, and the Historians from him. These are that Father's Words in the same Book: *Moreover the Eusebians also wrote a Letter to Julius; and because they thought they should strike Terror into us, they desir'd a Synod might be conven'd, and that Julius himself, if he pleas'd, might be made Judge of their Cause.* This Letter of *Eusebius*'s Faction seems to have come to *Rome* before St. *Athanasius* got thither, or the Holy Synod's Epistle was deliver'd to *Julius*: For *Theodoret* writes thus: *Julius* having receiv'd *Eusebius*'s Letter, τὸ τῆ ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ μὲν νόμῳ καὶ ὡτὲς καὶ λαλαβεῖν ἢ Ῥώμῃ ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὸ Θεῖον Ἀθανάσιον εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐκάλεσε, according to the Direction of the Ecclesiastical Law commanded the Eusebians themselves to come to *Rome*, and call'd the Divine *Athanasius* to plead his Cause. What Ecclesiastical

Law,

Law does *Theodore* mean in this Place? No written Law certainly; but either that Custom, which was mention'd above, when we spoke of the Confirmation of Synods: or he thus calls an unwritten Custom, confirm'd by the use of the Church, which in any Disagreement among the Churches appointed as Judge of the Controversy any Bishop, to whom one Party had appeal'd, if the other Party were not unwilling, as was prov'd above. But that this Honour was chiefly given to the Patriarchal Sees, is worthy of Belief, and of all most especially to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had always some chief Prerogative of Dignity among his Brethren. Therefore *Sozomen* and *Socrates* intimate, that on this occasion Pope *Julius* made mention of the Privileges of the *Roman* See, which yet the Historians inform us, were his'd at by the Eastern Bishops: But I have shewn, that there was another more weighty Cause, which gave him Right to interpose his Authority in this Affair, and especially that Synodical Epistle, a Copy of which we have in *St. Athanasius*, and which (as the Title shews) was sent τοῖς ἀπανταχῇ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόποις, to all the Bishops of the Catholick Church wheresoever.

And now, candid Reader, you understand how much Injury they do to Pope *Julius* and Pope *Innocent*, who assert that they did, contrary to the Custom of the Church, of their own Heads, and relying solely on their own Authority, assume to themselves the cognizance of the Causes of *St. Athanasius* and *St. Chrysostom*.

It remains that I speak of *Flavianus*. This illustrious Person was in the ii^d Council of *Ephesus* by the contrivance of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who presided over that Conventicle of Robbers (as it was call'd) depriv'd both of his See by Deposition,

tion, and also by Blows, of his Life. * *Liberatus* writes thus concerning him (*in Breviario Causæ Nest.*) *Flavianus*, when Sentence was pronounc'd against him, by his Legats appeal'd in Writing to the Apostolick See. From what has been hitherto said upon the like Cases of St. *Athanasius* and St. *Cbrystom*, it appears, that *Liberatus* spoke; both after a new manner, because they did not use to speak so before him, as has been prov'd; and also improperly, because *Flavianus* did not appeal to the Bishop of Rome only, but barely interpos'd an Appeal: For the Acts of the Synod express it thus, *After the Sentence was pronounc'd against Flavianus, then Flavianus said, I appeal from Thee.* Which most short Form of Appeal ought by all means to be interpreted by the common Law of that time. Now I have observ'd that it was the common Law, that Men should appeal from one Synod to another; or if that Hope fail'd, that Help should be sought from the Bishops of the more powerful Churches. There is no doubt, but this was what *Flavianus* meant: But it happen'd at that time, that even the orthodox Bishops yielding to impious Violence, and subscribing his Condemnation, there were but a few, who behav'd themselves like Men: among these were the Legats of Pope *Leo*, Men of exceeding Piety and great Courage, *Hilarus*, who was afterwards Pope, and *Renatus*; and as *Flavianus* interpos'd his Appeal, so did *Hilarus* his Protest. Say the Acts of the Council, *Hilarus Deacon of the Church of Rome said, It is gainsaid.* Therefore *Flavianus* despairing of his Cause, deliver'd him an Appeal in Writing, namely to that end, that when he return'd to *Leo*, he might excite him to cause by his Authority, that so great a Wickedness should

* Vide Evagr. Scholast. Hist. Eccl. c. xviii. p. 309, 321. Edit. Vales.
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not go unpunish'd. That this was *Liberatus* his Meaning, such as have any Knowledge in the Ecclesiastick History of those times will not deny, if they be careful not to postpone the naked Truth to their own Prejudices. It is without cause, that Cardinal *Baronius* does, on occasion of this one Word *appello* in *Liberatus*, so immoderately cry out *Io Triumphe!* but there are many of these juvenile Expressions in his *Annals*, at which I have sometimes been greatly amaz'd: as when he says, that God permitted the heavenly Man *St. John Chrysostom* to be overwhelm'd with so great Calamities, that no one might doubt of the *Roman Pontiff's* Supremacy in the Church: and when no other cause of all the Misfortunes, that have happen'd to any Prince or Province, is usually assign'd in his *Annals*, but this one, that either by Word or Deed they have offended the Majesty of the Pope of *Rome*. I am not ignorant, what and how great Deference the Ancients paid to the Bishops of *Rome*; but as yet we have found no Expressions in the ancient Fathers like these, and five hundred others in his *Annals*. What, did it seem so great an Argument to the Cardinal for establishing the Monarchy of the Church of *Rome*, that *Liberatus* said, *Flavianus* had appeal'd to the Bishop of that See? But he should consider, that the contrary appears from many, and those certain Arguments, that Ecclesiastical Historians of more repute than *Liberatus*, have made no mention of this kind of Appeals, neither in the case of this *Flavianus*, nor any where else; that *St. Athanasius*, when he was so often condemn'd, and endur'd so many Afflictions in *Egypt* and *Asia*, and was afterwards also sent to *Treves*, either to lay him aside, or to banish him, did not so much as once in so many Years time make use of the expeditious Remedy of this Appeal; that *St. Chrysostom* being condemn'd by

an unjust Sentence appeal'd no whither but to a Synod; that neither of those Fathers, when they relate their own Misfortunes, ever wrote, that they had appeal'd to the *Roman* Bishops, *Julius* and *Innocent*; that those very Bishops acted nothing at all in this Affair by a Monarchical Authority; but making use of the common Right, procured the Cause to be reheard; sent Letters to the Churches, attesting the Innocence of those Fathers, and their own Communion with them; and then interceded with the Emperors for them when in Banishment, as *Julius* did with *Constantius*, and *Innocent* with *Honorius*; that when at first there began to arise in the Church some light Suspicion of this (pretended) Right, by which all Matters are drawn to the *Roman* Pontiff, the pious Bishops oppos'd themselves against it, as I have shewn of *St. Cyprian*, and shall hereafter observe of divers Synods. Lastly, he should consider, that this *Liberatus* liv'd in those times, in which there were not wanting such, as either of their own Accord ascrib'd that Right to the Church of *Rome*, or seconded her Claim when she began to challenge it to her self. But we are not here inquiring, what a few Bishops of *Rome*, perhaps more desirous of enlarging their Power than they ought, have said or thought (of which I shall speak in the Sequel) but what the universal Church of those times concerning which we are speaking, both believ'd and practis'd. But that there may be no Place for Calumny, I will shew as clearly as the Light, that the ancient Writers do sometimes make use of the Word *Appeal*, when they speak of those, who desire Help from any one, not judicially, but in the way of Charity, and as the *Latin* Divines of the middle Age speak, *charitative*, as an Office of brotherly Love. The Fathers of the holy Synod, which assembled upon the Expulsion
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of St. *Athanasius*, after they have besought all the Bishops to give St. *Athanasius* the Right Hand of Fellowship, to condole the Injury done him, and to testify their Indignation against the Authors of his Sufferings, add these Words, ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἐκδίκους καὶ τὴν τοιαύτης ἀδικίας ἐπικαλέμεθα, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τὸ ἀποδοτικόν, ἐξάρατε τὸ πόνηρον ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, which were to be translated thus: *for we appeal to you as Avengers of so great Injustice, calling to your Mind that of the Apostle, Put away from among your selves that wicked Person.* But this Synodical Epistle was not particularly sent to the Bishop of Rome, nor to any other of those Prelates, who had then most Power in the Church; but generally (as appears from the Title which was set down above) to all the Bishops of the whole Catholick Church. For which Reason after this Letter St. *Athanasius* adds these words, Ταῦτα οἱ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς πάντας καὶ πρὸς Ἰβλίων τὸ ἐπίσκοπον τὸν Ῥώμης, *These things the Egyptians (wrote) as well to all, as to Julius Bishop of Rome.* If I had a Mind to cavil, I could say, that the holy Synod appeal'd from a factious Synod to any Bishop; for that may be imply'd in those Words, ἐκδίκους ἐπικαλέμεθα, *we appeal to as Avengers.* The Greeks call an * Appeal ἐκκλησίᾳ, or ἐκκλησίᾳ δίκῃ, and to appeal ἐπικαλεῖσθαι. Observe St. Paul's Word in the *Acts*, καίσαρα ἐπικαλέσμαι, *I appeal unto Cæsar*; and often in the 25th Chapter. But who could bear any one that should assert, that it was lawful by equal Right to appeal to every single Bishop from the Sentence of a Synod, by an Appeal properly so call'd? Let us acknowledge therefore, that ἐπικαλεῖσθαι *to appeal* in this Synodical Letter, and *appellare* in *Liberatus*, and in like Places, which very seldom occur, ought to be understood of the imploring of that Help, which Christian Charity and the Pastoral Care is oblig'd

* Or the Person appeal'd to. Vide Bud. Com. Ling. Gr. p. 67.

to yield to the Injured. And therefore Pope Celestine in his Epistle to the Clergy of Constantinople, writes thus concerning the Flight of St. Athanasius to the Roman See : *ἐν τῷ τῷ θρόνῳ*, says he, *ὅπου κοινωνίας ἀνάπαυσιν, ἀφ' ἧς αἰετοῖς καθολικοῖς γεννᾶται βοήθεια*, *he found the Consolation of Communion in this See, from whence the Catholics always receiv'd Help.* It is evidently so, as Celestine says : They who fled for Refuge to the more powerful Sees, as soon as they had prov'd the Integrity of their Faith, were receiv'd to brotherly Communion, and had Letters given them, (the Ecclesiastical History calls them *τύπες*, *Letters of form*, and *παρηρησιαστικά γράμματα*, and *συστατικά*, *apologetick and commendatory Letters*) as Evidences and Credentials of their orthodox Faith : and then having receiv'd that Pledge as it were of Hospitality, where-ever they came they were entertain'd as Brethren by the Catholics. Therefore this Communication of Peace, or Appeal of Fraternity (as Tertullian speaks) is by Celestine rightly styl'd *κοινωνίας ἀνάπαυσις*, *Consolation of Communion*, as what was a mere Office of Humanity, flowing from the Fountain of Christian Charity. For this Reason Sidonius says, that Lupus Bishop of Troyes, a Prelate formerly of great Authority in France, and as he himself calls him, *Bishop of Bishops*, did as it were from a certain Watch-Tower of Charity oversee all the Members of the Church of God. And Pope Julius owns, that he himself was lead by Charity to hear the Cause of St. Athanasius, and not by that vain and empty Arrogancy, which the holy Fathers so much detest. Julius's Words are in his Answer to the Bishops of the Council of Antioch : *What (says he) is it not an Argument of Charity, that we sent Presbyters to partake of the Griefs of the Afflicted, and to exhort those to come hither, who had written to me, (he means the Eusebians,*
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who themselves had brought the Cause before him) *that Controversies ended, all things may be compos'd as soon as may be; and neither our Brethren suffer, nor you be ill spoken of by any.*

I have said enough concerning the Appeals of *St. Athanasius*, *St. Chrysostom*, and *Flavianus*, which are us'd to be so much urg'd by the Patrons of our modern Liberty, on account of that very great Authority, which those holy Martyrs (for so I may deservedly call them) had in the Church. I will add nothing in particular concerning *Theodore*: for the Reason is the same in his Case and all others: and I never had the Fortune to see in *Greek* that Epistle of his to Pope *Leo*: which yet how important a matter it is, I am sorry to say, as often as I have experienc'd it in perusing the Monuments of Ecclesiastical History. Now to what has been said above I will add this, that it is absurd, when the Question is concerning the ordinary Right of Ecclesiastical Discipline, to bring in those Instances, which happen'd at a time, when Violence and Injury were every where predominant, and all the Rights of the Church overwhelm'd: For this was a more immediate and a truer Cause, why *St. Athanasius* betook himself to the *West*, because he could do no otherwise. Within the Church Havock was made by the *Arians*, Men violent, wicked, and upon all Accounts detestable. Without the Church the Rage of *Constantius*, an heretical Prince, wasted all the Churches throughout the *East*. The orthodox were every where depos'd, sent into Banishment, sacrific'd; the *Arians* had a Licence to do whatever they had a Mind with Impunity: and they had a mind to do all things, that were grievous and destructive to the Orthodox. Therefore *St. Athanasius* is dethron'd, and requir'd to be given up as a Sacrifice by most cruel Men; what

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should he do? Which way could he turn himself? Whence should he seek for Help? Should this admirable Man then have never stirr'd his Foot out of those Caverns, in which he is said to have absconded so many Years? And shall there be such as boast of it as a great matter, that St. *Athanasius* went from *Egypt*, and out of the *East*, to *Rome*? Indeed the extraordinary Indulgence of our most merciful and great God towards the Church of *Rome* appear'd, when he appointed that and most of the *Western* Churches, as Bulwarks for so many Ages against those Pestilences of the *East*, *Arius*, *Apollinaris*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and others: For although there was then another Reason, yet both when St. *Chrysostom* was expell'd out of the City of *Constantinople*, and when *Flavianus* was beaten to Death at *Ephesus*, the Conditions of the *Eastern* Church was not much, either more glorious or more happy, than in the Life-time of St. *Athanasius*. It was but just therefore, that in their Afflictions holy Men should turn their Eyes to the West, when there both the Orthodox Faith flourish'd, (on which Account St. *Basil* congratulates them so often) and their Princes were of sound Faith and great Piety: such as were the Emperors *Constantine* the younger, and *Constans*, who labour'd in St. *Athanasius*'s Cause, and *Honorius*, who did the same in St. *Chrysostom*'s. But what things were then done by good Men, partly such as were drove by Necessity to make use of all the Methods of Extremity; and partly such, whose Bowels were mov'd with Charity and Compassion, to attempt any thing for the Relief of the Afflicted; to make such things a perpetual Law of the Church, is perfect Madness and Infatuation: For be it granted, that Pope *Julius* and *Innocent* transgress'd the Bounds of their lawful Power, usurp'd a Right over their Brethren till then

then never made use of, and that (you may add if you please) a Right which was not lawful: Yet they were not without Reason for what they did, when such was the Condition of the times, that as the Physicians speak, desperate Remedies were to be apply'd to desperate Diseases. Therefore where the ordinary Right ceas'd, there was Room for and indeed Need of the Duties of extraordinary Charity. They are those, which the *Greek* Sages, as was observ'd in the preceding Chapter, call'd Duties $\kappa\tau\ \omega\pi\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$, in Extremity, as it were extorted from them by the very Necessity of the Times. And as often as a like Tempest lies upon, either the State or the Church, it is necessary for good Men to do many things, which are inconsistent with lawful Order; yet because those things are done for the Preservation of the State or of the Church, they are not only excus'd and tolerated, but accounted worthy of the highest Praise. To convene the People, go to them, and harangue them in publick Assembly, was lawful at *Rome* only for the Magistrates; for others to attempt it was a Crime, and that punish'd with Death. And the same Law ever obtain'd in all well instituted Governments: Yet *Menenius Agrippa* did this, and was commended for it by all Men: For the Disturbance of the Common-wealth by Sedition exacted that Duty from him as a good Subject. Who can deny but it was an Offence against the Majesty of the *Roman* People, to call the Populace to Arms, set himself at the Head of them, and kill a Citizen, and even a *Tribune* of the People? Yet *Publius Scipio Nasica*, when *Tiberius Gracchus* had rais'd a Sedition, because *Mucius* the Consul acted too slowly, commanding all that desir'd the Safety of the Republick to follow him, pursu'd *Gracchus* into the *Capital*, and kill'd him: and this Action of *Scipio's*

was by *Mucius* himself not only defended by many Decrees of the Senate, but even extoll'd. Now if any one should produce these Instances to one, that were enquiring after the lawful Form of the *Roman* Government, and the ordinary Law of the City, and should refer such Actions to the accusom'd Right, would you think such a Man deserv'd to be thought in his Wits, and not rather a Mad-man to be carry'd about for a Sight? And yet they evidently do this, who would form Arguments for establishing the Right of Appeals from a few Instances of good Men flying for Refuge to the *West*, and to *Rome*, when their Affairs, were desperate in the *East*; and contrary to the Precept of Pope *Honorius*, draw into Ecclesiastical Doctrines what has been practis'd by a few Bishops (I speak of those of elder times) for the Sake of the publick Good, and by a certain Dispensation, as Divines speak. I wish they would rather call that Rule to mind, which was cited above from *St. Athanasius*, and deservedly commended, WHAT THINGS ARE WRITTEN OR DONE BY DISPENSATION, OUGHT NOT TO BE MALICIOUSLY INTERPRETED.

And thus much for the matter of Fact, as far as it relates to those times, concerning which we are speaking. I am to speak next of the matter of Right; to treat accurately of which, by Reason of the Inventions of some, wherein there is more Subtlety than Truth, requires another Dissertation, in which the impartial Reader shall have abundant Satisfaction, as to all those Objections that are usually made. The Truth of the matter, to give the Sum of it in short, is this: Before the Council of *Sardica* we do not meet with the least Word of any exprefs Provision in this matter; but it appears that the Catholick Church so made use of that Right, that the Practice of Extra-Provincial Appeals was

altogether unknown. This Vertue the Use of communicatory Letters had, as I have already shewn: For no Person could be absolv'd, who was bound by an Ecclesiastical Censure, but by the very Bishop that had bound him. To what purpose therefore was it to appeal? Unless perhaps the Appeal was made from the Bishop and Presbyters of one Church to an Assembly of more Bishops, and from thence to a Synod of Comprovincial Bishops, where the Bishop who was appeal'd from, was also present. The Rights of Patriarchal Sees were unknown in the first Ages. And that the Church of Rome had no extraordinary Right in this Behalf is evidently demonstrated from the Example of *Marcion*, which was discuss'd above. Yet I do not deny, that there were some even in those times, who being condemn'd by a Sentence in their own, went to the neighbouring Provinces, and sometimes also to Rome, that they might obtain Peace. For that that was done sometimes is evident even from hence, that in the XXXIII^d Canon (Apostolick, as they call it) but certainly most ancient, this Reason is alledg'd, why it is so expressly provided, that no Stranger be receiv'd without the commendatory Letters of his own Bishop: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ συναγωγῶν γίνεσθαι, *that many things are done by Stealth*. The Sense of which Words is, that those Bishops who admit such Wanderers without communicatory Letters, and assume to themselves the Hearing of their Causes, are often deceiv'd by being stolen upon unawares. For which Reason also St. Cyprian, in that most noble Epistle to Pope Cornelius, alleges this Canon of the ancient Church, and calls it just and righteous, against those desperate Stroulers, and wretched Men (as he styles them) who went from *Africk* to Rome: *Let every one's Cause be heard there, where his Crime was committed.* By which

which Canon all Appeals both to *Rome*, and any whither else out of the Bounds of the Province, are so plainly forbidden, that they had need have a great Confidence in the Subtlety of their Wit, who are not afraid to encounter with so manifest a Truth. There are only XX Canons of the Council of *Nice* now extant: and it is certain that only those were from the beginning put into the Body of Canons, which was made use of by both the *Eastern* and *Western* Church. In them there is not the least Word concerning the Right of Appeals; and in the III^d Canon, which is concerning the Creation of Bishops, are these Words: τὸ ὁ κῦρς ὁ γινόμενον γίνεσθαι κατ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μετروπολίτῃ, *the Authority and Confirmation of all things done in every Province belongs to the Metropolitan.* From whence I collect, that the Rights of Patriarchal Sees, concerning which the Councils of later Ages have made so many Decrees, were not as yet enough known; although the VIth Canon of the same Fathers confirms those Sees, which were already approv'd of by former Custom. Not long after follow'd the Council of *Antioch*: the IVth Canon of which declares, that depos'd Bishops have no other Hope of Restitution, left but in another Synod: And farther the following Canons injoin, that this Synod consist only of the Comprovincial Bishops, or of those of the next Province. The XVth Canon provides thus: *If a Bishop accus'd of any Crimes shall be condemn'd by all the Bishops of the Province, and they shall all pronounce one unanimous Sentence against him; let not his Cause be reheard before others, but let the Sentence of the Bishops of the Province continue firm and valid.* And it is enjoin'd by the preceding Canon, if the Comprovincial Bishops do not agree about the Cause of any Bishop, that the Metropolitan of the next Province, in conjunction with
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other Bishops, have the Cause heard before them. I know that in the Cause of *St. Chrysostom* some wicked Men, who alledg'd this Canon with an ill Design, were repuls'd with that Exception, that *Semi-Arians*, the sworn Enemies of the great *Atbanasius*, had been the Authors of it. And indeed they deserve everlasting Infamy, who gave so much Trouble and Vexation to so great Men: But the Case of the Canons themselves is different from that of the Author of them. For which Reason the ancient Church, which did not refuse the good Laws even of the worst Princes, did with great Consent, as well in the *East* as in the *West*, ascribe so much Authority to the Canons of this Council, that she both immediately plac'd them in the ancient Body of her Canon-Law, and afterwards constantly continued the same Honour to them. But of this more elsewhere.

The Council of *Antioch* was soon follow'd by that of *Sardica*, which was always of great Authority among the Orthodox: For it confirm'd the *Nicene* Faith, and absolv'd *St. Atbanasius* from the senseless Calumnies thrown upon him. Yet that the Ancients did not account that a General Council is commonly known, to such at least as are not ignorant of the Names of the seven General Councils, known almost to every Body. For tho' the Bishops of both the *Eastern* and *Western* Empire were call'd to it; and accordingly, as *St. Atbanasius* tells us, it was celebrated by a great Concourse of Bishops; yet no Man doubts, but that very few of the *Eastern* Bishops were present at the drawing up of the Canons; which without dispute was the Reason, why the Ancients never accounted this a General Council. So that it is very strange, that in the late Editions of the Councils it has a fictitious and false Title given it: But what is the Aim
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of this additional Undertaking, and of many other sinister Attempts like this, even such as are half-blind may see clearly. I have already observ'd how different the Condition of the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches was in those times under the Reign of *Constantius* ; when those of the *West*, by the peculiar Mercy of Christ, preserv'd the true Faith, though not every where, yet at least in the chief Cities, and especially at *Rome* ; whereas the *Eastern* Churches being torn to pieces in a miserable manner, openly encourag'd manifold Heresies, and retain'd the Orthodox Faith but in few Places. For which Reason *Osius* of *Corduba*, and the other holy *Western* Fathers of that Council, who before in the Case of St. *Athanasius* had more than once observ'd, how much Assistance there was in the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, that they might open that *Asylum* as it were to those of the *Western* Empire, against the cruel Persecution of the *Arians*, introduc'd a new Law : For they decreed, that if any Bishop were depos'd, he might appeal to *Rome*, and desire a Rehearing of his Cause before the Bishop of that See. That this was a new Law appears even from the Words of *Osius*, who was the Author and Adviser of it. In the IVth Canon it is thus written : *Bishop Osius said, But if any Bishop hath been adjudg'd in any Cause, and thinks he has good Reason to be allow'd a Rehearing, if you approve of it, let us Honour the Memory of St. Peter, that the Bishop of Rome be written to, either by those who try'd the Cause, or also by other Bishops who dwell in the Neighbourhood ; and if he give his Judgment that the Trial be renew'd, let it be renew'd, and let him appoint Judges : But if he approve of such a Cause, that those things which are already done may not be acted over again, whatever the Bishop of Rome decrees shall be confirm'd.* If therefore all of you ap-

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prove of this, let it be decreed. The Synod answer'd, We approve of it. If all Appeals had been brought to the See of *Rome* by Divine Right, as is now loudly contended; or this Right had been ascrib'd to that See by the *Nicene* Canons, what need had there been of this Canon, and a few others which follow it? Or who does not understand, that the thing was introduc'd by *Osius*, concerning which nothing had been decreed to that Day? For this is most evidently what *Osius* would have then understood, when he said, *If you approve of it, let us honour the Memory of St. Peter.* Whether it was the Intent of the Fathers of the Council of *Sardica*, to oblige all the Bishops both of the *East* and *West* by their Decrees, I will not rashly determine. Such was certainly the Condition of those times, that it was to be wish'd by Godly Men, that the Force of that Decree might extend not only to the extreme part of the *East*, bordering upon the *West*, whither the Empire of old *Rome* reach'd, but universally through both Empires. But when I have proved, that that Council was never reckon'd among the General Councils, to imagine that Decrees made by the *Western* Bishops had the Force of an obligatory Law in the *East*, is more than a childish Mistake. The Council of *Antioch* had been celebrated a little before, which return'd a very sharp Answer to the Letters of Pope *Julius*, concerning the restoring of *St. Athanasius*, decreed in the Council of *Rome*. They wrote back to *Julius*, says *Sozomen*, a declamatory Letter, compos'd in the Stile of a Pleading at Law, very full of Irony, and not destitute of the severest Threats. They added afterwards, that as they had not oppos'd themselves against the Bishop of *Rome*, when he had excommunicated *Novatian*: so he had no Right of contradicting them, whenever they cast any of their own Bishops out of the Church.

In the same Letter, whereas the Oriental Bishops seem'd to yield to the Bishop of *Rome* by way of deference, τὰ πρῶτα, that is, some Prerogative of Honour, as to the First-born among his Brethren; because *Rome* had been from the beginning the School of the Apostles, and Metropolis of Piety, they presently shew'd openly with what Intent they said this, adding these Words, *Although they came from the East to Rome, who had taught them the Christian Religion*, which was plainly overthrowing the former Words: therefore *Sozomen* rightly says, that the *Romans* were commended in that Letter by an Irony. But that which follows does more shew their Meaning: for they openly take back the Honour, which they seem'd to have given, and recal their Grant; for they add, *that they desire that they might not therefore be postpon'd to the second Place, if they did not so much abound in the Greatness and Plenty of their Church*: Pleasant Men indeed, who so yielded the principal Place to the Bishop of *Rome*, as yet not to suffer themselves to be put back to the second Place. But if no one is second or third, as it is with those who stand round in a Ring, neither can any one be first. Theirs was a like merry Conceit, or rather Ambition and Emulation, who in the Canon of the Council of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, which gives *Constantinople* the Honour of the first See $\mu\tau\prime$ ἢ $\rho\acute{o}\mu\eta\varsigma$, after the Bishop of *Rome*, pretended that the Word $\mu\tau\prime$, after, was so to be understood, that New *Rome* was not postpon'd to the Old; which was not witty, but plainly ridiculous: For there can be no Order, if there be not some one first for the rest to follow. Therefore *Zonaras* does justly explode this Interpretation. But what the Oriental Bishops add in the same Epistle is plainly contumelious: $\omega\varsigma \alpha\epsilon\tau\eta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\ \nu\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, as *excelling in Vertue and good*

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Manners. I do not mention these things with that Intent, as to approve of them : (for I remember by whom they are written, and for what end :) but to shew, that the *Oriental* Bishops had then and always so much Spirit, that they would have receiv'd those Canons of the Council of *Sardica* with great Clamours, if any one had obtruded this new Right upon them. Neither would I have that understood of the Wicked only, and such as defend heretical Doctrines; but also of the Orthodox, and truly Pious. Who ever liv'd that was more illustrious for Piety and true Humility, than the great *St. Basil*? Who more worthy of all Christian Praise, than *Gregory Nazianzen*? But they at least who have read the Epistles of these Fathers know, what was their Opinion, what and how just their Complaints of the Arrogancy, Pride, and unreasonable Desire of Rule τὸ δούλειον, of the *Occidental* Bishops, that is, of the Bishop of *Rome*, as I shall presently prove, by producing their most modest Words. The *Oecumenical* Council of *Constantinople* was Orthodox, of whose Epistle to the *Roman* Synod *Theodoret* gives us a Copy in his Vth Book, not unlike that of the *Antiochian* Fathers: For this also is ironical, and pretends one Meaning, when being well considered it has another, insomuch that it easily appears, that even Orthodox and Holy Men in the *East* did upon Terms of so much Equality court the Majesty of the Church of *Rome*, as yet to think themselves in full Possession of their Liberty, nor to be any way inferior to that See, but only with respect to Order and Precedence. Therefore *Zonaras* and the other Interpreters of the Canon Law of the *Greeks*, as often as they dispute concerning the Right of Appeals, or interpret the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, do most grievously complain of the *Romans* and their corrupt Interpretations: and to this not
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General Council of *Sardica* they oppose two General Councils, those of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*, which ascribe the same Rights to the Bishops of New, as to those of Old *Rome*. And by the ixth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, all Appeals to the Royal City of *Constantinople* are rejected: which is to be understood of the Provinces of the *Eastern* Empire. But they who here seek a Difficulty where there is none, and bid us go to Pope *Nicholas* for a true Interpretation of that Canon, should invent a few Instances at least, to prove that in those times the Decree of the Council of *Sardica* had taken Place in the *East*. What! will they deny that after that Council many Bishops were depos'd in *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, some of them justly, and some unjustly? Out of all the Plenty of Examples, with which Histories furnish us, let them produce one at least of a Bishop, that made use of the Benefit of the *Sardican* Decree, or in the least made mention of it. But this was like to be a Remedy of general Expediency, which all would make use of, who thro'out the *East* should either really suffer, or think they suffer'd any Injury. *Justinian* afterwards either alter'd or explain'd the ixth Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, (*Novellâ cxxiii. capite xxii.*) the Meaning of which is thus express'd by *Julian*, (*capite cccclxiv.*) *If any one has a mind to go against his Metropolitan, let the Patriarch of that Country determine the Business.* But the Greek Text adds: *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία οὐκ ἔστιν ἔξουσιος ἀντιτάττειν τῷ ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ, neither Party having Power to contradict his Sentence.* Therefore neither could they appeal to *Rome*: Nor was this a new Right introduc'd by *Justinian*; but an Assertion of an old accustomed Right, which had long prevail'd in the *Oriental* Churches. And indeed what, and how great a difference there was in those ancient times, between the Authority of any

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any *OEcumenical* Council, and that of the Council of *Sardica*, no one either better understood, or can at this Day more certainly inform us, than Pope *Zosimus* and his two Successors, *Boniface* and *Celestine*. About seventy Years after the Celebration of the Council of *Sardica*, it came into Pope *Zosimus*'s Mind, to try to obtain of the *African* Bishops this very Right of Appeals to the See of *Rome*, concerning which I am disputing; and to procure that the *Sardican* Decrees made in this Behalf should be allow'd the Force of an Ecclesiastical Law in *Africk*: For this end he sends into that Country such as were even then call'd Legates *à latere*, furnished with ample Instructions. If the Catholick Church of those times had look'd upon that of *Sardica* as a General Council, the Conclusion of the Cause had been very easy with the Catholick Bishops of *Africk*: For no one could doubt of the Meaning of that Council, at least none who had look'd never so little into its Acts and Canons. But *Zosimus* very well knew, that his Legates alledging the Canons of *Sardica* for the obtaining of this Right, would likely be repuls'd with this Exception, that the Authority of that Council was not of sufficient Weight in the Catholick Church, to be able to decide a matter of that Importance. Indeed *Zosimus* did nicely and wisely foresee what was altogether likely to happen: For as yet the Name of this Council was at that time so little known among the Churches of *Africk*, that I know not whether in all that Country there could be any one found, who had so much as heard of it. This is evident from that deep Silence concerning the *Sardican* Council, in so many Councils held at *Carthage* upon this very Subject; where there was not one found among all those Bishops, (who were sometimes more than two hundred, and the very Flower of

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all the *African* Province) that gave the least Indication, that he knew any thing of that Council. Nor will this seem strange to any one who recollects, that St. *Augustine* himself, undoubtedly the chief of all the Prelates of *Africk* in that Age, knew nothing at all of this Pious and Orthodox Assembly of the *Sardican* Fathers. Read his CLIII^d Epistle, and the 34th Chapter of his III^d Book against *Cresconius*, you will there find, that this most learned Father, notwithstanding his great Knowledge in Ecclesiastical Affairs, had not heard so much as the least Report concerning any other Council of that Name, but a certain Conventicle of *Arians*, who from that City sent a Letter into *Africk* to the *Donarists*. Therefore *Zosimus*, that he might obtain what he desir'd, saying nothing of the Council of *Sardica*, did with very great Cunning insert the Name of the Council of *Nice*, in the Memorial given to his Legates, when they were going away. His Words are in that Writing: *For a fuller Confirmation we have in this Memorial inserted the Words of the Canons: for our most beloved Brethren in the Council of Nice said thus* then he adds the Canon, which no Man ever doubted to be the viith of the Council of *Sardica*. His Legates arrive in *Africk*; a Council is conven'd at *Carthage*; they lay before the Council the Purport of their Commission; all the Fathers being astonish'd at the Name of the Council of *Nice*, with the Canons of which they were well acquainted, and had never read any thing in them concerning Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*, by a memorable Example of Piety and Modesty shew'd how much Honour and Deference they paid to the most holy *Nicene* Council: For they resolve, because *Zosimus* in Vindication of his Right to the Appeals of the Transmarine Churches to him, had produc'd Canons of the Council of *Nice*, which were

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were not to be found in any of their *African* Copies, before they would decide a Controversy of so great Importance, to send Legates to the Patriarchs of the *East*, especially to those of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*, whose Libraries were better furnish'd, that they might be more fully assur'd of the Faithfulness of their own Copies. In the mean time, while the Truth was yet unknown, they paid this Honour to Pope *Zosimus*, that they kept all Rights suspended according to the Mandates of his Legates. While the Council's Legates were going and returning, some Years pass'd away: in the mean while *Zosimus* dies, and Pope *Boniface* succeeds him. But neither did he see an end of the Business begun by his Predecessor; for he also dy'd before the matter was brought to a Conclusion: which was not effected before the times of Pope *Celestine*, who was chosen into the See of *Rome*, vacant by the Death of *Boniface*. Both *Boniface* and *Celestine* pursue the Purpose of their Predecessor: and since the only Obstacle to their Wishes was the uncertain Authority of the Canons, which had been alledg'd; if the universal Church had allow'd as much Authority to the Council of *Sardica*, as the whole Catholick World ascrib'd to that of *Nice*, who does not see, that by producing the true Canons, the matter might have been decided in an Instant? But neither *Boniface* nor *Celestine* were ignorant, that the Exception above-mention'd was ready to be made, if instead of the *Nicene* Council, that of *Sardica* had been nam'd in an Affair of such Importance. They who give any other Reason, why three successive Popes, *Zosimus*, *Boniface* and *Celestine*, with a wonderful Obstinacy of Mind alledg'd the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, instead of those of the Council of *Nice*, and for these endeavour'd to obtrude those upon the *African* Fathers,

as great Masters of Subtilties as they are, yet have undertaken a very difficult Province. For they have an Adversary to contend with, that *μεγίστη θεῶν*, greatest Goddess of Polybius, which continues invincible to the last; I mean the Truth, whose Rays always shine even in the thickest Darkness, much more in the clearest Light, such as this is. Still five Years longer was this Business transacting, yet at last it was ended, and at the same time that Question decided, which we are here discussing. The Publick Acts of that Controversy are extant, and from them I shall here give the Reader a Transcript of that Letter, which after the Receipt of Copies of the *Nicene* Canons of most approv'd Credit, was sent to Pope *Celestine* by the *Carthaginian* Fathers, when that Council was ended. This Synodical Epistle is in all the Editions of the Councils, even in the latest printed at *Cologne* the last Year *. What therefore the General Council of *Carthage*, assembled from all the Provinces of *Africk*, had decreed concerning Transmarine Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*, the Fathers of that Council declare to Pope *Celestine* in these Words.

“ To our most beloved Lord and honourable Brother, *Celestine, Aurelius, Valentinus, Antonius, Tutus, Servus Dei, Terentius, Fortunatus, Martinus, Januarius, Optatus, Celtitius, Donatus, Theasius, Vincentius, Fortunatianus*, and the rest, who were present in the General Council of *Carthage*. We could wish truly, that as your Holiness intimated in your Letter sent by our Compresbyter *Leo*, that you rejoic'd at the Arrival of *Apianus*: so we could send this Letter with Joy for his clearing himself. Indeed both ours and your Re-

* *Viz. Anno 1606. For this Tract of Casaubon's was first published Anno 1607.*

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“ joicing would be now more certain: nor would
 “ that seem hasten’d or too forward, which had
 “ already been testify’d, both for the Hearing of
 “ his Cause, and upon its being heard. On the
 “ Arrival indeed of our holy Brother and Fellow-
 “ Bishop *Faustinus*, we conven’d a Council; and
 “ believ’d he was therefore sent with *Apiarius*,
 “ that as by his Help *Apiarius* had been before re-
 “ stor’d to the Presbytery, so he might now by
 “ his Endeavour be clear’d from so great Crimes
 “ laid to his Charge by the People of *Thabraca*:
 “ And our Council upon a thorough Examination,
 “ found his Guilt to be so great and atrocious,
 “ that the fore-mention’d *Faustinus* was so far
 “ from being able to acquit him as a Judge, that
 “ even as an Advocate he could not defend him:
 “ For first, how much did he oppose all the As-
 “ sembly, by offering them many Injuries, as it
 “ were asserting Privileges to the *Roman Church*,
 “ and expecting he should receive to Communion
 “ him, whom your Holiness (believing he had ap-
 “ peal’d, which you could not prove) had restor’d
 “ to Communion? which yet was by no means
 “ lawful, and which you will know better by
 “ reading an Account of what was done. Yet a
 “ most laborious Tryal of three Days being heard,
 “ when we with very great Trouble enquir’d into
 “ the different Crimes laid to his Charge, God the
 “ just Judge, patient and long-suffering, did by a
 “ most compendious way cut off, either the Delays
 “ of our Fellow-Bishop *Faustinus*, or the Tergiver-
 “ sations of *Apiarius* himself, by which he endea-
 “ vour’d to conceal his foul Crimes: For his shame-
 “ ful and abominable Obstinacy being overcome,
 “ by which he attempted to cover so black a Guilt
 “ with the Impudence of a Denial, our God con-
 “ straining his Conscience, and bringing out into

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“ the Sight of Men those hidden things, which he
 “ had already condemn’d in his Heart, as in a Sink
 “ of Wickedness, immediately the deceitful De-
 “ nier broke out into a Confession of all the Crimes,
 “ of which he was accus’d ; and at length of his
 “ own Accord convicted himself of all the incre-
 “ dible Reproaches ; and also converted into Sighs
 “ that Hope of ours, by which we both believ’d
 “ and wish’d, he might be able to cleanse himself
 “ from such shameful Spots ; unless because he mi-
 “ tigated that Sorrow of ours with only one Con-
 “ solation ; that he both freed us from the Pains of
 “ a longer Inquisition, and provided some kind of
 “ Cure for his Wounds, although by an unwilling
 “ Confession, made with the Reluctance of his own
 “ Conscience. Therefore, our Lord and Brother,
 “ after having paid the Duty of a just Salutation,
 “ we earnestly beseech you, that for the future you
 “ will not too easily admit to your Audience, such
 “ as come from hence ; nor any more receive to Com-
 “ munion such as are excommunicated by us ; because
 “ your Reverence will easily observe, that this is
 “ also decreed by the *Nicene* Council : For altho’
 “ the Provision there made seems to be concerning
 “ the inferior Clergy or Laity ; how much more was
 “ it the Design of the Council, that this should be
 “ observ’d concerning Bishops, that such as are
 “ suspended from Communion in their own Pro-
 “ vince, may not seem to be hastily, or too for-
 “ wardly, or unduly restor’d to Communion by
 “ your Holiness ? And may your Holiness, as is
 “ worthy of you, reject the impious Applications
 “ for Protection, made you by our Presbyters, and
 “ the Clergy following them ; because no Decree
 “ of the Fathers has diminish’d the Power of the
 “ *African* Church in this Behalf : And the Canons
 “ of the Council of *Nice* have most evidently
 “ committed, both the inferior Clergy and the Bi-
 “ shops

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“ shops themselves to the Care and Jurisdiction of
 “ their Metropolitans: for they have most pru-
 “ dently and most justly provided, that all Mat-
 “ ters of Controversy whatsoever be determin’d
 “ in those Places, in which they first arose: for
 “ that the Grace of the holy Spirit will not be
 “ wanting to each Province, whereby the Bishops
 “ of Christ may both most wisely discern, and most
 “ resolutely observe Justice: especially because it
 “ is allow’d to every one, if he be injur’d by the
 “ Sentence of his Judges, to appeal to a Synod of
 “ his own Province, or even to a General Council:
 “ unless perhaps there be any one who thinks, our
 “ God will inspire any particular Person with Ju-
 “ stice to hear a Cause, and will deny this to a
 “ numerous Company of Bishops assembled in
 “ Council. Or how shall the transmarine Judgment
 “ it self be valid, to which the Persons necessary
 “ to give Evidence, by reason of the Infirmary ei-
 “ ther of their Sex, or of their Age, and many o-
 “ ther intervening Impediments, cannot be brought?
 “ For that Legates should be sent, as it were from
 “ the Presence of your Holiness, is a Method which
 “ we do not find appointed by the Fathers in any
 “ Council: For as to that which you formerly
 “ transmitted to us from thence, by the same
 “ *Faustinus* our Fellow-Bishop, as decreed by the
 “ Council of *Nice*; in the truer Councils, which we
 “ have receiv’d for the *Nicene*, sent us by the holy
 “ *Cyril* our Fellow-Bishop of the Church of *Alex-*
 “ *andria*, and by the venerable *Atticus* Patriarch
 “ of *Constantinople*, transcrib’d from the authentick
 “ Acts; which also heretofore were transmitted by
 “ us to Bishop *Boniface* your Predecessor of venera-
 “ ble Memory, by *Innocent* a Presbyter, and *Mar-*
 “ *cellus* a Sub-deacon, by whom they were directed
 “ by them to us; in these we could not find any
 “ such

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“ such thing. And do not send at the Request of
 “ every one your Clergy Executors* ; do not yield
 “ to such Petitions, lest we should seem to intro-
 “ duce the vain Pride of the World into the Church
 “ of Christ, which holds forth the Light of Simpli-
 “ city and Day of the Humility to such as de-
 “ sire to see the Lord. For as for our Brother *Fau-*
 “ *stinus*, (*Apiarius*, who is to be lamented, being
 “ now remov’d from the Church of Christ for his
 “ heinous Impieties) we promise our selves from
 “ the Probity and Moderation of your Holiness,
 “ that you will preserve Brotherly Love, and not
 “ suffer him to remain any longer in *Africk*. And
 by another Hand, “ Our Lord keep your Holiness,
 “ our Lord and Brother, with long Life to pray
 “ for us.

Many things might have been brought to illu-
 strate this most memorable Epistle, which I omit
 for the present ; yet I shall note a few things that
 are most necessary. In the first Place the Reader
 may observe, that the *African* Fathers treat with
 the Bishop of *Rome*, just as with any other of the
 more considerable Bishops. Therefore also they call
 him Brother ; as *St. Cyprian* always does *Cornelius*
 and *Stephen*, Bishops of that See. The Titles which
 are here added, are borrow’d, and have no proper
 Signification ; even that of *your Holiness*, now us’d
 only in addressing to the Pope of *Rome*, was of old
 common to all Bishops. So others saluted the Bi-
 shop of *Rome*, and so the Bishop of *Rome* saluted
 others : and indeed all Bishops complemented each
 other in the same Style. Pope *Zosimus* in his Epi-
 stle to the *African* Bishop says, *We determin’d to*
make known to your Holiness our Inquisition about the
whole Faith of Cælestius. The use of that Form is

* *Clericos Executores.*

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frequent in St. *Augustin's* Epistles, and in other Authors; as in CIth Canon of the Council of *Milevis*. *Apiarius* mention'd by the Fathers in the beginning, was an *African* Presbyter, who being excommunicated by the most just Sentence of *Urban* his Bishop, had fled to *Zosimus* for Protection, and been receiv'd and absolv'd by him. About the same time *Pelagius* and *Celestius* most wicked Hereticks, also excommunicated by the *African* Bishops, flying for Refuge to the same Pope, were admitted by him to the same Favour; and *Zosimus* made use of this Occasion, to endeavour to establish in *Africk* a Right of Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*: To effect this, he sent three Legates into *Africk*; two Presbyters, *Philip* and *Asellus*, and *Faustinus* Bishop of the Church of *Potentia*, a wicked Man, as appears from this Epistle; who after he came into *Africk*, did many things tyrannically against the Will of the *African* Bishops, especially in the Cause of the profligate Villain *Apiarius*, whom he restor'd to the Presbytery by Violence, to the great Grief of the *Africans*: and then he made his Cause to be reheard in this General Council; and how that Trial was manag'd, and when all the Council was at a stand, by reason of the Impudence of *Apiarius*, whom *Faustinus* defended with great Violence, how Providence untty'd the *Gordian* Knot, this Epistle shews. The Fathers say, *Whom your Holiness, thinking he had appeal'd, which you could not prove, had restor'd to Communion, which yet was by no means lawful*. After the manner of the *Africans* the Fathers speak obscurely: For those Words *quod probare non potuit*, which could not be proved, whether they ought to be referr'd to *Apiarius*, or to the Pope himself, is not plain. The *Greeks* turn'd the Passage thus: ὃν ἡ σὴ ἀγίωσις πεισάσασα ἐκκαλεῖται, ὅπερ ὑποδείξει ἐκ ἡδυνήθη, τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ἀποδοῦναι.

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ὁ δὲ ὧκεν, whom your Holiness believing to appeal, which It (that is, your Holiness) was not able to prove, restor'd to Communion : without doubt referring the Words to the Pope himself, so as that the Sense of them should be this : that Pope *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, or *Celestine* himself (for there is no difference, because what the former had done, was confirm'd by the latter) therefore took upon him to reverse the Sentence of the *African* Bishops, and himself to receive those, whom they had ejected, and to command the *Africans* also to receive them; because he believ'd that the Right of all Appeals belong'd to him, which yet, say they, could not be proved. And indeed they said true : For the *Nicene* Canons were falsely alledg'd in this Case, as will be observ'd presently in this Epistle. Now that imaginary Right of Appeals being once taken away, it necessarily follows, that whatever had been done in this Affair by the Bishop of *Rome* with arbitrary and absolute Power, was by the Law it self void, as being an Usurpation, and against Law. The Fathers do manifestly signifie this, when they add, *quod minimè tamen licuit*, which yet was by no means lawful. Besides in all that Writing the *Africans* do so defend the Rights of their own Liberty, that they both always speak with the greatest Modesty of the Bishop of *Rome*, and would seem to have the most candid Opinion of him : For these holy Men had not yet learnt from the great Mistress Experience, how far at last the *Roman* Pontiffs would improve these Beginnings, to which they oppos'd themselves. If the same *African* Fathers, by his Command, who in the Prophet * brought together again the scatter'd Bones, should now return into this World, and understand those things,

* Ezek. 37.

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which were afterwards done by the *Hildebrands*, the *Bonifaces*, the *Alexanders*, and such like, and which at this Day are not disputed concerning the absolute Monarchy of the Pope of *Rome*, but are taught as necessary Articles of Faith, how would they stand amaz'd? How far differently would they speak, from what they did of old? For Cardinal *Baronius* does manifestly abuse the Patience of his Readers, when he sets the modest Complaints of these Fathers in Opposition against those of such as lived afterwards, which indeed were more severe, but no less just. The Fathers therefore say, *We beseech you, that for the future such as come to you from hence, may not be too easily admitted to your audience* : that is, that you may not admit them with that Facility, with which you have often done hitherto; nor in that Meaning, as if the Right of Appeals belong'd to the *Roman See*. For otherwise the Fathers would not hinder the Bishop of *Rome* from receiving, by that Office of Charity, which was explain'd above, such as had suffer'd Injury in *Africk*; and assisting them after the accustomed manner, there intimated. It was the assuming of Authority, not the Offices of Humanity, which the holy Fathers took ill. So also is to be taken that which follows : *That such as are suspended from Communion in their own Province, may not seem to be hastily, or too rashly, or unduly restor'd thereunto by your Holiness*. The Patrons of our modern Ecclesiastical Liberty, whose Cause is quite overthrown by the Determination of so great Fathers, have taken a Handle to dispute from these Words of the Epistle, *liberius* too easily, *festinato* hastily, *præproperè* overforwardly, and *indebitè* unduly : For from hence they conclude, that the *African* Fathers do not wholly deny the Right of Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*; but desire that
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he would appoint another more human way of prosecuting them. But when the Fathers call back *Celestine* to the Observance of the *Nicene* Canons; and when they seriously contend, that all Appeals are taken away by that Council, those of the lesser Orders expressly, and those of Bishops by necessary Consequence; who does not see clearly, that that for which they contend is most false and absurd, viz. that in this Council of *Carthage* only the Manner of Appeals was treated of? The Fathers most evidently demonstrate this, when afterwards they add these Words, *Because both no Decree of the Fathers has derogated from the Power of the African Church in this Behalf; and the Canons of the Council of Nice have most evidently committed both the inferior Clergy, and the Bishops themselves, to the Care and Jurisdiction of their Metropolitans.* And the following Words do also clearly prove the Vanity of those who thus cavil, and easily refute the Fiction: *The Nicene Fathers, say they, have with very great Prudence and Justice provided, that all Matters of Controversy whatsoever be determin'd in the same Places, in which they first arose.* Who is either so stupid or so malicious, as not to own, that the *African* Fathers, when they wrote these Words, meant by them, that all the Affairs of the *African* Churches should be determin'd in *Africk*? This was certainly *St. Cyprian's* Meaning, when with the same invincible Reason he calls *Pope Cornelius* back to the Point in Controversy, from which he was widely gone astray. And what *St. Cyprian* said in the same Place, *That there were a few desperate Wretches, who thought the Bishops constituted in Africk had less Authority, than Pope Cornelius, to whom he was writing;* the same thing in other, but milder Words, the Bishops of this Council also intended should be understood, when they spake thus to

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Pope Celestine : Unless perhaps there be any one that thinks our God will inspire any particular Person with Justice to bear a Cause, and will deny this to a numerous Company of Bishops assembled in Council. But what I have often said, that the ancient Church neither knew, nor made use of any other kind of Appeals, than those from a lesser Synod to a greater, or even to a General OEcumenical Council ; this also the *African* Fathers here affirm to Pope Celestine, when they shew, that Appeals to the Bishop of Rome would for that Reason be fruitless, because it is allow'd to every one, if he be injur'd by the Judgment of the Commissaries, to appeal to a Synod of his own Province, or even to a General Council. But as to those Words of the Fathers : For that any should be sent as Legates à latere from your Holiness, we do not find appointed by any Council of the Fathers, they must be help'd by an Interpretation : For I have abundantly prov'd in the foregoing part of this Discourse, that it was a most ancient Custom of godly Bishops, to send their Letters and Legates to other Churches, which labour'd under Heresy or Schism, or were any otherwise disturb'd : And I gave an Account, that this was frequently done with the greatest Zeal by St. Cyprian and St. Athanasius. Was it therefore the Meaning of the *African* Fathers, to deprive the Bishop of Rome of that Right ? By no means. But they said this only, because the *Roman* Bishops seem'd to do that, not out of pure Charity, as the rest, but by the Prerogative of a certain Right, and of a Dominion, which they would obtain over their Brethren. This the *African* Bishops deprecate, and detest ; and for that Reason they presently repeat the same Caution, *Do not send your Clergy Executors at the Request of any Persons whatsoever ;* where the very calling them Executors discovers

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the Meaning of those that sent them : On which Subject *St. Augustin* says many things in his Epistle to *Celestine* ; and indeed in all that most judicious Epistle nothing occurs : which is more memorable, than that divine Modesty us'd by those holy Fathers, in refuting their most false Allegation of the *Nicene* Canons. The matter in dispute was of very great moment, the Liberty of the *African* Churches, the Dominion over which the Bishops of *Rome* might seem to have affected by none of the best Arts : And if the *African* Bishops had acted with strict Justice, those of *Rome* had most manifestly stood convicted of Forgery : Nor was there any Room for excuse, as though they had unawares been surpriz'd into this Mistake : For no Man doubted, and it was most true, that what they did in this Case, was deliberately and of set purpose, and not by chance. Yet the *African* Bishops do not complain ; they do not cry out, that they were circumvented by Fraud ; nor lastly, do they utter one harsh Word, or unworthy of that *Charity*, which beareth all things, endureth all things, saith the Apostle *. But neither do they therefore conceal other Mens Sins ; but reprehend the Bishops of *Rome* ; and at the same time that they forbear accusing them of having falsified, they both in Words assert, and in Fact prove, that they had affirm'd a thing that was false : *That*, say they, *which you transmitted to us, as decreed by the Council of Nice, we have not been able to find in the truer Copies of that Council, sent us from such as are authentick.* What was this to say else but that three Popes, who had peremptorily obtruded those Canons upon them for the *Nicene*, had fallen into an Error, and been deceiv'd ? For Mens Minds had

* 1 Cor. xiii. 7.

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not yet been accustomed to the modern Persuasion of some, as if the *Roman Pontiff* could neither err nor sin. That portentous Saying of Pope *Nicholas* the First had not yet been heard in the Church of God, *That the Old and New Testament were to be receiv'd, not because they were all reckon'd among the Canonical Books, but because the holy Pope Innocent seem'd to have pronounc'd Sentence for receiving them.* Those Doctors had not yet broke into the Sheepfold of Christ, who for the Rule of pious and impious, and of true and false, acknowledge no other Touchstone, but the Will of the Pope of *Rome*. Behold three successive Popes require those Canons to be accounted *Nicene*, which were not made in that Council. The *African* Bishops doubt of the Fact, and enquire into the Truth of it; and having found it after a very diligent Search, do not betray, but assert it; and though with Modesty indeed, yet defend it against the Bishop of *Rome*. And will Cardinal *Baronius* dare to interpret that divine Modesty of those Fathers, as an Argument of their Subjection? Will he dare to say, that that holy Council did not oppose Appeals to the Church of *Rome*? Will he dare to deny, that it is one thing to use an Appeal, and another to seek for Refuge? For the Examples which he produces from St. *Augustin*, do not prove that Men appeal'd juridically to the Pope; but that a few Persons fled to him for Protection, who would not acquiesce in the Judgments of the *African* Bishops? Concerning which Matter I have said many things in the foregoing part of this Treatise. Let young Students beware of the Impropriety of such sort of Expressions: for the Misapplication (as the most judicious Philosopher *Maximus Tyrius* calls it) of a Word plainly insinuates an erroneous Opinion into the Minds of the Unwary. The *African* Fathers

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themselves do better, who in this Epistle style this the Clergy's flying for Protection, not their appealing. But Cardinal *Baronius* should have remember'd, that those Instances in which he triumphs, happen'd even by his own Confession, before this Council was concluded, in which at length the Question was decided, concerning Appeals to the See of *Rome*. But from *Zosimus* to the end of this Council there was the Space of above five Years; during all which time the Rights of the *African* Bishops were suspended by their free Concession, as I have already shewn. But after this Council was ended, and the Truth of the *Nicene* Canons enquir'd into, and this Synodical Epistle sent to Pope *Celestine*, there was so far from being any use of Appeals in *Africk* to the Church of *Rome*, that many were perswaded, (whether truly or falsely I do not now dispute) that the *Africans* did from that time wholly separate themselves from the *Roman* Communion, or were cut off from it as Schismatics by the Pope himself. There is extant under the Name of *Boniface* the II^d an Epistle written to one *Eulalius*, to which if we give any credit, the Fathers of this holy Council, among whom was *St. Augustin*, were all excommunicated from the Church of *Rome*: and that Schism continu'd more than one whole Century, viz. CX Years, till at length *Boniface* the II^d being advanc'd to the See of *Rome*, that Relation came from *Africk*, which is mention'd in his Life. Whether these things are true, as almost all Men believe them, or of little Credit, as some few think; this certainly is evident from hence, that after that Council the *Africans* went so seldom to *Rome* for Protection, much less by way of Appeal, that they seem'd altogether separated from the Communion of that Church. Towards the end of the Epistle

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the Fathers discover the Reason why they so industriously oppos'd the Bishops of *Rome* in their endeavours to draw transmarine Appeals to themselves: *That we may not seem, say they, to introduce the haughtiness of this World into the Church of Christ, which holds forth the Light of Simplicity and the Day of Humility to such as desire to see God.* The same Fathers had before written thus to Pope *Boniface*; *But we trust by the Assistance of the Mercy of our Lord God, that your Holiness presiding over the Church of Rome, we shall not now endure that haughtiness.* The desire of the *Roman* Bishops to establish that Right of Appeals, is what the holy Fathers call *Typhum seculi*, the haughtiness of this World; that is Haughtiness, Ambition, and Pride; and he laments to them, that that is brought into the Church of God, and desires them to use Diligence to hinder it, as far as they should be able.

Thus after a few Years the Fathers of the third Œcumenical Council receiving an Account, that the Patriarch of *Antioch*, contrary to ancient Custom, assum'd to himself a Right of hearing the Ecclesiastical Causes of the Isle of *Cyprus*, pronouncing the thing to be of ill Example, repress'd the Man's Arrogance; *Lest peradventure* (say they in the VIIIth Canon) *under the Pretence of administering Things sacred, the ARROGANCE of worldly Power insinuate it self into the Church, and we unawares by little and little, lose that LIBERTY, which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all, hath purchased for us with his own precious Blood.* In the same place the Fatherstruly pronounce this Arrogance *πράγμα τὸ τὸ πάντων ἐλαθέριας ἀπὸ μὲν, to be a thing prejudicial to the LIBERTY of all.* And it is very worthy to be observ'd, that the Fathers of both Councils, seeing they were inspir'd with the same Spirit, and therefore agreed in the same Opinion, did in the same man-

ner mark out and detest the Thirst of Dominion, an Evil already fatal to the Church in that Age. The *Carthaginian* Fathers call it *Typhum seculi*, the *Arrogance of this World*. The Council of *Ephesus* stiles it, *τύφον κοσμικῆς ἑξουσίας*, the *Arrogance of worldly Power*. I would to God the Bishops that succeeded those Times, had always rightly consider'd the Force of this Word, and the Necessity of this Precept. But I shall shew in the Sequel, that the Bishops of *Rome* especially, did soon apply themselves with so much Violence to procure themselves Power, that in respect of this one Care they had little regard to any thing else. Therefore they took no notice of such as faithfully admonish'd them; and among these sometimes the most Christian Kings of *France*, who press'd them with the very Words of this Council. And thus much may suffice to have been said at present, concerning the Right of Appeals to the Bishop of *Rome*.

Moreover that which I have observ'd in reading Ecclesiastical History, does not seem to me to have been done without Design, viz. That the Bishops of *Rome* have been most dangerously deceiv'd almost as often, as neglecting to observe the most ancient Canons, they have presum'd to receive such as were excommunicated or condemn'd elsewhere by pious Bishops, and to hear their Causes. *Feliciſſimus* the most wicked Legat of the Schismatics, almost set at variance with each other, *Cornelius* a very good Man, and *St. Cyprian*, and other pious Bishops of *Africk*. *Basilides* of *Spain* being receiv'd contrary to the Discipline of the Church, oblig'd Pope *Stephen* to pass a Sentence, which was afterwards most justly condemn'd by the common Suffrages of the *Spanish* and *African* Churches, not without some Disgrace to so great a Prelate. There was one *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*, a subtle

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and crafty Heretick, who being condemn'd by the Sentences of the Orthodox Bishops in his Province of *Melitene* (a part of *Cappadocia* so call'd) ὁδὸν ἐκέρχεται (says *St. Basil* in a certain Epistle to the *Western Bishops*) καὶ ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐπενόησε, καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίξιν, *Thought of this way to procure his Restitution, viz. to take a Journey to you. Liberius* was then Bishop of *Rome*, whom the same Father calls most holy Bishop; but that *Fox* impos'd even upon *Liberius*. Having therefore obtain'd Commendatory Letters from the Bishop of *Rome*, and shew'd them to the Synod of *Tyana*, he was easily restor'd to his former See; but not long after the unclean Dog returning to his Vomit, did at once disturb the Orthodox Churches of his own Province, and not a little stain the Glory of *Liberius*.

And *Vitalis* another Bishop from the *East*, did in like manner deceive Pope *Damasus*. He acknowledging his Mistake, and Μεταδιδάχθεις being set right (as *Gregory Nazianzen* expresses it to *Cledonius*) ἀποκήρυκτον αὐτὸν ποιήσας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπάτω αὐτὸν δυσχεράνας, ὡς ἐπαθεν καὶ ἀπλότηται; &c. *excommunicated him (Vitalis) and being offended at the Cheat, by which he had been impos'd upon through too much Simplicity, &c.* And what did not Pope *Zosimus* attempt, when deceiv'd by the fair Words of *Patroclus* of *Arles*, a most profligate Villain? He null'd the Ordinations of *Ursus* and *Terentius*, duly solemniz'd near twenty Years before, and that in a lawful Council held at *Turin*. In several Letters, as Cardinal *Baronius* himself attests, he most unjustly revil'd *Erotes* and *Lazarus*, two Bishops of our *Gallican Church*, that were inflam'd with a divine Zeal. He rais'd *Patroclus* himself as high as he could, by an Accession of new Honour: Lastly, the same Pope *Zosimus* absolv'd *Pelagius*, an Enemy to the Grace of Christ, and undertook the Protection

ction and Defence of *Cælestius* a notorious Heretick, and of *Apiarius* a Presbyter, free from no Wickedness; and that against holy Men, the Bishops of *Africk*, who had chastiz'd those Monsters with the Sword of Discipline. And these are the Persons, in whose Defence *Zosimus* began the great Controversy concerning the Right of Appeals. This Pope liv'd in the Administration of the See of *Rome* but one Year and four Months: If he had govern'd there longer, what might not have been attempted by a Man of his Spirit? Pope *Celestine* having undertaken the Defence of *Anthony* Bishop of *Fussala* after the Death of Pope *Boniface*, to whom *Anthony* had fled for Protection, when he was most deservedly turn'd out of his See in *Africk*, fill'd all that Province of *Africk* with so much Terror, that *St. Augustine* was oblig'd to write to him, and use these Words: *They are threaten'd, whether it be by him, or by most frequent Rumours, with judicial Proceedings, and publick Authority, and military Force, as it were to execute the Sentence of the Apostolick See; insomuch that these most miserable Persons, although they are Catholick Christians, do yet fear more from a Catholick Bishop, than when they were Hereticks, they apprehended from the Laws of the Catholick Emperors.* I omit other Instances like to these, which had certainly never happen'd, if the ancient Discipline had remain'd. And what I shew'd was done in the Case of *Marcion*, had been observ'd in those of all the rest, whose Cause was different from, but not better than that of *Marcion*.

It remains that I speak a few Words concerning Appeals to the Prince. Now it is a very different matter when a Prince, and when a greater Synod is appeal'd to: for the Bishops who assemble in a Synod, are the lawful Judges of divine affairs. Appeals there

therefore are made to them, as to those to whom the Cognizance of such Controversies belongs: But the Prince is appeal'd to, not that he should pronounce Sentence concerning divine matters, but that he should command it to be duly and orderly pronounc'd: for he is the Keeper and Defender of good Order and Discipline, and of all lawful Ordinances, no less in the Church, than in the rest of the State. It is an Heretical Opinion, maintain'd by many at present, who allow the Prince no other Place in Ecclesiastical Affairs,

The rest is wanting, the King of France, at the Instance of Pope Paul the Vth, having forbid the Author to proceed, as was said above in the Editor's Advertisement. Vide Mer. Casaub. Pietat. p. 124. Edit. Lond. in 8vo. A.D. 1621.

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Laud's Conference with Fisher, §. 35. p. 305, 306. My third instance shall be in the Sacrifice which is offer'd up to God in that great and high Mystery of our Redemption by the Death of Christ: For as Christ offer'd up himself once for all, a full and all-sufficient Sacrifice for the Sin of the whole World; so did he institute and command a Memory of this Sacrifice in a Sacrament, even till his coming again. For at and in the Eucharist we offer up to God three Sacrifices: one by the Priest only, that's the Commemorative Sacrifice of Christ's Death, represented in Bread broken, and Wine poured out: Another by the Priest and the People jointly; and that is the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving, for all the Benefits and Graces we receive by the precious Death of Christ: The third by every particular Man for himself only; and that is the Sacrifice of every Man's Body and Soul, to serve him in both all the rest of his Life, for this Blessing thus bestow'd on him.

Hammond's Practical Catechism, l. 6. §. 4. p. 129. In 1 Cor. x. 16. the Sacrament is set down, and the Nature and Use of it, thus: The Cup of Blessing which we bless, or (as the *Syriack*) the Cup of Praise, *i. e.* the Chalice of Wine, which is in the Name of the People offer'd up by the Bishop or Presbyter to God with Lauds and Thanksgivings, *i. e.* that whole Eucharistical Action (and that express'd to be the Action of the People as well as the Presbyter, by their drinking of it) is the Communication of the Blood of Christ; a Service of theirs to Christ; a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, Commemorative of that great Mercy and Bounty of Christ,

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Christ, in pouring out his Blood for them; and a making them (or a Means by Christ ordain'd to make them) Partakers of the Blood of Christ; not of the Guilt of shedding it; but (if they come worthily thither) of the Benefits that are purchased by it, viz. The washing away of Sin in his Blood. So in like manner the breaking and eating of the Bread, is a Communication of the Body of Christ; a Sacrifice Commemorative of Christ's offering up his Body for us, and a making us Partakers, or communicating to us the Benefits of that Bread of Life, strengthening and giving us Grace.

Id. *View of the New Directory*, §. 39. p. 374, 375. For the Order of the Offertory it must first be observ'd, that in the Primitive Apostolick Church the Offertory was a considerable part of the Action in the administering and receiving the Sacrament; the manner of it was thus. At their Meetings for divine Service every Man, as he was able, brought something along with him, Bread or Wine, the Fruits of the Season, &c. of this, part was us'd for the Sacrament, the rest kept to furnish a common Table for all the Brethren (and therefore in *Ignatius, Ep. ad Smyrn.* δοχῶν ἐπιτελεῖν, to celebrate the Feast, is to administer that Sacrament, being join'd there with the mention of Baptism) Rich and Poor to eat together, no one taking Precedence of other, or challenging a greater part to himself by reason of his bringing more. This is discernable in *St. Paul's* Words, chiding the *Corinthians* for their Defaults in this matter, 1 *Cor.* xi. 21. *Every Man*, saith he, *takes and eats before another his own Supper*, i. e. the Rich that brought more, eats that which he brought, ὡς ἴδιον δεῖπνον, as if he were at Home eating his own private Meals, without respect to the Nature of those ἀγάπαι, which were a common Meal for all; and so while one is fill'd to the full,

some other have little or nothing to eat ; which is the meaning of that which follows, *One is hungry and another is drunken*. After the ἀγάπαι ceas'd, and the bringing of the Fruits of the Season, which were as a kind of first Fruit Offering, was out-dated, whether by Canon of the Church, or by contrary Custom, this manner was still continued, that every Receiver brought somewhat with him to offer ; particularly Bread, and Wine mix'd with Water. *Justin Martyr*, Apol. 2. p. 97. sets down the manner of it clearly in his Time, προσφέρει τὸ προσωτί τῷ ἀδελφῶν ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ, &c. *The Bread and the Wine of the Brethren, i. e. Communicants, is brought to the Priest or Prefect*, (not as the Latin interpreter reads *Præfesto fratrum*, as if ἀδελφῶν were to be joined with προσωτί, which belongs to ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ) *and he receiving it gives Laud and Praise unto God, in the Name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and all the People join in the Amen; then do the Deacons distribute that Ἀξιὸν εὐχαρισθεῖν αὐτῷ, the Bread, over which he has thus given Thanks : And then saith he over and above, the richer sort, and every one as he shall think good, contributes ; and that which is so rais'd is left with the Priest, who out of that Stock succours the Orphan and Widow, and becomes a common provider for all that are in want.* This clearly distinguishes two parts of the Offertory, one design'd for the use of all the Faithful in the Sacrament, another reserv'd for the use of the Poor ; the former call'd προσφοράι, Oblations, in the Council of *Laodicea*, the other κατεποφορίαι, in that of *Gangra* ; and proportionably, the Repository for the first call'd *Sacrarium* in the ivth Council of *Carthage*, Can. 93. (and by *Possidonius* in the Life of *St. Augustine*, *Secretarium unde altari necessaria inferuntur*, where those things are laid, and from whence fetch'd, which are necessary to the Altar) the other

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Gazophylacium or *Treasury*. The first St. Cyprian calls *Sacrificia Sacrifices*, the second *Eleemosynæ Alms*, (*L. de op. & eleem.*) parallel to those, which we find both together mention'd, *Acts* xxiv. 17. *I came to bring Alms to my Nation, and Offerings*. This saith *Justin Martyr*, (*Dial. cum Tryph. p. 260.*) is our *Christian Sacrifice*; which will more appear to him that considers, that the feasting of the People, their partaking of the Sacrifice, having their *τόμας* and *μερίδας*, was always annex'd to Sacrifices, both among Jews and Heathens, which the Apostle calls partaking of the Altar; and consequently that the Sacrifice and the Feast together, the Sacrifice in the Offertory, the Feast in the eating and drinking there, do complete and make up the whole business of this Sacrament, as far as the People are concern'd in it; and all this blest by the Priest, and God blessed and praised by Priest and People, and so the Title of Eucharist belongs to it. Thus after *Justin*, *Irenæus* l. 4. c. 34. *The Offertory of the Christians is accounted a pure Sacrifice* with God, as when St. Paul, saith he, mentions the Acts of the *Philippians* liberality, he calls them *δυσίαν δέξιω* an acceptable Service (and so *Heb.* xiii. 16. *To do good and to communicate forget not*, such Acts of Liberality to those that want, for with such Sacrifices God is well pleas'd) and presently defines what this Sacrifice was, *Primitiæ earum quæ sunt ejus Creaturarum*, *The first Fruits of God's Creatures*. So *Tertulian*, *Apol. c. 39. Modicam unusquisque stipem mensuam die adponit*, *Every one brings somewhat every Month*, just parallel to our Offertory at monthly Communion. Much more might be said of this out of ancient Constitutions and Canons, if 'twere not for my desire of brevity. Effectually St. Cyprian (*De op. & Eleemos. p. 180.*) *Locuples & dives es, & Dominicam celebrare te credis, & corbanam non respicis,*

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*respicis, qui in Dominicum sine Sacrificio venis, qui partem de Sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis? Art thou rich, and thinkest thou receivest as thou oughtest, and respectest not the Corban, feedest on the poor Mens Sacrifice, and bringest none thy self? And St. Augustine (Serm. de temp. 215.) to the same purpose; and 'tis worth observing, that many Authorities, which the Papists produce for the external Sacrifice of the Body of Christ in the Mass, are but the detorsion and disguising of those places, which belong to the Offertory of the People; and in the Canon of the Mass that Prayer, which is used for the offering up of Christ (larded with so many Crosses) plainly betrays it self to have been first instituted in relation to these Gifts and Oblations, as appears by the mention of *Abel's Sacrifice*, and *Melchisedeck's Offering* (that of *Abel's* the Firstlings of the Flock, *Melchisedeck's* a Present only of Bread and Wine to *Abraham*) and the *per quem hæc omnia semper bona creas* (by whom thou createst all these good things) which belongs evidently to the Firstlings of the Flock, those living Creatures sacrificed by *Abel*; but is by them now most ridiculously apply'd to the Body of Christ. I have been thus large in shewing the Original of the Offertory; because it has in all Ages been counted a special part of divine Worship. The third part of the *Holocaust*, saith *Aquinas* (2^a. 2^a. q. 85. art. 3. ad 2.) the Observation of which is yet alive in our Liturgy (I would it had a more chearful universal Reception in our Practice) especially if that be true which *Honorius* saith, that instead of the ancient Oblation of Bread and Wine, the Offering of Money was by Consent receiv'd into the Church in Memory of the Pence in *Judas's* Sale. Now that this Offering of Christians to God for pious and charitable Uses, design'd to them who are his Proxies*

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and Deputy Receivers, may be the more Liberal, and withal more solemnly perform'd, many portions of Scripture are by the Liturgy design'd to be read, to stir up and quicken this Bounty; and those of three sorts; some belonging to *Good Works* in general, others to *Alms Deeds*, others to *Oblations*: and when it is received and brought to the Priest, he humbly prays God *to accept* those Alms: And this is it which I call the Service of the Offertory, so valued and esteem'd among all Ancients, &c.

Id. Pref. to Disp. dispatch'd, p. 164. — The Protestants of the Church of *England* believe and reverence, as much as any, the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, as the most substantial and essential Act of our Religion; and doubt not, but the Word *Missa*, Mass, has fitly been us'd by the Western Church to signify it; and herein abhor and condemn nothing, but the Corruptions and Mutilations, which the *Church of Rome*, without Care of conforming themselves to the *Universal*, have admitted in the Celebration.

Dodwel. de jure Laicor. sacerdotali, p. 12, 13. Malè itaque Tertullianum explicant rursus Eruditi viri de id genus *Tinctione* atque *Oblatione*, quæ pro suis saltem Ecclesiæ *Romana* Principiis, non sunt Officiis sacerdotalibus accensendæ. Baptisum *Lai- cis*, etiam *mulieribus* obstetricibus concedunt *Romanenses*. Adeò nullam includit, pro eorum Sententiâ, potestatem *sacerdotalem*. Sic & illa donorum *Oblatio*, seu *Eulogiarum*, seu *Panis* etiam (ante tamen quam consecraretur) *Eucharistici*, Laicorum potius spectabat officium, quàm *Sacerdotum* propriè sic dictorum. *Offerebant* enim illa dona *sacerdotibus* *Laici*, Deo deinceps ab *illis* offerenda: non ipsi *Deo* immediatè, quod proprium erat ipsorum *Sacerdotum*.

Ibid.

Ibid. p. 44, 45. Quid ni igitur Episcopos eodem illo *Typici Sacerdotii* nomine & honore insigniamus? *Ignatium* certè aliosque insigniisse *veteres* alibi ostendimus. Nec negari certè potest *honorem* quemcunque habent, à *Christo* eum habere, & in eum redundare omnes proinde illorum *contemptus* atque *contumelias*. *Christum* itaque *representent* necesse est, unamque constituent cum eo in lege *Personam*. Alioqui nulla posset esse ratio, cur ad *Christum* pertineat quæ in illos admittitur *contumelia*. Negari iterum non potest, quæcunque locum habent in *Christianismo*, *Sacrificia*, ea etiam ad Officium *Episcoporum* attinere, nec ab alio esse quàm à *Christo* eorum etiam illam *sacrificandi* potestatem, nec aliud *representari* in Eucharistiâ *sacrificium*, quàm Christi illud in Cruce, quod & in cœlis hodieque à *Christo* representatur. Qui ergo *Christum* in ipsa etiam *sacrificandi* potestate *representant*, quidni illos pro *representatitiis sacerdotibus* habeamus?

Id. One Altar, &c. c. II. §. I. But that which more nearly concerns the Design of this present way of reasoning is, that these *Sacrifices* and this *Highb Priesthood* of the Gospel were *mystical*, and so *mystical*, as not only to *signify*, but also to perform what was, according to the Sense of those Times, to be expected from *Mysteries*. — That the *Eucharist* was the *mystical Sacrifice*, performing the same thing under the Gospel, as the external bloody *Sacrifices* under the *Law*; and that their *Bishops* were the *mystical Highb-Priests*, exactly answering them in that very particular Office of *uniting* with the *Abſc.* And §. 2. And therefore the *publick Sacrifices* being designed as Ceremonies of *admission* to a *League* and *Covenant*, and intimate *Union* with God; such a kind of *Sacrifice* was requisite to be asserted to our *mystical Israelitism*, as might engage God in *Covenant* with us, and admit us to a *mystical Union* with

with him. And §. 5. Accordingly I am very apt to think, that this is indeed the true *Original* of the Name of *Eucharist*, as apply'd by the *Primitive Christians* to this very *Sacrament*, that they intend- ed thereby to signify, that this was among them to perform the Office of a Sacrifice of Thanksgi- ving. The very Name was thus commonly ap- ply'd to the *Bread* it self in the Time of *St. Justin Martyr*. So he tells us expressly (*Apol. 2. p. 97.*) *Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὐτῆ καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία.*

Patrick's *Mensa Mystica*, p. 15, 16. It will not be unprofitable to add, that this was one Reason, why the Ancients call'd this Action a *Sacrifice* (which the *Romanists* now so much urge) because it doth represent the *Sacrifice* which Christ once offer'd. It is a figure of his Death, unto which the Apostle *St. Paul* (as a learned Man conceives) has a reference, when he saith to the *Galatians*, c. 3. *That Jesus Christ was set forth evidently before their Eyes crucify'd among them.* They saw, as it were, his *Sacrifice* on the Cross, it was so lively figur'd in this *Sacrament*; and it is very plain, that *St. Chrysostom* (or whoever was the Author of those Commentaries) understood no more, when as he thus speaks upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Hom. 27. *Τὶ εἶναι; ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐκαστὸν ἡμέραν ἔ προσφέρομεν;* &c. *What then? do we not offer every Day? Yet we offer by making a Commemoration (ἀνάμνησιν) of his Death: And we do not make another Sacrifice every Day, but always the same, or rather a remembrance of a Sacrifice.* Such an unbloody Sacrifice which is only *Rememorative*, and in Representation, we all acknowledge.

Ibid. p. 37, 38. Yea they may know, that the *Bread* and *Wine* of the *Eucharist* is an *Offering* (out of the Stock of the whole Congregation) to this Service, according as it was in the *Primitive Times*,
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when (as *Justin* saith *Apol.* 2.) they offer'd Bread and Wine to the *πρεσβυς* Chief Minister of the Brethren, who took it, and gave Praise and Glory to the Lord of the whole World, and then made ἐν πολῷ, a large and prolix Thanksgiving to him that had made them worthy of such Gifts. We pray him therefore, in our Communion Service, to accept our OBLATIONS (meaning those of Bread and Wine) as well as our *Alms*. We still make λογικῶν καὶ ἀκαπνον θυσίαν (as *Origen's* phrase is) a rational and unsmoaky Sacrifice; for we offer our selves, and our Prayers, and our Praises, and our Goods. So that if you please we may call the Lord's λογικῶν τραπέζαν (in *Theodoret's* stile) a rational Table, where as God provides for us, so we provide for him in those that are his Members, and offer upon it those Sacrifices, which are most befitting either him or rational Creatures.

Answer to the Bishop of Condom's Expos. of the Cath. Faith, §. 14. p. 82. So that when Mr. *Condom* tells us from the Council of *Trent*, that this Sacrifice is instituted only to represent that, which was once accomplish'd on the Cross, to perpetuate the Memory of it, and to apply its saving Vertue for the Remission of Sins, which we daily commit: All this must be allow'd true, and the proper Ends of the Institution of the holy Sacrament; but the Council pleads them, &c.

Full View of the Doctrines and Practices of the ancient Church relating to the Eucharist, p. 101, 102, 103. I have already produc'd the Testimonies, where the Fathers make what is distributed in the Eucharist to be without Life or Sense; which can be true of nothing else, but of the Bread and Wine. So that unless we make them distribute what they had not consecrated, the Bread and Wine must remain after Consecration. The same is also evidently prov'd

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from another common assertion of the Fathers, *That Christ offer'd the same Oblation with Melchisedeck.* St. Cyprian, Lib. 2. Epist. 3. *Quis magis sacerdos Dei summi, quàm Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedec obtulerat, id est panem & vinum, suum scilicet Corpus & sanguinem? Who was more a Priest of the most high God, than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offer'd a Sacrifice to God the Father, and offer'd this same that Melchisedeck had offer'd, that is Bread and Wine, to wit his Body and Blood? Which indeed the Wine and Bread was by representation; but if you understand this of proper Flesh and Blood offer'd in the Eucharist, then it is not the same Oblation with that of Melchisedeck.*

Isidore Peleusiota, Lib. 1. Epist. 431. ad Pallad. Μελχισεδέκ ἄρτω καὶ οἴνῳ ἱερᾶν δυνάμεων, δι' ὧν τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια προεσημαίνετο τύπον. *Melchisedeck perform'd his sacred Office in Bread and Wine, by which he fore signify'd the Type of the divine Mysteries.*

Eusebius, L. 5. Dem. Evang. c. 3. Ὡς δὲ ἐκείνῳ (Melchisedeck) ἱερᾶς ἐθνῶν τυγχάνων, ὁ δαμῶ φαίνετο δύστας (ωμολικῶς κεχερημύς), οἴνῳ ὃ μόνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τὸ Ἄβραμ ἐυλογῶν, τὸ αὐτὸν ὃ τρέπον, &c. — οἴνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τῷτε (ωμολῶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ (ὡς ἡγεῖται αἰμαλῶ αἰνέσει) τὰ μυστήρια τῷ Μελχισεδέκ ταῦτα πινόμενα θεῶν προεθεωρηκότος, καὶ τῷ μελλόντων τοῦς εἰκόσι προκεχερημύς. *For as he (Melchisedeck) being a Priest of the Gentiles, never seems to have made use of bodily Sacrifices; but blessed Abraham only in Bread and Wine: After the same manner also, first our Lord and Saviour himself, then all the Priests that derive from him, performing in all Nations their spiritual Function according to the Ecclesiastical Sanctions, by Bread and Wine do express the Mysteries of his Body and saving Blood, Melchisedeck having foreseen*

foreseen these things by a divine Spirit, and having us'd before these Images of future things.

St. Jerom. Epist. ad Evagr. Melchisedec panē & vino simplici puroque sacrificio Christi dedicaverit Sacramentum. Melchisedeck by Bread and Wine, which is a simple and a pure Sacrifice, did dedicate Christ's Sacrament.

St. August. Epist. 95. Melchisedec prolato Sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ novit æternum ejus sacerdotium figurare. Melchisedeck bringing forth the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (i. e. Bread and Wine) knew how to figure Christ's eternal Priesthood. Again, Lxvii. de Civit. Dei, c. 17. upon those Words, Thou art a Priest for ever, &c. He adds, — Ex eo quod jam nusquam est Sacerdotium & Sacrificium secundum ordinem Aaron, & ubique offertur sub sacerdote Christo quod protulit Melchisedec quando benedixit Abraham. Since now there is no where any Priesthood or Sacrifice according to the Order of Aaron, and that is every where offer'd under Christ the Priest, which Melchisedeck brought forth when he blessed Abraham. In many other places St. Augustin says the same.

Arnobius in Psal. 109. Christus per mysterium panis & vini factus est Sacerdos in æternum. Christ by the Mystery of the Bread and Wine is made a Priest for ever.

St. Chrysostom. in Ps. 110. vel. 109. — Καὶ ἂν τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον προσέθηκε πρὸς Ἀβραάμ. Why did he say a Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck, even because of the Mysteries, because he also brought out Bread and Wine to Abraham.

Isidor. Hisp. in Gen. c. 12. Non secundum Aaron pecudum victimas, sed Oblationem panis & vini, i. e. Corporis & sanguinis in ejus Sacramentum in Sacrificium offeramus. Let us not offer the Victims of Beasts according to Aaron, but let us offer in Sacrifice the Oblation of Bread and Wine, i. e. the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood.

Bed.

Bed. Hom. 55. in Vigil. S. Jo. Bapt. Redemptor noster ideo Sacerdos esse dicitur secundum ordinem Melchisedec, quia ablatis Victimis legalibus idem Sacrificii genus in Mysterium sui Corporis & Sanguinis in N. Testamento offerendum instituit. Our Redeemer is therefore call'd a Priest after the Order of Melchisedeck, because taking away the legal Sacrifices, he instituted the same kind of Sacrifice (viz. Bread and Wine) should be offer'd under the New Testament, for the Mystery of his Body and Blood.

*Mr. Bennet of the Rights of the Clergy, c.3. p.52. But St. Clement of Rome, who wrote in the Apostles Times, plainly speaks of the Bishops presiding in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper: For nothing else can be meant by their offering the Gifts; especially if we consider that the Eucharistical Elements are called a Gift by * St. Ignatius himself; and that this Language is used by innumerable other Writers, particularly those that are most ancient; and 'tis notorious that ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΕΙΝ signifies to offer a Sacrifice, such as all Antiquity thought the holy Eucharist to be; and that this Word is particularly applied to the holy Eucharist by Justin Martyr and all Antiquity.*

Joannis Hughes, A. M. Collegii Jesu apud Cantabr. Socius in Dissertatione quam præmisit Joan. Chrysostomi de Sacerdotio Libris vi. a se Editis M.DCCX. p. cxxxiv. Voluit salvator noster, ut cruentæ suæ Passionis commemoratio primarias in Officiis publicis teneret partes, imo ut Sacrificii commemorativi, typico illo, ac umbratili (quo Judæi gaudebant) longe nobilioris rationem haberet. Voluit itaque sine ulla dubitatione publicam hanc Commemorationem à publicis Ecclesiæ Ministris ce-

* Ad Smyrn.

lebrari, *Sacrificium* hoc Commemorative a publicis sacerdotibus offerri. Vide pag. ccxxv, cxxvi, &c. cxli, &c.

Dr. Bull's *Answer to a Query of the Bishop of Meaux, in the Addition to several Letters between Dr. George Hickes, &c.* p. 246, &c.

The first Article I shall take notice of is this,
 " I profess, that in the Mass is offered to God a
 " true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the
 " Living and the Dead; and that in the most Holy
 " Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, there is truly, and really,
 " ally, and substantially the Body and Blood, together
 " with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jesus
 " Christ; and that there is wrought a Conversion
 " of the whole Substance of the Bread into the
 " Body, and of the whole Substance of the Wine
 " into the Blood, which Conversion the Catholick
 " Church calls *Transubstantiation*. Where this Proposition [*That in the Mass there is offer'd to God a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and the Dead*] having that other of the *substantial Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist* immediately annexed to it; the meaning of it must necessarily be this, That in the *Eucharist* the very Body and Blood of Christ are again offer'd up to God as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of Men. Which is an impious Proposition, derogatory to the full Satisfaction of Christ made by his Death on the Cross, and contrary to express Scripture, *Heb.* vii. 27. and ix. 12, 15, 26, 28. and x.

* Profiteor in Missâ offerri Deo verum, proprium, & propitiatorium Sacrificium, pro vivis & defunctis, atque in Sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento esse verè, & realiter & substantialiter Corpus & Sanguinem, unâ cum animâ & Divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fierique Conversionem totius substantiæ Panis in Corpus, & totius substantiæ Vini in Sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia Transubstantiationem appellat.

12, 14. It is true, the Eucharist is frequently call'd by the ancient Fathers *προσφορά*, *θυσία*, an *Oblation*, a *Sacrifice*. But it is to be remember'd, that they say also it is *θυσία λογική*, *καὶ ἀναίμακτος*, a *reasonable Sacrifice*, a *Sacrifice without Blood*: which, how can it be said to be, if therein the very Blood of Christ were offer'd up to God?

They hold the *Eucharist* to be a *commemorative Sacrifice*, and so do we. This is the constant Language of the ancient Liturgies, * *We offer by way of Commemoration*; according to our Saviour's Words when he ordain'd this holy Rite †, *Do this in Commemoration of me*. In the Eucharist then, Christ is offer'd, not *hypostatically*, as the *Trent* Fathers have determin'd, (for so he was but once offer'd) but *commemoratively* only: And this Commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting our selves in mind of him. For every Sacrifice is directed to God; and the Oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath him for its Object, and not Man. In the holy *Eucharist* therefore, we set before God the Bread and Wine, as *Figures or Images of the precious Blood of Christ shed for us, and of his precious Body*; (they are the very Words of the || *Clementine Liturgy*) and plead to God the Merit of his Son's Sacrifice once offer'd on the Cross for us Sinners; and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching him for the Sake thereof to bestow his heavenly Blessings on us.

* *Μεμνηνῶσι προσφέρειν*, *Commemorantes*, or *commemorando offerimus*.

† *Τὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε ὡς ἔγω ἀνάμνησιν*. *Vid. Justin Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 296, 297.*

|| *Τὸ τιμῆς αἵματος Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ᾧ ἐκχυσθέντι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τιμῆς σώματος τὰ ἀντίτυπα*. *Constitut. Apost. l. 7. c. 26.*

To conclude this matter : The Ancients held the *Oblation* of the *Eucharist* to be answerable in some Respects to the Legal Sacrifices ; that is, they believ'd that our Blessed Saviour ordain'd the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* as a Rite of Prayer and Praise to God, instead of the manifold and bloody Sacrifices of the Law. That the *Legal Sacrifices* were Rites to invoke God by, is evident from many Texts of Scripture ; see especially 1 *Sam.* 7. 9. and 13. 12. *Ezra* 6. 10. *Prov.* 15. 8. And that they were also Rites for praising and blessing God for his Mercies, appears from 2 *Chron.* 29. 27. Instead therefore of slaying of Beasts, and burning of Incense, whereby they praised God, and call'd upon his Name under the Old Testament ; the Fathers, I say, believed our Saviour appointed this Sacrament of Bread and Wine, as a Rite whereby to give Thanks, and make Supplication to his Father in his Name. This you may see fully clear'd and prov'd by the learned Mr. *Mede*, in his Treatise entitled, *The Christian Sacrifice*. The *Eucharistical* Sacrifice thus explain'd, is indeed λογικὴ Θυσία, *a reasonable Sacrifice*, widely different from that monstrous Sacrifice of the *Mass*, taught in the Church of *Rome*.

The other Branch of the Article is concerning *Transubstantiation*, wherein the Ecclesiastick professeth upon his solemn Oath his Belief, that in the *Eucharist* *there is made a Conversion of the whole Substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole Substance of the Wine into the Blood of Christ*. A Proposition that bids Defiance to all the Reason and Sense of Mankind. Nor (God be praised) hath it any ground or foundation in Divine Revelation : nay, the Text of Scripture, on which the Church of *Rome* builds this Article, duly considered, utterly subverts and overthrows it : the grounds it upon the Words of the Institution of the holy Sacrament

by our Saviour, the same Night wherein he was betrayed; when he took Bread and brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, *This is my Body*, τὸ δεδωμένον, saith St. Luke, τὸ κλωμένον, saith St. Paul, *which is given and broken for you*. After the same manner he took the Cup, and gave Thanks, and gave it to them, saying, *Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Testament*, τὸ ἐκχυσόμενον, *which is shed for many for the Remission of Sins*. Now whatsoever our Saviour said, was undoubtedly true: But these Words could not be true in a proper sense; for our Saviour's Body was not then given or broken, but whole and inviolate; nor was there one Drop of his Blood yet shed. The Words therefore must necessarily be understood in a figurative sense; and then, what becomes of the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*? The Meaning of our Saviour is plainly this: What I now do is a Representation of my Death and Passion near approaching; and what I now do, do ye hereafter; do this in remembrance of me; let this be a standing, perpetual Ordinance in my Church to the end of the World; let my Death be thus annunciated and shewn forth, till I come to Judgment: see 1 Cor. xi. 26.

As little Foundation hath this Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* in the ancient Church, as appears sufficiently from what hath been already said concerning the Notion then universally receiv'd of the *Eucharistical* Sacrifice. It was then believ'd to be an ἀνάμνησις, or Commemoration, by the Symbols of Bread and Wine, of the Body and Blood of Christ, once offer'd up to God on the Cross for our Redemption: it could not be therefore then thought an Offering up again to God of the very Body and Blood of Christ, substantially present under the Appearance of Bread and Wine; for these two Notions are inconsistent, and cannot stand together.

The ancient Doctors, yea and Liturgies of the Church, affirm the Eucharist to be *incrumentum Sacrificium*, a Sacrifice without Blood; which it cannot be said to be, if the very Body of Christ were therein present, and offer'd up to God. In the *Clementine* Liturgy, the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist are said to be *Antytipa*, correspondent Types, Figures and Images of the precious Body and Blood of Christ. And divers others of the Fathers speak in the same plain Language. *Vid. Greg. Naz. Apol. Orat. 1. Tom. 1. Cyril Hierosol. 5. Cat. Myst. Ambros. de Sacrament. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

We are not ignorant, that the ancient Fathers generally teach, that the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the Consecration of them, do become, and are made the *Body and Blood of Christ*; but we know also, that though they do not all explain themselves in the same way, yet they do all declare their Sense to be very dissonant from the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. Some of the most ancient Doctors of the Church, as *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus*, seem to have had this Notion, that by or upon the Sacramental Benediction, the Spirit of Christ, or a divine Virtue from Christ, descends upon the Elements, and accompanies them to all worthy Communicants; and that therefore they are said to be, and are the Body and Blood of Christ; the same Divinity, which is hypostatically united to the Body of Christ in Heaven, being virtually united to the Elements of Bread and Wine on Earth. Which also seems to be the Meaning of all the ancient Liturgies, in which it is prayed, *that God would send down his Spirit upon the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist*. And this doubtless is the Meaning of *Origen* in his Eighth Book against *Celsus*, p. 399. where speaking of the holy Eucharist, he says, there-

in *. “ We eat Bread by Prayer, (*i. e.* by the
 “ Prayer of Consecration for the Descent of the
 “ divine Spirit upon it) made a certain holy Body,
 “ which also sanctifies those, who with a sound or
 “ sincere purpose of Heart use it. But that neither
Justin Martyr, nor *Irenaus*, nor *Origen* ever dream’d
 of the *Transubstantiation* of the Elements, is most
 evident : For *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaus* do both of
 them plainly affirm, that by eating and drinking the
 Bread and Wine in the Eucharist, *our Bodies are*
nourish’d, and that the *Bread and Wine are digested,*
and turn’d into the Substance of our Bodies ; which
 to affirm of the glorified Body of Christ, were im-
 pious and blasphemous ; and to affirm the same of
 the mere Accidents of the Bread and Wine, would
 be very absurd and ridiculous. And *Origen* expressly
 saith, “ That what we eat in the Eucharist is Bread,
 “ but Bread sanctified and made holy by Prayer ;
 “ and which, by the divine Virtue that accompa-
 “ nies it, sanctifieth all those who worthily receive
 “ it. He that would see more of this Notion of
 the ancient Fathers, and particularly those Places
 of *Justin Martyr* and *Irenaus*, fully clear’d and vin-
 dicated, from the forc’d and absurd Glosses of the
Romanists, may consult my learned Friend Mr. *Grabe*,
 in his Notes upon *Justin Martyr*’s first Apology of
 his own Edition, p. 128, 129. but especially in his
 large and elaborate Annotation upon *Irenaus*, lib. 4.
 cap. 34.

I shall dismiss this Article with this one only Ob-
 servation, that after the prodigious Doctrine of
Transubstantiation was confirm’d by the first *Late-*
ran Council, there were many in the Communion
 of the Church of *Rome*, who could not digest it,

* “ Ἀγίως ἐσθίουμεν σῶμα ἁγίων, διὰ τὸ εὐχόμεν ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 ἀγιάζοντες τὸ μέν ὕψους προθέσεως αὐτῶν χρυσάφους.

did not in Truth believe it, and wish'd from their Hearts that their Church had never defin'd it. For this we have the ample Testimonies of very eminent Writers of that Church. " The Conversion
 " of the Bread and Wine into Christ's Body
 " and Blood, saith *Cajetan, par. 3. qu. 75. Article 1.*
 " all of us do teach in Words: but indeed many
 " deny it, thinking nothing less. These are di-
 " versely divided one from another: For some by
 " the Conversion that is in the Sacrament, under-
 " stand nothing but Identity of Place; that is,
 " that the Bread is therefore said to be made the
 " Body of Christ, because where the Bread is, the
 " Body of Christ becomes present also. Others un-
 " derstand by the Word *Conversion*, nothing else
 " but the Order of Succession; that is, that the
 " Body succeedeth, and is under the Veils of Acci-
 " dents, under which the Bread, which they sup-
 " pose to be annihilated, was before. *Occam, Cen-
 " zilogii conclus. cap. 19.* saith, " There are three Opi-
 " nions about *Transubstantiation*, of which the first
 " supposeth a Conversion of the Sacramental Ele-
 " ments, the second the Annihilation, the third
 " affirmeth the Bread to be in such manner transub-
 " stantiated into the Body of Christ, that it is no
 " way chang'd in Substance, or substantially con-
 " verted into Christ's Body, or doth cease to be,
 " but only that the Body of Christ in every part
 " of it becomes present in every part of the Bread.
Waldensis, Tom. 2. de Sacram. Eucharistia, cap. 19.
 reports out of *Christopolitanus Zacharias* his Book,
 entitled, *Quatuor unum*, " That there were some,
 " perhaps many, but hardly to be discern'd and
 " noted, who thought still as *Berengarius* did. The
 same *Waldensis*, in the same Book, *cap. 64.* saith,
 " That some supposed the Conversion that is in the
 " Sacrament to be, in that the Bread and Wine are

“assum’d into the Unity of Christ’s Person; some
 “thought it to be by way of Impanation, and some
 “by way of figurative and tropical Appellation.
 “The first and second of these Opinions, found the
 “better Entertainment in some Mens Minds, be-
 “cause they grant the essential Presence of Christ’s
 “Body, and yet deny not the Presence of the
 “Bread still remaining, to sustain the appearing
 “Accidents. These Opinions he reports to have
 been very acceptable to many, not without Sighs
 wishing the Church had decreed that Men should
 follow one of them.

Patrick’s Christian Sacrifice, p. 77, 78. It is cer-
 tain, that it was not common Bread and Wine
 which the ancient Christians prayed might become
 the Body and Blood of Christ to them; but Bread
 and Wine first sanctified, by being offered to God
 with Thanksgiving*, and presented to him with
 due Acknowledgments, that he was the Lord and
 Giver of all things. After which follow’d a thankful
 Mention of the great Love of God, in sending his
 Son to redeem Mankind by his Death, represented
 by that holy Bread and Wine broken and poured
 out, in Commemoration of his Passion. This was
 the principal thing of all, which our Church there-
 fore expressly puts us in mind of, in the Words now
 recited, and distinctly acknowledgeth in the Prayer
 of Consecration. As for the other, that also is to
 be understood when you see the Bread and Wine
 set upon God’s Table by him that ministers in this
 Divine Service. Then it is offered to God; for
 whatsoever is solemnly placed there, becomes by
 that means a thing dedicated and appropriated to
 him.

* Irenæus, *lib. 4. cap. 34.*—*Offerens ei cum gratiarum actione
 ex creatura ejus.*

And if you observe the time when this Bread and Wine is order'd to be plac'd there, which is immediately after the Alms of the People have been receiv'd for the Poor, you will see that it is intended by our Church to be a thankful Oblation to God of the Fruits of the Earth. And accordingly all that are there present, when they behold the Priest thus preparing the Bread and Wine for Consecration to an higher Mystery, should secretly lift up their Souls to God in hearty Thanksgiving, and offer him the Sacrifice of Praise for these and all other his Benefits: desiring him to accept of these Gifts, as a small Token of their grateful Sense, that they hold all they have of him, as the great Lord of the World. And so we are taught to do in that Prayer which immediately follows in our Liturgy, for the *whole State of Christ's Church*, and wherein we humbly beseech him to accept not only our Alms, but also our Oblations. These are things distinct: and the former (Alms) signifying that which was given for the Relief of the Poor, the latter (Oblations) can signify nothing else but (according to the Style of the ancient Church) this Bread and Wine presented to God, in a thankful Remembrance of our Food both dry and liquid, (as *Justin Martyr* speaks) which he, the Creator of the World, hath made and given unto us. But above all, we must be sure to offer our devouteſt Acknowledgments for that Gift of Gifts, the Son of God dying for us: without which Thanksgiving, to speak the Truth, we do not do that which Christ commanded, and so cannot hope for the Blessing he hath promised.

Dr. Heylin, in his *Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, p. 52, 53. Now as the Doctor was the *first Son of the Church of England*, so was Sedulius the *first Writer before the Reformation*, that literally, and in the first

Place

Place did bend this Text to the material Altar. Just so I promise you, and no otherwise. Or had *Sedulius* been the first, the Exposition had not been so modern, but that it might lay claim to a fair Antiquity. *Sedulius* liv'd so near *St. Austin*, that he might seem to tread on his very Heels, the one being plac'd by *Bellarmino ann. 420*, the other *ann. 430*, but ten Years after. And if the Cardinal's Note be true *, that he excerpted all his Notes on *St. Paul's Epistles*, from *Origen, Ambrose, Hierom, and Austin*; for ought I know, his Exposition of the Place may be as old as any other whatsoever. But for *Sedulius* (wheresoever he had it) thus he clears the Place †; *Habemus nos fideles Altare, præter Altare Judæorum, unde Corpus & Sanguinem Christi participamus*; i. e. the Faithful have an *Altar*, yet not the *Jewish Altar* neither, from whence they do participate of Christ's Body and Blood: that is plain enough, and yet no plainer than *St. Chrysostome*, though you have darkened him as much as possibly you can, to abuse the Father ||. *Chrysostome* expounds it (as you say) of τὰ παρ ἡμῖν, of the things professed here amongst us: For Proof whereof you bring in *Œcumenius* with his ὁμολογήσεις, the Tenets, as it were, of Christian Men. So that, if you may be believed, the Father and his Second do expound the Place of the Doctrine, Tenets, or Profession of the Church of Christ. First to begin with *Chrysostome* **, εἰς ὅσα τὰ ἰσχυρὰ, φησι, τοιαῦτα τὰ παρ ἡμῖν, ὡς μὴδὲ ἀρχιερεὶ δέμῃς εἶ) μελέχεν αὐτῶν. The Words, you see, put neutrally, and so translated in the *Latin*, *Non enim qualia sunt apud Judæos, talia*

* Scriptis explanationes in omnes Epistolas Sancti Pauli, ex Origine, Ambrosio, Hieronymo, & Augustino excerptas. In Script. Eccles.

† In locum.

|| Page 122.

** In Heb. 13. 10.

etiam nostra sunt ; that is, as I conceive his Meaning, *Our Sacrifices*, or *our Sacraments*, are not such as the *Jewish* were, *our Altar* not as theirs, nor any of *our Rites* thereunto belonging. My Reason is, because it followeth in the Father, ὡς μὴδ' ἐ ἀρχιερεῖ δέμῃς ἐῖ) μελέχεν αὐτῶν, so that it is not lawful, no not to the *Highb Priest* himself, to partake thereof. Of what I pray you ? Not of the *things professed in the Christian Church* ? I hope you will not say, but it was lawful to the *Priests* to be Partakers of the Doctrine of our Lord and Saviour. Why did the Apostles preach unto the *Jews*, in case it were not lawful for them to make Profession of the Faith ? Therefore the Father must needs mean the *Christian's Sacrifice*, (perform'd upon the *Altar* which the Apostle speaks of) of which it was not lawful for the *Highb Priest* (continuing as he was *Highb Priest*) to be Partaker. And this I take the rather to have been his Meaning, because *Theophylact*, who followed *Chrysostom* so exactly *, that he doth seem to have abridg'd him, doth thus descant on it ; “ Ἐπειδὴ ἐπεὶ, &c. Having before said, (*ver. 9.*) “ that no regard was to be had of Meats, lest our “ own Ordinances [τὰ ἡμέτερα] might be thought “ contemptible, as things unobserv'd, he adds, “ that we have Ordinances of our own, [ὅτι καὶ “ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ἀντιστοιχίαν] not about Meats, (as were “ the *Jews*) ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θυσιαστηρίῳ, but such as do “ concern the *Altar* †, or the unbloody Sacrifice of “ Christ's quickning Body. Of which, which Sacrifice “ [ταύτης γὰρ] it is not lawful for the *Priests* to be “ Partakers, as long as they do Service to the *Tabernacle*, i. e. the Legal Signs and Shadows. The

* Ita Chrysostomum secutus est, ut ejus abbreviator dici possit. Bellarm. de Scrip. Eccl.

† Ἦτοι τῇ ἀνάμνησιν θυσίας καὶ ζώοις σώματι. In loc.

like faith also *Œcumenius* with his *ᾠδὴν ἡγήσεις*, which you have Englished *Tenets*, with the like Felicity as you did the *τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν* in *Chrysostome*. For *Œcumenius* saying as *Theophylact* had done before, because the Apostle had affirmed, "That no
"Regard was to be had of Meats, &c. he adds,
"Μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκ ἑχομένην ᾠδὴν ἡγήσεις, and have
"not we also our own Ordinances or Observations?
"To which he answers with *Theophylact*, but a
"great deal plainer, *Yes, ἀλλ' ἔ βοφμάτων, ἀλλὰ*
"τῷ θυσιαστοῦς ἡμῶν, not of Meats, but of our
"Altar.

Consultatio Cassandri in Operibus H. Grotii, editis Amstelædami, 1679. p. 604. Atque hac ratione hoc Sacrificium, quatenus Sacerdotis pia supplicatione peragetur, non modo Eucharisticum, sed etiam propitiatorium dici possit; non quidem ut efficiens propitiationem, quod Sacrificio Crucis proprium est, sed ut eam jam factam impetrans, quomodo oratio, cujus hoc Sacrificium Species est, propitiatoria dici potest—— Ad orationem autem Sacrificii intelligendam illud quoque observandum est, quod antiquissima, &, ut videtur, Apostolica consuetudine, populus fidelis ad Mensam Dominicam Panem & Vinum solet offerre in usum sacri Ministerii, quæ ipsæ hostiæ & Sacrificia dici solent: omninoque hoc proprium Christiani populi Sacrificium esse putabatur, quod in Pane & Vino peragitur, locoque omnium veterum Sacrificiorum Christiano populo commendatur, quæ cum postea in Corpus & Sanguinem Domini per mysticam Benedictionem transirent, & Deo Patri in mysterio offerrentur, typus oblationis *Melchisedechi* in hoc perpetuo Christi Sacerdotio, quo ex his creaturis, quas obtulerat *Melchisedech*, Ministri Ecclesiæ Sacrificium Laudis & Orationis offerunt, impleri traditur, atque hoc esse illud Sacrificium quod *Malachias* prædixit, In omni loco a Gentibus of-

offerendum Sacrificium mundum : de quo *Justinus, Irenæus, Cyprianus, Eusebius, Hieronimus, Augustinus*, & alii plerique omnes veteres Scriptores concorditè scripserunt, quæ huc adferre longum esset.

Annotata Grotii ad Consult. Cassand. p. 620. Oblatio autem sive Sacrificium hic est triplex. Primò enim offeruntur Deo Species istæ creatæ a Deo ad vitæ hujus sustentationem. Hoc est quod dicitur in Liturgiis, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σου, tua de tuis. Offerimus ea quæ sunt ejus, ait *Irenæus* dicto capite. Nec mirum id dici Sacrificium, cùm LXX Interpretes etiam illam *Legalem ex Simila oblationem*, de qua agitur *Leviticæ*, cap. 11. θυσία vocent, & Græci Pagani προσέματα, quibus accedebat Vini libatio. Alterum Sacrificium est in eo ipso quod Christus obtulit; namque hoc ipsum & Ecclesia Deo offert per gratam commemorationem, Deumque orat ut suas preces ratas faciat propter Corpus & Sanguinem Christi. Et rectè Deo offerimus quod Christus nostrum fecit. Hoc sensu *Augustinus* de Spiritu & Litera hoc Sacramentum vocat ipsum verissimum & singulare Sacrificium : & alibi ait eum non mentiri, qui ait Christum ibi immolari : quod & μνήμην προσφέρειν ἔθελον, [memoriam offerre & immolare] dixit *Eusebius*, lib. 1. de *Demonstratione Evangelica*. *Nicena* autem Synodus situm dicit in sacra illa mensa Agnum illum Dei tollentem peccata Mundi, incruentè a Sacerdotibus immolatum, & pretiosum ipsius Corpus & Sanguinem verè nos fumentes credere hæc esse Resurrectionis nostræ symbola.

Grotii Animad. in Animad. Riveti, p. 643. Nam si illa legalis ex *Simila Oblatio* dicitur propriè θυσία, cur non & Panis & Vinum ex usu profano seposita, & assumpta in usum sacrum? Erant ibi ritus, sunt & hic ritus.

Votum pro Pace, *ibid. p. 660.* Nam de Sacrificii voce quid illis libet illam arctiùs restringere, quàm terat

ferat aut origo vocis, aut usus? Nihil respondet *D. Rivetus* ad id quod dixi legalem de Simila oblationem, id est, מנחה, dici *Θυσίαν*. *Addam* ego ex *Gen. iv. 3.* ex Græco: ἤνεγκε Καὶν ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶν τῆ γῆς *Θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ*, [tulit Cain de fructibus terræ Sacrificium Domino.] Ergo etiam de fructibus terræ quæ fit Oblatio, *Θυσία*, id est, Sacrificium rectè dicitur. Sacrificant ergo fideles cum fructum Segetis & fructum Vineæ offerunt, ut in usum illum sanctissimum consecrentur. Deinde Ecclesia Sacrificium Christi quo solet ritu verbisque commemorans, in eo quoque sacrificat & offert quod suum est, sibi a Christo datum, id Deo ob oculos ponit, per id Deum obsecrat, estque idem quod Christus obtulit Sacrificium; idem unum verum & singulare Sacrificium *Augustino*; μνήμης *Θυσία*, [Sacrificium memoriale] *Eusebio*; νοεγὰ *Θυσία*, [Sacrificium intellectuale] aliis. Post id semet offerunt fideles ad exemplum Christi, bona sua, labores suos, etiam vitam, si non effectum certè affectu, quomodo *Abrahamus* Filium obtulit sacrificans. Quid in his novum, quid detortum, quid noxium?

Rivetiani Apologetici discussio, *ibid.* p. 699. Qui Sacrificii nomen Missæ sive Eucharistico ritui hætenus denegârunt, eo usi sunt argumento, quòd in ea voce, cùm propriè ponitur, occisionem putârunt includi. At aliter se res habet. Ostenderat *Grotius* Græcam vocem, quæ Sacrificii voce transfertur in versionibus Græcis Novi Testamenti, ut & in Scriptore ad Hebræos xi. 4. dici de terræ frugibus & de libo è Simila. Neque verbum, unde id nomen Græcum venit, primitivo significatu est occidere, quanquam ex victimarum occisione cò postea traductum est, sed suffire; ut notatum est *Porphyrio*: quod & nomina multa ei verbo affinia in Græco Sermonem ostendunt. Bene dixit *Huntlaus*, *Sacrificium nihil esse aliud, quàm oblationem rei sensibilis,*

sibilis, Deo factam : Sacrificium autem hoc esse representativum, seu commemorativum, in id institutum, ut Dei supremum Dominium, & Christi Passionem representat. Cardinalis Perronius Sacrificium Sacrificii applicativum appellat. Quid in hac re melius dici potuit ?

Ibid. p. 715. Quod vero dicit D. Rivetus, ad illam præcationem in Liturgiis antiquis omnibus positam, ut Deus dona illa per suum Spiritum sanctificet, eaque faciat Corpus & Sanguinem Christi, addi in Romana Missa, *nobis* ; id rectum est, & cum sensu aliarum Liturgiarum optimè congruit. De tali formulâ sic Augustinus, Epist. LIX, Quæst. v, ad illud Pauli, Obsecro primum omnium fieri obsecrationes: *Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut preces accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici, orationes, cum benedicitur, & ad distribuendum comminuitur : quam totam orationem pene omnis Ecclesia, Dominica oratione concludit.* Epistola vero CXVIII. Unde intelligi datur, quia multum erat ut in Epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat Ecclesia, ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nulla morum diversitate variatur. Sic & Basilius, Libro de Spiritu sancto, formam consecrandi, usitatam in Ecclesiis, ait esse traditionis Apostolicæ. Et sanè tantus ille apud Græcos, Latinos, Arabas, Armenios, Syros, Ægyptios, Æthiopes, non in rebus tantum, sed & in verbis præcipuis, consensus non potest manasse nisi a communi fonte.

Monthly Preparations for the Holy Communion by R. B. (i. e. by Richard Baxter) with a Preface by Mr. Matthew Sylvester, Second Edition. London, Printed by Th. Bunce, for Th. Parkhurst, 1706. p. 9. In the Consecration the Church doth first offer the Creatures of Bread and Wine, to be accepted by
God

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God to this sacred use: and God accepteth them, and blesseth them to this use, which he signifies both by the Words of his own Institution, and by the Action of his Ministers, and their Benediction; they being the *Agents of God to the People* in this accepting and blessing, as they are *the Agents of the People to God*, in offering or dedicating the Creatures to this Use.

N^o. 8.

Mr. *Hughes's* Preliminary DISSERTATIONS
(to *St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio*) where-
in the Authority of the Church, as it is
distinguish'd from that of the State, is
explain'd and defended, and all the
Objections of the *Erafsians* answer'd,
especially those of a late Author, who
has publish'd a Book, entitled, *The
Rights of the Christian Church*.

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THE
INTRODUCTION.

THERE came forth not long since, out of the Mire of the *Socinians*, a certain infamous Book, with this pleasant Title, *Concerning the Rights and Authority of the Christian Church*; when the only thing which that foul-mouth'd Scribler did therein propose to himself, was to the best of his skill to prove, that the Church consider'd as a Church could have no Right or Authority whatsoever belong to her. He does most strenuously contend, that all Ecclesiastical Power, even that which is most Spiritual, is to be deriv'd from the Civil Magistrate: that the Election of all the Ministers of the Church, and the Consecration of them when elected, belongs to the People by a certain natural and original Right, which cannot be transferr'd to others: that there is no Mystery at all in the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; that it contains nothing more, than a mere and simple Commemoration of Christ's Passion; and that there is no need of Consecration, or of Priesthood, to the due and effectual Administration of it: that the Right of Excommunication, as it is practis'd by our Church, nay as it has been always administer'd by the universal Church of Christ, from the Reign of *Constantine* down to our times, is absurd, monstrous, and tyrannical, and evidently repugnant to the Safety of the Civil Government; though at this very Day it does very well and conveniently agree with our *English* Monarchy, and has done so with all the Christian Governments in the World for thirteen hundred Years. And yet this

very

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very Book, which is so full of Absurdities throughout, and contains so many Impieties, and even Blasphemies, is in the Hands of all the Libertines, being wonderfully caught up by them all, and they are all strangely fond of it. Here the *Socinians* exult and triumph, and openly and loudly bragg, that the Cause of the Clergy is entirely defeated by this one Book : and that the most learned Divines can give no sound and solid Answer to these irrefragable Arguments. For my part I solemnly profess, I am not able so much as to conjecture, what there is in the Clergy of the Church of *England*, which this impious Herd of Deists can upon any Account despise. For whether we consider their natural Endowments, or their Learning, or the Probity and Integrity of their Manners, their worst Enemies must confess, that in all these respects there was never any Body of Men superiour to the Divines of our Church. And this their Enemies are forc'd to own whether they will or no ; and whatever they prate to the contrary among their own Party, their silent and desponding Thoughts acknowledge this Truth. They have seen their Cause wonderfully baffled, and all their plausible Arguments, by which they attempted to impose upon the unwary common People, solv'd, refuted, and entirely overthrown. They have seen the Authority of the Church most strenuously defended by Men of the greatest Learning ; and defended in such a manner, that they must be oblig'd either to allow this Authority to the Clergy, or to renounce the Christian Faith themselves, though this latter be not like to give them any great trouble. With how much strength of Reason, and with what weighty Arguments, has the Power of Excommunication been asserted to the Clergy by Dr. *Hicks*, a great Man, eminent for almost all sorts of Learning ? And the whole Controversy has been so well

and learnedly handled by Dr. *Potter*, *Regius Professor* of Divinity in *Oxford*, that nothing farther seems to be wanting to put an end to this unhappy Controversy. Nor must I omit to mention Mr. *Hoadly*, who has with very great Perspicuity and Judgment answer'd all the Arguments produc'd from holy Scripture for the Authority of the Laity in things sacred. But here I shall be ask'd, and that not without Reason: If it be as I say; if we have obtain'd so just and complete a Victory; what can I dare to promise after so great Men? The Answer to this Objection is very easy: That we cannot either write or preach often enough against such pernicious and poisonous Books. The Venom has spread far and wide; has infected Men of all Conditions; and undermines and destroys the very Foundations of the Christian Religion. It is incumbent upon us to take Care, that Provision be made of variety of different Medicines against this spreading Infection, that out of the whole Heap of them every one may choose for himself that which his Palate likes best. As to my own Particular, if these Dissertations of mine be able to bring back into the way, but one of those that have stray'd from it; if so much as one Christian that is staggering be hereby kept upon his Feet, and confirm'd; I shall think my Pains abundantly rewarded. Nor will it perhaps be unprofitable for such as intend to study Divinity, (for whose Sake I have publish'd this Edition of *St. Chrysostom de Sacerdotio*) to see as it were at one View, all the Power and Authority of the Church, for which we have been so fiercely disputing against the outrageous Madness of Hereticks from the Beginning of the Reformation, to be no other, than what the Primitive Church did always both acknowledge and assert. And indeed in this Work, whatever after all it may prove, I thought regard was chiefly

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ly to be had to such as intend to be Divines: for I was thoroughly persuaded, that if all who are initiated into holy Orders, did first imbibe just Notions concerning this most important Question, we should easily overcome our Adversaries. For nothing has been a greater Prejudice to the Catholick Church, especially to that part of it that is reform'd, than a gross Ignorance of the Dignity of the Priesthood, which has occasion'd the Contempt of it even among the Clergy themselves. How far my Pains in this Undertaking may be serviceable to this most noble Purpose, I leave others to judge; I am sure my Intention was very good. But besides this, our modern Defender of the Christian Church is pleas'd to arraign *St. Chrysostom*, whose Authority was always in the greatest Esteem, and to accuse him of Ignorance, Pride, and Ambition. "What Wonder is it, say the Laity, if *St. Chrysostom*, who was a Priest himself, has made such glorious Harangues concerning the Authority of the Priesthood? We need not give Credit to him: He is pleading his own Cause; and being lead or rather carry'd headlong by an ungovernable Ambition, he ignorantly and unadvisedly says any thing, that may seem to conduce to the Support of the Ecclesiastical Tyranny. The only thing, say they, which this haughty Priest propos'd to himself, was to gratify the growing Ambition of the Bishops; to bind the People to a blind and tyrannical Obedience, and put them under a Spiritual Yoke; and to raise the Clergy so much above them, tho' taken out of the very Dregs of the People, as to have no Superiour but God only. If this be the Case, and our *St. Chrysostom* be the Person they describe him, I have indeed deserv'd little Praise for publishing such an Author, and recommending him so earnestly to those, who purpose to study Divinity.

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ty. For which Reason it appear'd to me not only useful, but also in a manner necessary, to defend the holy Father from these senseless Calumnies; and to shew, that nothing is contain'd in this Treatise concerning the Dignity of the Christian Priesthood, but what is most amply confirm'd by the Judgment of the universal Church. Either therefore St. *Cyprian* must be wholly clear'd from this unjust Accusation, or the whole Primitive Church, of as great Extent as it was, will have been universally involv'd in the same Guilt.

The venerable Father seems to prove the Dignity of the Christian Priesthood chiefly by those two extraordinary Privileges with which it is adorn'd, viz. the Consecration of the Eucharist, and the Power of absolving Penitents. Therefore I shall undertake to prove, that the Christian Clergy have these two Powers, and that the Church of Christ has always laid Claim to them, and exercis'd them as intrusted with her by Jesus Christ. And since these two Powers do both suppose and demonstrate the Christian Church to be a true and proper Society, and that if we grant the Church of Christ to be a true Society, it thence evidently follows, that a Right of Excommunication belongs to her; I was perswaded it would not be foreign to my Purpose, to take the matter a little higher, and premise something concerning the Nature, and Privileges, and Authority of this Spiritual Society. And after I had consider'd the thing once and again, the following Method seem'd the easiest, and best adapted to my Purpose, viz. That I should undertake to prove,

- I. *That the Christian Church is a true and proper (although it be a Spiritual) Society, distinct from all the Societies of this World, and a Society to which*

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which all Men are oblig'd to join themselves, under the greatest Peril of their Souls.

II. *That the Government of this Society was by the Apostles committed unto Bishops, with a peculiar Power of ordaining the Ministers of the Church.*

III. *That this Christian Society has by no means been incorporated with the Civil from the time of Constantine, but has always remain'd intire, and with regard to all its Spiritual Powers wholly separate.*

IV. *That the Right of Excommunication belongs to the Christian Church by divine Right.*

V. *That the Power of consecrating the Eucharist appertains only to Priests duly ordain'd by Bishops.*

VI. *That the Christian People had no proper Votes in the Elections of the Clergy.*

If I can once prove all this, which I hope to do most abundantly, whatever has been senselessly and rashly thrown out against the Christian Clergy by *Erastus, Selden, Hobbes*, and this late Scribler, who has with great Diligence stol'n from their Writings, must necessarily fall to the ground, and come to nothing.

I will therefore now, by the Assistance of God, (for whose Honour and Glory I have undertaken this Work, such as it is) begin with the Nature of the Christian Society.

DISSERTATION I.

The Christian Church is a true and proper (although it be a Spiritual) Society, and distinct from all the Societies of this World; and a Society to which all Men are oblig'd to join themselves under the greatest Peril of their Souls.

THIS is my first Proposition. Now in order to prove this Proposition, it will be of use to consider those various Names and Appellations, by which the Church of Christ is frequently denoted in holy Scripture. For from these it will easily appear to any modest Man, that Jesus Christ has founded a proper and a publick Society.

I. The Church then is call'd in the holy Scriptures *the Kingdom^a of Heaven, the Kingdom^b of God, the Kingdom^c of the Son, the House^d of God, the Temple^e of God, the Common-wealth^f (or Government) of Israel*, by which is properly signify'd the Administration of some Kingdom. Jesus Christ is call'd *the Head^g of the Church*, and the Church is styl'd *the Body of Christ*, and ⁱ *a Spiritual House*.

Now such Expressions as these do at least imply thus much, that Jesus Christ has constituted a certain regular Society, whereof all are oblig'd to be Members, who will obtain that Salvation, which Christ has purchas'd for us. For they who are not

^a Mat. 10. 7. Βασιλεία τῶν ὐρανῶν. ^b Act. 28. ult. Βασιλεία τῶν Θεῶν. ^c Col. 1. 13. Βασιλεία τῶν ὑψ. ^d Heb. 3. 6. Ὁικ. Θεῶν. ^e 1 Cor. 3. 16. Ναὸς Θεῶν. ^f Eph. 2. 12. Πολίτευ. τῆς Ἰσραὴλ. ^g Eph. 1. 22. Τῆς Εκκλησίας κεφαλὴ. ^h Ibid. v. 23. Τὸ σῶμα τῶν Χριστοῦ. ⁱ 1 Pet. 2. 5. Ὁικ. πνευματικῶν.

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Members of this Body, of this Society, cannot have Christ for their Head; and they who are not join'd to the Head, cannot partake of any Influx deriv'd from it.

To this may be added that in St. *Matthew*^k, *The Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto a Man, which sowed good Seed in his Field, compar'd with what follows*^l, *So shall it be in the end of this World.* And the Church is expressly call'd *the House of God*^m; *That thou mayst know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the House of God, which is the Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.* All Christians are said to be ⁿ *Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the Household of God; to be built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-stone; in whom all the Building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord; in whom you also are builded together for an Habitation of God through the Spirit.* If therefore all the Disciples of Jesus Christ, where-soever dispers'd, are Fellow-Citizens, built together upon one Foundation, and constitute one Building, one Temple, one Habitation; it evidently follows, that all the Christians in the World are Members of one Society, which is separated from all other Societies by some certain Privileges.

^k *Matt.* 13. 24. Ὁμοιωθὴ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ σπέρματι καλὸν σπέρμα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ. ^l *Ibid.* v. 40. Οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων τέταρτον. ^m *1 Tim.* 3. 15. — ἵνα εἰδῇς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἥ τις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζώντων, σὺληθὴ καὶ ἐδρασίωμα τῆ ἀληθείας. ⁿ *Eph.* 2. 19, 20, 21, 22. Συμπολίται τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ οἰκέοι τῷ θεῷ· ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὅντις ἀπερὶ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογεῖται αὐξομένη εἰς ναὸν ἐν κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς σωματικῶς ἐδεσμεύεσθε εἰς καὶ οἰκοκλήριον τῷ θεῷ ἐν πνεύματι.

For as the Body is one, says the Apostle °, and has many Members, and all the Members of that one Body, being many, are one Body : so also is Christ ; for by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body. Now ye are the Body of Christ, and Members in particular : and God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers, &c. All Christians are Members of one Body, and are united to that Body by the Sacrament of Baptism. The Christian Church is a Body consisting of various and different Members ordain'd, and appointed for divers Uses ; that is, the Christian Church is one Society, furnish'd and adorn'd with several Orders, and Offices, and Ministries of Men. Some are to be taught, and some teach in this Church ; some are Subjects, and some on the contrary are Rulers and Governours, appointed by Jesus Christ himself. They must be stupid and senseless, whom all this does not convince, that the Christian Church is a Society, to which all Men are oblig'd to join themselves ; and if it be granted that the Church of Christ is a Society, to which all Christians, as such, are oblig'd to join themselves, it will plainly follow from hence, that this Society is different and distinct from all other Societies whatsoever.

II. Another Argument of this, and one which to me always seem'd of great Force, may be drawn from those Passages of Scripture, in which all Christians are commanded to be baptiz'd, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; and where

° 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ Σῶμα ἐν ὅτι, καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλά, πάντα ὃ τὰ μέλη τῷ Σώματι ὡς ἓν ἓνός, πολλά ὄντα, ἐν ὅτι Σῶμα· ἕτα καὶ ὁ Χριστός· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν Σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν. Ver. 27, 28. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐσε Σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους· καὶ ὅς μὲν ἐθέλω ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον Διδασκάλους, &c.

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Ministers and Pastors, whose Duty and Office it is to administer the Sacraments, are enjoin'd to offer up Prayers to God for the People, and to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures, and where Obedience and Submission to those Censures is requir'd as a necessary Duty of all Men.

For by one Spirit, says the Apostle ^p, are we all baptized into one Body. For we being many are one Bread and one Body; for we are all Partakers of that one Bread. Being initiated by Baptism, we were made Members of the Christian Church: by partaking of the Lord's Supper we grow and are confirm'd. Nay, by the Sacrament of Baptism we acquire a Right to participate of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. And that this Rite of Baptism is to continue to the End of the World does most evidently appear from that Passage in St. John ^q, *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* Seeing therefore that all Christians ought to be baptiz'd, and afterwards to commemorate in the Eucharist the Passion of our blessed Saviour; it hence follows, that we are all oblig'd to unite together into a Society, to the end that these Sacraments may be the better and the more safely administred. For supposing the Christian Church to be no Society, there will be an End of the Sacraments. On this supposition no one will be oblig'd to be baptiz'd, nor to partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Nay, if you take away the Christian Society, nothing will be more useless and insignificant, than the Sacrament of Baptism: for by this Sacrament,

^p 1 Cor. xii. 13. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν Σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν. Ch. x. 17. Ὅτι εἰς ἄλφ, ἐν Σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τῆς ἑνὸς ἄλφ μετέχομεν.

^q John iii. 5.

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as by a holy Rite or Ceremony, we are join'd and associated to the Christian, as the *Jews* were of old to the *Jewish* Church by the Rite of Circumcision: But if the Christian Church is not a Society, unto which we are oblig'd to join our selves, such as the *Jewish* Church was; to what Use or Purpose, I would fain know, can this Ceremony of initiating serve? And the same is also prov'd from the Sacrament of the Eucharist: For seeing that we are Partakers of one consecrated Bread, we therefore constitute one Body: one mystical Body, as we are united to God by Faith; one political Body, as we are most closely incorporated with one another by the Participation of the same holy Mysteries.

Not forsaking the assembling of our selves together, says the Author^r of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another.* And the Apostle to *Timothy*^r, *I exhort therefore, that first of all Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, &c.* From these Passages it is, I think, sufficiently manifest, that the Profession of the Christian Faith, is lame and imperfect, unless the publick Worship be join'd with it. We are therefore all under the highest Obligation to assemble together, in order to worship Jesus Christ according to his Institution, and to receive the Sacraments appointed by him. In this one Privilege the Christian Society consists: Jesus Christ himself entrusted this Authority with his Church, that in all Countries they should meet together in publick Assemblies for the Sake of Worship and Discipline. Hence also we may conclude, that

^r *Heb. x. 25.* Μὴ ἐγκαταλείποις ὁ ὁπσιωαζωγῶ ἐαυτῶν, καθὼς ἔθις τισὶν, ἀλλὰ παρακαλῶντες.

^r *I Tim. ii. 1.* Παρακαλῶ ἐν πρῶτον πάντων ποιῶν δεήσεις, προσυχὰς, ὑμῶν, εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, &c.

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whatsoever may conduce to the due and entire Conservation of these publick Assemblies, was also granted by our Saviour to the Church. From this most plain Principle may be evidently deduc'd a Right, both of admitting such as are worthy to Baptism, and of rejecting the Unworthy by Excommunication. *Tertullian* himself describes ^t the Christian Church thus : *We are a Body from the Agreement of our Religion, and the Unity of our Discipline, and the Covenant of Hope. We assemble together in a Congregation, that we may as it were with joint Forces offer up our Request unto God, &c.* But of this I shall treat more at large elsewhere.

In *St. Paul's* Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus* we frequently read, that Deacons, Priests, and Bishops were made to establish, and teach, and govern the Church of God. *Timothy* and *Titus* are instructed by the Apostle, how they should also choose others into the Ministry, who might perform the same Duties. Now to what purpose, I beseech you, is all this, if the Church of Christ be not a Society ? To these Bishops appointed by the Apostles, it belongs to correct, not only the Laity, but the Clergy ; and to deprive such as are incorrigible, as appears from that of the Apostle to *Timothy* ^u, *Against an Elder receive not an Accusation, but before two or three Witnesses.*

It is their Duty not only to *preach the Word, and to be instant in season and out of season, but also even to reprove, and to rebuke* ^w. To them it appertains to remove Hereticks out of the Church ; *A Man that is an Heretick, says St. Paul to Titus* ^x, *after the first and second Admonition reject.* If all

^t *Apol. cap. 39. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, & disciplinæ unitate, & spei fœdere. Coimus in cærum & congregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu factâ precationibus ambiamus orantes, &c.*

^u *1 Tim. 5. 19.*

^w *2 Tim. 4. 2.*

^x *Tit. 3. 10.*

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this do not prove a Society, it will be very difficult to comprehend what a Society is. Add to this, that all Christians are commanded to yield Obedience to Bishops and Priests that are duly ordain'd in those Words of the Apostle¹, *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your Souls, as they that must give Account, &c.* See the learned Grotius upon the Place.

III. This Christian Society is likewise abundantly demonstrated from all those Passages of holy Scripture, in which Schism and Schismatics are condemn'd; as that of St. Paul², *Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learn'd, and avoid them; and that³, where Schism is reckon'd amongst the most grievous Sins, and such as shut Men out from the Kingdom of Heaven; Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies; and where Schismatics are call'd grievous (or ravenous) Wolves⁴, carnal⁵, &c. For whereas there is among you Envyng, and Strife, and Divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as Men? For while one saith, I am of Paul, another I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal? From these Passages we most expressly gather, that every Schism or Separation from the Church, made without a*

¹ Heb. 13. 17.

² Rom. 16. 17. Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, σκοπεῖν πρὸς τὰς διχοστασίας, καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα πρὸς τὴν διδασχλῶν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε, ποιῆσας· καὶ ἐκκλίνειτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

³ Gal. 5. 20. Εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἐχθραὶ, ἐρις, ζήλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις.

⁴ Acts 20. 29. Λύκοι βαρεῖς, lupi rapaces.

⁵ 1 Cor. 3. 3, 4. Ὅπως γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζήλος καὶ ἔρις καὶ διχοστασίαι ἐκὶ σαρκικοὶ ἐστέ, καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων πειραζέτε; ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις, ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παῦλος, ἕτερος δὲ, ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶν, ἐκὶ σαρκικοὶ ἐστέ.

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just Cause, is a Sin, and such a Sin as excludes from the Kingdom of Heaven. Now what is the Meaning of all this? What is the Reason that Schism is so grievous, and so very dangerous a Sin? From this open Condemnation of Schism, it manifestly appears according to the best of my Understanding, that all Christians are ty'd by the strictest Obligation to hold Communion with each other in the holy Offices. It appears also, that Jesus Christ hath instituted a certain Society, to which all Men are oblig'd to join themselves.

But here it may not be amiss to say something concerning the Nature of Schism: for there are not wanting those who believe, that that Notion of Schism which obtain'd in the third and fourth Century, is by no means the same with that, which we are taught in the sacred Oracles.

For the better understanding of the Nature of Schism, these two things seem to be necessary. *1st*, that we should be rightly inform'd what was the Opinion of the *Jews* in this Matter. *2dly*, that we should also know, what Conceptions concerning Schism the Apostolick Fathers had, who without doubt receiv'd their Notions from the very Apostles themselves. And it is hardly possible to believe, that those most holy Men could in a matter of so great moment either be deceiv'd, or vary the least tittle from the Apostles own Opinion. By this Method in my Judgment, we shall more easily arrive at the true Nature of Schism, than by wresting several Passages of the holy Scriptures, in which we cannot expect to meet with a perfect Description of Schism, when there was no such thing as a formal Schism had yet happen'd. It does not by any means appear, that in the times of the Apostles Hereticks had set up Altars against Altars, in which alone the very Nature and Essence of Schism is plac'd

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plac'd both by *St. Ignatius* and *St. Cyprian*, whose Opinions concerning Schism have been very closely follow'd by the Catholick Church, as most clearly appears from *St. Jerom* and *St. Augustin*. This being the Case, I was of Opinion, that there could not be a more commodious way taken to clear this Difficulty, than by accurately considering, what were the Principles of the *Jews* with respect to this Question, and what the Practice and Custom of the Primitive Church.

I. First then, let us see what was the Opinion of the *Jews* in this matter. It is most evident from *Josephus*, that *Manasses* Brother to *Jaddus* the High-Priest, inveigled by the fair Promises of *Sanballat*, made a Separation from the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and erected a new Temple, and instituted a new Order of Priests in Mount *Gerizim*. Here we see Altar properly set up against Altar, and Priest against Priest. This the *Jews* call'd a Schism. From this Fountain was deriv'd that fierce and cruel Enmity between those two People, which continu'd from this time down to that of our blessed Saviour. The *Jews* took it for granted, that the Worshippers at the Temple of *Gerizim*, in that they had departed from the Center of Unity, and the Succession of the Priests, were no longer *Jews*, no longer a part of God's *Peculium*, had nothing to do with the Covenant of God, no Claim to his Promises. They accounted them all, though born of *Jewish* Parents, to be ἀλλόφυλοι, *Strangers*, and indeed mere Heathens. And that this was the Cause of that deadly Hatred to them, is evident from hence, that there cannot be alledg'd any other probable Cause of it. They were not *Gentiles*, but they were Profelytes of Justice; they embrac'd all the Mosaical or Ceremonial Law, and had receiv'd Circumcision, the Seal of the Covenant. Nor were they Idolaters; there

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is no mention of this Accusation against them; the *Jews* never upbraided them with it. This appears farther from the Defence of *Andronicus*^a, beginning from the Law to prove his Sanctity and Religion, and shewing by the continued Successions of the High-Priests, the Propagation of the Priesthood down to his own times.

1st, He argues from the Unity of the Priesthood prescrib'd by the Law; and, 2^{dly}, from the Succession, which *Manasses* had violated.

All these things are confirm'd by the Samaritan Woman's Question^c: *How is it* (says she to our Saviour, who had ask'd her to give him Drink) *that thou being a Jew, askest Drink of me, which am a Woman of Samaria: For the Jews have no Dealings with the Samaritans, &c.*

From this Story I would observe these things:

1. That between those two Temples opposite to each other, there was a true Schism.

2. That the Schism did therein consist, that they had violated the Principle of Unity, and the Succession of the Priests.

3. That such is the Nature of Schism, according to the Principles of the *Jews*, that it alienated Men from the Covenant of God.

The Samaritan Woman, perceiving that Jesus Christ was a Prophet, immediately asks him concerning that famous Controversy, which was at that time debated with very great Eagerness of Mind: *Our Fathers*, says she^f, *worshipped in this Mountain, and ye (Jews) say, that in Jerusalem (alone) is the Place (or Temple) where Men ought to worship.*

^a Joseph. Antiq. 13. 6. — ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τῇ διαδοχῇ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἔκαστος ἐξ αὐτῶν παλαιοῦς καὶ τιμωρ ἐκδεχάμενος ἡγήσεται τὴν λαόν.

^c John 4. 9.

^f Ibid. v. 20.

Our Saviour apparently determines the Controversy against the *Samaritans* ^a: *Ye worship*, says he, *ye know not what, we know what we worship; for Salvation is of the Jews*. Elsewhere ^b he calls the *Samaritans* ἀλλογενεῖς, *Strangers*, that is, separated from the *Jewish Peculium*. And he joins ^c the *Samaritans* with the *Gentiles*, and makes them both subject to the like Condition.

You see what were the Principles of the *Jews* concerning this Matter, and how those Principles were confirm'd by our Saviour himself.

II. We are next to consider how the holy Fathers have argu'd against Schism from these Principles.

1. St. Ignatius maintains, that every Religious Assembly without a Bishop, (who answers to the *Jewish High-Priest*) is unlawful and schismatical. ^d *Let us hasten therefore*, says he, *not to resist the Bishop, that we may be* ^e *subject to God. That we may obey the Bishop and College of Presbyters with an undistracted Mind, breaking one Bread, which is the Antidote against Mortality, &c.*

He describes the Unity of the Church by one Temple and one Altar. ^f *All therefore*, says he, *run together to the Temple of God, as to one Altar, &c.* Who does not see, that all this is deduced from the Principles of the *Jews*?

He ascribes only to the external Communion of the Bishops all those spiritual Sacrifices, which flow

^a Ibid. v. 22.

^b Luke 17. 18.

^c Matt. 10. 5.

^d Ignat. Epist. ad Ephesios, c. 5. Σπεύδουσμεν μὴ ἀνίστασθαι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὧμεν θεῷ ὑποταγόμενοι. ^e Ibid. c. 20. Εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ἡμᾶς τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπεισώμεθα διανοία, ἕνα ἄρτον κλάντες ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, &c.

^f Epist. ad Magnesios, c. 7. Πάντες ἐν ὧς εἰς ναὸν θεοῦ, συνήρχετε ὡς ἐπὶ ἑν θυσιασμένον, &c.

from Jesus Christ. ^m Do not mistake, says he, my Brethren, if any Man follows one that makes a Schism, he shall not inherit the Kingdom of God; if any one shall be of another Opinion, he contradicts Christ's Passion.

Study therefore, says he ⁿ, to join together in one Eucharist or Thanksgiving. The Eucharist answers to the Mosaical Sacrifices. And he produces these Reasons for their so doing; For there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one Cup in the Unity of his Blood: one Altar, as one Bishop, &c. Therefore the Unity of the Altar, and of the Priesthood proves, that we ought to join in one Eucharist in the Unity of the Church. And thus also the Jews disputed against the Samaritans.

But where there is Division, says he ^o, and Wrath, there God dwelleth not; therefore God pardons all that repent, if they return to the Unity of God, and to the Assembly of the Bishop. So that even Repentance it self, out of the Bishop's Communion, is not available to the Forgiveness of Sins. This is what we find in St. Ignatius.

2. And St. Cyprian says almost the same. Whosoever being separated from the Church, says he ^p, is
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^m Epist. ad Philadelph. c. 3. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου, εἰ τις χρίζῃ ἀκολληθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεῶν κληρονομήσει· εἰ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ συμπάσῃ τῷ πάτρει καὶ (συγκατατίθεται).

ⁿ Idem. ibid. c. 4. Σπαραξέτε ἐν μιᾷ Ἐυχαιστῇ χρηστῇ· μία ὁ ἅρξ ἡ κύριος ἡμεῶν Ἰησοῦς χριστός, καὶ ἐν ποίησειν εἰς ἑνωσιν τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν, ἐν θυσιάζειν, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπον, &c.

^o Idem. ibid. c. 8. Οὐδ' ὁ μείσμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς δὲ καλοῖ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν μετάνοᾳ ἀφίξις ὁ κύριος, εἰ μὴ μετάνοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα θεῶν, καὶ ζωέειον τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ.

^p Quisquis ab Ecclesiâ segregatus adulteræ jungitur, à promissis Ecclesiæ segregatur; nec pervenit ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit Ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus [ἀλλογενής,] hostis. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui non habet Ecclesiam matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam, qui extra Arcam Noe fuit,

join'd to an *Adulteress*, (he means to any schismatical Congregation) *he is separated from the Promises of the Church: nor does he attain the Rewards of Christ, who forsakes Christ's Church. He is a Stranger, a profane Person, [a Foreigner] an Enemy. He can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his Mother. If any one could escape, that was out of Noah's Ark; then he that shall be out of the Church will also escape.*

He says that the Sacrifices, that is the Eucharist, cannot be celebrated by those, who separate from the Church. *What Sacrifices, says he⁹ do these Rivals of the Priests think they celebrate? Do they imagine Christ is with them when assembled, who are assembled out of the Church of Christ? Though such Persons should be put to Death for confessing the Name of Christ; yet that Stain (he means their Schism) would not be wash'd off even with their Blood. — He cannot possibly be a Martyr, who is not in the Church. It is plain, that he has regard to the Temple. No Sacrifices offer'd out of the Temple were accepted.*

He who divides the Church, saith the same Father^r, and dissipates the Unity, profanes the Sacrament. And again^t, Being an Enemy of the Altar, and a Rebel

& qui extra Ecclesiam foris fuerit evadet. *De Unit. Eccl. p. 109. Edit. Amst. 1691.*

⁹ Quæ sacrificia celebrare se credant æmuli Sacerdotum? An secum esse Christum, cum collecti fuerint opinantur, qui extra Ecclesiam Christi colliguntur? Tales etiam in confessione nominis fuerint interfecti, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur — Esse Martyr non potest, qui in Ecclesia non est. *Ibid. p. 113.*

^r Qui Ecclesiam scindit, & unitatem dissipat, Sacramentum profanat. *Ibid. p. 114.*

^t Hostis altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, contemptis Episcopis, & Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, Dominicz hostiaz veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare. *Ibid. p. 116.*

against

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against the Sacrifice of Christ, despising the Bishops, and forsaking the Priests of God, he dares erect another Altar, offer up another Prayer with unballow'd Lips, and by false Sacrifices prophane the Truth of our Lord's own Oblation of himself. Now this is the very Phrase and manner of speaking among the *Jews*, which *St. Cyprian* uses frequently; and that *St. Ignatius* made use of the same was just now shewn. Therefore it cannot be deny'd, that the holy Fathers, even such as were contemporary with the Apostles themselves, argu'd against Schism from the Principles of the *Jews*; namely, that they us'd Arguments drawn from the Unity of the Altar, and of the Priesthood. From whence it most evidently follows, that the Nature of Schism consists in a Separation from the Unity of the Altar. And that these are the very same Notions, which our Saviour and his Apostles taught, is manifest from these two Considerations. *First*, That it is certain, that in the times of *St. Ignatius*, and even in those of *St. Cyprian*, Manifestations of the Spirit, and extraordinary Gifts were very familiar. How therefore can it be conceiv'd, that Persons of the greatest Prudence, and those often divinely inspir'd, could be mistaken concerning the Nature of Schism? *Secondly*, That they must either have borrow'd these Notions of Schism from the very Apostles themselves; or despising and rejecting with scorn the Opinions of the Apostles concerning this Matter, they must have form'd to themselves new and indeed monstrous Notions of Schism: That is to say, the first Bishops from the Apostles, who succeeded the Apostles in their Sees, and had frequently liv'd in Familiarity with them, Men of extraordinary Piety, and of the greatest Integrity, who had nothing more at Heart, than not only to imitate, but reverence the Apostles; these Men, I say,

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through

through too much Nicety, left the way that had been trodden by the Apostles, and found out new Paths for themselves. They must be far more credulous than I, who can believe this. Hence we collect, that the Nature of Schism, *viz.* of that which the Apostles condemn'd, consists in a Separation from the Principle of Unity; and therefore from these Principles we must explain all those Passages of holy Scripture, which speak of Schism, or of Schismatics. Schism then is a dividing or cutting off, namely, as often as the Consociation or Society of the Church is broken, when any one does so divide himself from that Society of the true Catholick Church, as that he will be no more a Member or Part of it. That therefore is truly and properly the Schism, concerning which I am now treating, when the Separation above-mention'd is made from the true Catholick Church, with a breach of Communion in things divine.

From the very Nature of Schism these things following are easily deduced.

1. That the Christian Church is a true and proper Society.
2. That all Persons are oblig'd to join themselves to this Society.
3. Since Peace and Unity with the universal Church of Christ can no otherwise be maintain'd, than by adhering to some particular Church; that therefore all Christians are under an Obligation to join themselves to some particular Church.
4. That all Separation from any particular Church, which requires no unlawful Terms of Communion, is schismatical, and excludes from the Kingdom of Heaven.
5. That private Christians have not a Power of joining themselves to any Sect or Faction at their own Discretion; but are oblig'd on Peril of Eternal
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Damnation to adhere to that part of the Catholick Church, of which they are Members.

These Arguments drawn from the holy Scriptures do sufficiently prove, that the Church is a true Society. It were very easy both to urge these farther, and to add others, as well to confirm, as to illustrate my Proposition; but I determin'd only to point out those Arguments, that may be brought from Scripture; since what I chiefly propos'd in this Work was, to shew the Opinion of the Primitive Church in these Controversies: for I am thoroughly persuaded, that that Doctrine which has obtain'd at all times, in all Places, and among all Christians, is true and consentaneous to the Word of God, and in one word is Catholick. In vain therefore do our Adversaries attack us with certain little Subtleties sprung out of their own Brains: in vain do they miserably wrest the holy Scriptures, to charge us with a Croud of Passages from thence. For I confidently affirm, that all those Interpretations of the Scriptures, which are repugnant to the universal Practice of the Primitive Church, however subtle and plausible they may seem, are very false, and ought to be despis'd.

Let us see therefore, what was the Opinion of the Primitive Fathers, concerning the Nature of Christ's Church,

We will begin with St. Clement, a Man truly Apostolick, and a Witness so far above all suspicion, that it were the highest degree of Impudence not to give Credit to him. This venerable Father in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, says: *They therefore* (he speaks of the Apostles) *preaching the Word through*

¹ Καὶ ἂν πόλεις ἦν, καὶ χώραι κηρύσσοντες [Ἀπόστολοι] καθίσαντες τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῆς δοκιμάσαντες τὸ πνῆμα εἰς ἑπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πεισύνειν.

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Cities and Countries, and by the Spirit approving of their First-Fruits, constituted them Bishops and Deacons, of those who should hereafter believe. And a little after he adds: And our Apostles knew by Jesus Christ our Lord, that a Contention would arise concerning the Name of Episcopacy; and for this Reason, being endow'd with a perfect Fore-knowledge, they constituted the Ministers above-mention'd, and gave that Distribution of holy Offices in the mean time, that as they should die, other approv'd Men might succeed in the Ministry.

In this Passage St. Clement does most expressly teach us, that Jesus Christ had instituted a Society (which he calls *Christ's Flock*) that was to continue to the End of the World: For this Society does by no means expire with the Apostles, but is equally extended to all the Ages of the World. The Apostles administer the Church by an Authority committed to them by Christ himself; and name others for their Successors, to whom they commit the same ordinary Powers, that they also after the Death of the Apostles, might happily and prosperously govern the Church. Nor is it to be doubted, but that our Saviour *will be with the Successors of the Apostles unto the End of the World*, to ratify their Acts in Heaven. But they who interpret *the End of the World*, concerning the Age of the Apostles, do only endeavour to impose upon us, and are the veriest Triflers imaginable. But from this Passage of St. Clement I would observe farther, 1. That the Christian Soci-

“ Οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι εἰς ἔσται ὁπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἐπισκοπῆς· διὰ ταῦτα ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν προσήνωσιν εὐληφότες τελείαν, καλέσῃ τοὺς περιεργημένους, καὶ μετὰ οὐκ ὀπινομένῳ δεδοκάσι, ὅπως εἰάν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδοῖεν ἄλλοι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.

“ Ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

“ Σωσίλειαν τοῦ αἰῶνος, Mat. 28. 20.

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ety does not owe its Original to any private Agreement occasion'd by the Necessity of the times, but was founded by Jesus Christ himself. 2. That it is by no means lawful for the People to appoint their own Ministers, and institute their own Priests; but that our Saviour prescrib'd a certain Rule, according to which all these things should be performed: and by this means he most admirably consulted, both the Peace and Unity of the Church. For the most holy Jesus foresaw, that great Contentions would arise concerning the Name of Episcopacy: and therefore apply'd this Remedy against them. He appointed that the Apostles, whom he had sent, should also send others, and confirm them by a certain solemn Ordination. He appointed also that they, whom the Apostles should ordain, should have a Power granted to them of ordaining others to succeed them. Whither, I beseech you, went the Right of the People? What is become of their natural Power? Pray why does our Adversary make such a stir about the Original Right of the People? What does he mean? Had not God himself a Power of constituting an Order of Clergy, as he should think fit? And did he not constitute it accordingly? And are not we all oblig'd to yield Obedience to the Institutions of God? Most vain Disputant, you must either abandon your Original Right, or renounce the Christian Religion: Choose which of the two you will.

Next to St. *Clement* I should produce St. *Ignatius*, * that *Temple of the Holy Ghost*; but it would itself make a Book, to cite all which that most holy Martyr has written upon this Subject: Every Epistle of his, and every Chapter, I had almost said every Sentence, does most fully confirm this our

* ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πνεύματος.

Spiritual Society. But I have already consider'd St. Ignatius's Judgment concerning this Controversy, where I insist'd on the Argument drawn from Schism.

Let us therefore proceed next to St. Irenæus, the Disciple of Polycarp. This most judicious Author says many excellent things concerning the Christian Society. *We can enumerate those, says he¹, who were made Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and their Successors down to us. — For to this Church, (he speaks of the Roman) by reason of her more powerful Principality, it is necessary that every Church come, that is, all the Faithful wheresoever. And again²: For which Reason it is necessary to obey the Priests, that are in the Church, these who have their Succession from the Apostles, as we have shewn; who with the Succession of the Episcopacy have receiv'd a certain Gift of Truth, according to the Pleasure of the Father: But as to the rest, who depart from the Succession, and are assembled in any Place whatsoever, we ought to suspect them, and look upon them as Hereticks, and such as disturb the Peace, as Persons puffed up, &c.*

St. Irenæus is of the same Opinion with St. Clement, and teaches the same thing. He does most strenuously contend, that our Obedience in things apper-

¹ Iren. adv. Hær. l. iii. c. 3. Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, & Successores eorum usque ad nos. — Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam [Romanam] propter potentio rem principalem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui undiq; sunt fideles.

² Id. l. iv. c. 43. Quapropter eis, qui in Ecclesia sunt, Presbyteris obedire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis sicut ostendimus, qui cum Episcopatus successionem charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt: Reliquos verò qui abstant à principale successionem, & quocunque in loco colliguntur, suspectos habere, & quasi hæreticos, & pacem scindentes, & elatos, &c.

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taining to Religion is due to the Priests, who are able to derive their Succession from the Apostles themselves, And what *Irenæus* understands by Succession, will easily appear to any one that peruses his Book never so percursorily. He means without all doubt Episcopal Ordination.

St. *Irenæus* acknowledges no other Method of ordaining Ecclesiasticks; nor was any other Method known to the second Century in which he flourish'd. He affirms, that the first Bishops were ordain'd by the Apostles, without any the least mention of the People. Indeed, that in the second Century Ordinations were appropriated to the Bishops alone, is not unwillingly own'd even by such of the Patrons of an Equality among the Clergy, as have any Learning or Ingenuity. To them therefore who derive their Succession from the Apostles, to them who are ordain'd by Bishops, the greatest Obedience is due, according to the Opinion of St. *Irenæus*; and with them we are oblig'd to communicate. But they on the contrary, *who depart from this primary Succession, that is, who separate from the Episcopal Communion, are to be suspected by us, and esteem'd as Hereticks, and such as destroy the Peace.* Now from hence it manifestly follows, that it is not lawful by any means for the People to choose their own Minister, to form a Sect to themselves, or when form'd to join themselves to it: nay that all are ty'd by the strictest Obligation to communicate with Bishops, who derive their Succession from the Apostles. They commit Sin who do otherwise, and violate the Divine Institution. They destroy the Peace of the Church, are sever'd from the Head Jesus Christ, and are in the greatest Danger of eternal Damnation. Besides the most holy Father asserts, *That every Church is oblig'd to resort to the Church of Rome, by reason of the more powerful Principality*

ciality *. This makes nothing for the Papal Tyranny: for neither St. Irenaus, nor the Fathers of the ii^d, iii^d, or ivth Century dreamt any thing concerning, either the Monarchical Supremacy of St. Peter, or the Infallibility (of his Successors.) This I could easily shew, if it were to my present purpose. That alone which this noble Testimony proves most evidently is, that the Church of Christ is one Society, and a Society that is oblig'd to preserve a most firm Peace and Unity: but this firm and truly Christian Unity cannot possibly be obtain'd, unless private Christians pay a most humble Obedience to their Priests, and the Priests do the like to the Bishops, and the Bishops to the Metropolitans. With these Bonds the Primitive Church being both join'd together and strengthen'd, did flourish with the greatest splendor, and in the midst of the Flames and Swords of Tyrants always came off conquering and triumphant. And I solemnly profess, (O miserable Condition of the Christian World!) that for want of this Unity, which our most loving Saviour when he was now going to die for us, recommended to us in the most passionate manner, our Religion seems to be rather a vain Shadow, than a vigorous and living Substance. This truly Christian Unity is utterly subverted and destroy'd by our Innovators (in Religion) what with their being deceiv'd through Ignorance, or inveigled by Avarice, or hurry'd on headlong by their ungovernable Ambition. O most blessed Jesus, have Compassion upon thy Church, thy most dear Spouse, for she has only thee, in whom she can confide.

* Viz. As the Seat of the Empire. Vid. Can. 3. Conc. Const. & Can. 28. Conc. Chalced.

APPENDIX. cccli

We are come at last to *St. Cyprian*, a most holy Martyr, and egregious Asserter of the Unity of the Church. It were endless to collect out of his Works all things which make for our purpose; which prove the Christian Church to be a true and proper Society; which shew that out of this Society there is no Hope of eternal Salvation; and which demonstrate that the Unity of the Church is plac'd in the Bishop, from whom all Ordinations and ministerial Powers are to be had. It will be abundantly sufficient to point out some of the more considerable Passages, and from them to explain the Nature of Unity, according to the Principles of *St. Cyprian*.

Let us begin with that elaborate and most valuable Treatise, which he wrote against *Novatianus*, concerning *the Unity of the Church*, a Book most worthy (if any other) to be turn'd over by all Hands, and deeply fix'd in every Breast.

The Lord, says he *'*, *speaks thus to St. Peter*: *I say also unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. And again he says to the same (Apostle) after his Resurrection: Feed my Sheep. Upon one he builds his Church; and tho' he gives equal Power*

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^a *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. Edit. Amst. p. 106. Loquitur dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & Portæ inferorum non vincent eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, & quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata in cœlis; & quæcunq; solveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cœlis. Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam dicit; Pasce oves meas. Super unum ædificat Ecclesiam suam;*

to all the Apostles, and says : As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you——Receive ye the holy Ghost, &c. (which I desire to know how the Papists can reconcile with the Primacy of St. Peter) yet to manifest the Unity of the Church, he by his Authority so disposed the Original of that Unity, as that it should have its Rise from one. For the rest of the Apostles were the same with St. Peter, endow'd with an equal share of Honour and Power ; but the Beginning proceeds from an Unity, that the Church may be shewn to be one.——Can he, that does not hold this Unity, believe that he holds the Faith ? Does he that opposes and resists the Church, trust that he is in the Church ? When also the blessed Apostle St. Paul teaches the very same thing, and shews the Mystery of Unity, saying : One Body, and one Spirit, one Hope of your Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God.——Whoever being separated from the Church of Christ, is join'd to an Adulteress, is separated from the Promises of the Church. Nor does he attain the Rewards of Christ, who forsakes Christ's Church. He is a Stranger, he is a profane Person, he is an Enemy. He can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church

suam ; & quamvis Apostolis omnibus parem potestatem tribuat, & dicat : sicut misit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum, &c. tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ autoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utiq; cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstretur. Et p. 108. Hanc Ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tener, tenere se fidem credit ? Qui Ecclesiæ renititur & resistit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit ? Quando & beatus Apostolus Paulus hoc idem doceat, & sacramentum unitatis ostendat, dicens : Unum corpus, & unus Spiritus, una Spes Vocationis vestræ, unus Dominus, una fides, unum Baptisma, unus Deus. Et p. 109. Quisquis ab Ecclesiâ segregatus adulteræ jungitur, à promissis Ecclesiæ separatur. Nec pervenit ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit Ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est : habere jam non potest Deum

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Church for his Mother. If any one could escape, who was out of Noah's Ark, he shall also escape who is out of the Church.— What Peace therefore do the Enemies of the Brethren promise themselves? What Sacrifices do the Rivals of the Priests imagine they offer up? Do they think that Christ is with them, when assembled, who are assembled out of Christ's Church? Though such Persons should be put to Death for confessing the Name of Christ, yet that Stain would not be wash'd off even with their Blood. The grievous and inexpressible Guilt of Division is not purg'd away even by suffering. He cannot be a Martyr, who is not in the Church. He cannot attain the Kingdom (of Heaven,) who forsakes her that shall reign (there.) — Does he fancy himself to be with Christ, who acts against Christ's Priests? Who separates himself from the Society of his Clergy and People? He bears Arms against the Church, and fights against the Order and Disposal of God. An Enemy to the Altar, and a Rebel against the Sacrifice of Christ, for Faith perfidious, for Religion sacrilegious; a disobedient Servant, an undutiful Son, and an Enemy instead of a Brother; who despising the Bishops, and forsaking the Priests of God,

Deum patrem, qui Ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra Arcam Noë fuit; & qui extra Ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadet. Et p. 113. Quam sibi igitur pacem promittunt inimici fatum? Quæ sacrificia celebrare se credunt æmuli sacerdotum? An secum esse Christum cum collecti fuerint opinantur, qui extra Christi Ecclesiam colliguntur? Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiable & gravis culpa discordiæ, nec passione purgatur. Esse Martyr non potest, qui in Ecclesiâ non est. Ad regnum pervenire non poterit, qui eam, quæ regnatura est, dereliquit. Et p. 116. An esse sibi cum Christo videtur, qui adversus sacerdotes Christi facit? Qui se à Cleri ejus & plebis societate secernit? Arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat, contra Dei dispositionem repugnat: hostis altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, pro fide perfidus, pro religione sacrilegus, inobsequens servus, filius impius, frater inimicus, contemptis Episcopis, & Dei sacerdotibus derelictis constituere au-

God, dares erect another Altar, offer up another Prayer with unhalloved Lips, and by false Sacrifices profane the Truth of our Lord's own Oblation of himself; Not vouchsafing to know, that he who resists the Ordinance of God, is for that audacious Rashness punish'd with divine Vengeance. — God is one, and Christ one, his Church one, and the Faith one, and one People join'd together by the Cement of Concord unto the solid Unity of a Body. The Unity cannot be divided, nor the one Body be broken in sunder by the Dissolution of its Joints, and rent in pieces by tearing out its Bowels. Whatever is torn from the Womb, cannot live apart, but loses all means of Subsistence.

Here we may observe with the greatest satisfaction, that there is nothing contain'd in all this Epistle, (as much as it may seem too severe and unreasonable) but what is abundantly confirm'd by the most express Words of St. *Ignatius*. From hence we may easily understand, that these Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity were not born with St. *Cyprian*; but deriv'd down to us by a continual Succession, from the very times of the Apostles. From this most noble Treatise we learn, not only what St. *Cyprian's* Opinion was concerning the Unity of the Church, and that of the *African* Bishops with him; but what all the Bishops of all Ages and Places have most firmly believ'd concerning this important Que-

det aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, Dominice hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare; nec dignatur scire, quoniam qui contra ordinationem Dei nititur, ob temeritatis audaciam divinâ animadversione punitur, &c. Et p. 119. Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia ejus, & fides una, & plebs in solidam corporis unitatem concordie glutine copulata. Scindi unitas non potest, nec corpus unum diffidio compaginis separari, divulsis laceratione visceribus in frustra discerpi. Quicquid à matrice discesserit, seorsim vivere & spirare non poterit; substantiam salutis amittit.

tion. It is not necessary to dwell longer on the Explication of these Passages of *St. Cyprian*; for they are so clear and perspicuous, that nothing can be more. Nor will it be worth while to collect other Passages of the same Father, to confirm these that I have already produc'd. For almost in every Epistle you will find many things, which demonstrate the same Opinion. But they who, not content with these, desire to obtain a farther Knowledge of this Father's Principles, I most earnestly recommend to them the learned *Mr. Dodwell's* Dissertation upon *St. Cyprian*, in which nothing can be wanting, that may seem any way to conduce to the Illustration of this matter.

However it may be neither troublesome, nor altogether useless, to observe these few things.

1. That the *African* Bishops were of Opinion, that the Unity of the Church was to be reckon'd amongst the most fundamental Points; that out of this Unity no Sacraments were efficaciously administred; no Ordinations were to be accounted lawful; and in one word, no hope of eternal Salvation was possible to be obtain'd.

2. That Schism is a Crime so grievous, so dangerous, and so opposite to the Christian Religion, that they thought no Exaggeration of Words could express it; nay they went so far, as to think it could not be attoned for even by Martyrdom it self.

3. That the Principle of Unity was plac'd in the Bishop alone, without whose Authority nothing could be done in the Church.

These are those *Cyprianick* Principles so much talk'd of, which the whole Primitive Church did always most firmly hold; and which are no other, than what *St. Cyprian* had learnt from the *Irenaus's*, and *Ignatius's*, and they from the Apostles:

Whether therefore we have respect to the sacred Oracles themselves, or to the perpetual Practice of the Catholick Church, or to the Testimonies of the most holy Fathers; it will abundantly appear, that Jesus Christ has founded a true, and proper Society, perfectly separate and distinct from all the Societies of this World.

And indeed if we consult Reason it self, we shall find that too wonderfully on our side in this Question; for as I have been very often considering of the Christian Religion, nothing has appear'd to me more plain and evident, than that that Society is as distinct as can be imagin'd, from all the Societies of this World. For thus I used to think with my self: Those Societies which cannot only subsist, but also encrease and flourish separately from each other, and without any other's Help or Protection, those Societies without all doubt are most distinct. This seems to be evident from the very Nature of Society; for that which can by it self, and without the Aid of another hold together very well, and in good Order, must needs have in it self, without any Regard to other Societies, all those things that are necessary to constitute a Society, and consequently is of it self a true and proper Society, in its own Nature separate from all others: And although we suppose this Society to be so blended and confounded with certain other Communities, that it is very difficult to distinguish one from the other; yet it can by no means be deny'd, after what I have been saying, that one remains distinct from the other, and may subsist without it. Having laid down these Principles, which always appear'd to me most evident, I apply'd my Mind seriously to consider the Christian Religion. It was a long time before the Profession of our most holy Faith had the least Assistance, or Defence from the Powers of this World.

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World. It long experienc'd the greatest Enmity from the *Roman* Common-wealth; it long struggled with the most cruel Tyrants, Monsters of Men, and Reproaches of Mankind; who us'd all their Endeavours utterly to overthrow the new-born Religion. There pass'd three hundred Years and upwards, before God rais'd up *Constantine* to protect and preserve the Church of Christ. During all this long and tedious space of time she suffer'd the Rage of the *Roman* Emperors, and being weaken'd with innumerable Persecutions, flourish'd apparently by the divine Assistance. Here it will be easy to discern, what we are to judge of the Christian Church; whether it be a true Society or no; and whether it can subsist without the Civil Magistrate. That in those Days it was divided from the secular Society, no Man will deny; and yet it is most manifest, that it even then remain'd a Society. Nay the Christian Religion was at that time a Society; extended far and wide; spread with wonderful Celerity over all the Face of the whole Earth; and join'd together under its own Governours by the strictest Bonds of Communion. This heavenly Society was so far from ever sinking under the weight of all the Persecutions, it suffer'd from the most subtle Malice of those Tyrants, that it always came off with Advantage; flourish'd and triumph'd daily; and from its innumerable Martyrdoms receiv'd both Glory and Increase. From all which it seems to me most manifest, that the Christian is a true and proper Society; and that it still continues entire and distinct from all the Societies of this World. And altho' from that Protection, and those various Advantages given to it by the Christian Emperors, there accrues to the Civil Power a very great Authority in Matters Ecclesiastical; yet if the Civil Power act any thing in Prejudice to the Fundamental

damental Agreements of the Christian Society ; if it either recommend Heresy by its Authority, or drive its People to it by Force ; if it defend those that make Schisms, I mean if so defend them, as to oblige its Subjects to join with the Schismaticks ; if it invade, and profane the Sacerdotal Offices : In any of these Cases the Christian Society shall immediately withdraw from the Civil, and fly to its own divine Rights, which can never be transferr'd ; shall subsist as a Society of it self, by its own spiritual Principles : and to this Christian Society, thus separated from the Civil, and using its own Rights, all Men are oblig'd to associate themselves, under the severest Peril of eternal Damnation ; whatever Damage they are like to suffer in this World for their so doing : For it has pleased God to place the ordinary Means of Salvation, not in the State, but in the Church ; and he has not entrusted them with the Princes of this World, but with the Bishops, who are the Princes of his Church.

But farther ; That the Christian Church is a true and proper Society, distinct from the Societies of this World, may be prov'd from the Grounds, and Nature, and End of these Societies, which are all various and different. All Men know, that the Civil Society arises from this principal Ground, that Man is of his own Nature a Political Animal, which by a certain innate Impulse is driven to join with others in Society. And it is also founded for this End, that Men may obtain the greatest Felicity, which by means purely natural it is possible to arrive at in this Life. But both the Ground, and the End of the Christian Church are far different : For this Society could never have been invented by the Mind of Man ; but is wholly owing to Revelation. And this reveal'd Religion is therefore instituted,
that

that Men may learn from it, so to order their Lives in this World, that in the next they may enjoy eternal Happiness with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are essentially one God. Nor is it enough to believe, that the Christian Faith is true; but we are also oblig'd openly and courageously to profess this Faith before all Mankind; although this our Profession be attended with the severest Punishments. Neither is a bare Profession sufficient, tho' it be open and ingenuous: we are farther oblig'd to combine together in a Society; to the end that we may worship our Saviour according to his own Institution; and partake of his Sacraments duly consecrated: and they who despise this publick Worship, are deservedly accounted to have deny'd their Faith. On this Principle alone, *viz.* that Christians are oblig'd to meet together to worship Jesus Christ according to his Institution, does that spiritual Society depend, for which we dispute. And from hence we easily gather, that that Society is most different from the Civil, and depends upon a different Authority: For Christians are oblig'd to join themselves to this Society, not by any Authority of the State, but by the same divine Authority, which instituted our Religion. This Obligation of Meeting together to perform publick Worship to Jesus Christ, is such as no Civil Power can either take away, or change, or diminish. Therefore the Christian Church is a true, and proper Society, different from these worldly Societies; because it has certain Privileges granted to it by divine Authority, which the Civil Magistrate can neither take away, nor violate. It is therefore a Society different from the Civil; because all Men are oblig'd to join themselves to this Society; whether the publick Authority command them so to do, or forbid them. From thence it appears, that this Obligation is not de-

riv'd from the Civil Magistrate; but from a certain former Obligation: and consequently it follows, that the Christian Church is not the same Society with the State: For if the Church and the State did constitute one and the same Society, all the Obligation that we are under, of joining our selves to this Society, would arise from the Civil Authority: and the Consequence of that would be, that we should be under no such Obligation, if the secular Magistrate should appoint otherwise. Therefore *Hobbes* rightly determin'd from his Principles, that no Man is oblig'd openly to profess the Christian Faith, if that be displeasing to the supreme Power; nay and that even the holy Scripture cannot have the Nature of a Law, if the Civil Power reject it. It farther appears, that the Church of Christ is not the same Society with the Civil Authority, from the various and different Privileges of each Society: for if it be granted to be the same, then he that has Right to the Civil Society, has also Right to the spiritual Communion of the Church; and reciprocally he that has Right to the Ecclesiastical, thereby acquires also a Right to the Civil Society, and to all those Emoluments, which are annex'd to that Society: But this is manifestly repugnant both to Reason, and to the constant Opinion of all Men, and all Ages. These Arguments are such, as have abundantly convinc'd me, and will I hope persuade others, that the Christian Church is one proper Society, as distinct as can be imagin'd from all the Societies of this World.

It remains that I say something briefly concerning the Unity of this spiritual Society: For this new Reformer or Restorer of the Church asserts, that the Catholick Church consists of a great many different Societies, which are all independent of each other. Infomuch that he who is consecrated
a Bishop

a Bishop in one Country, if he remove to another, immediately becomes a Lay-man. Nay he affirms, that the contrary Hypothesis is so foolish and absurd, that it is impossible to defend it, without having Recourse to some universal Bishop, such for Instance as the Bishop of *Rome*. On this Head he has employ'd his whole xth Chapter, with an Assurance equal to his Ignorance.

On the contrary I assert with the Primitive Church, that the Catholick Church wheresoever dispers'd is only one Society, united by the strictest Bond of Communion.

1. My first Argument for the Proof of this shall be drawn from the Sacrament of Baptism. By being baptiz'd in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we are not only made Members of the particular Church wherein we live; but obtain a Right to the Communion of the whole Catholick Church. To whatever part of the World we Christians travel, by our Baptism we have a Right to communicate with that Church in Ecclesiastical Offices. But this could not be, unless all particular Christian Churches did constitute one and the same Society: for no Society can by any private Act confer a Right to the Privileges of another Society: and I make no doubt, but all the Christians in the World, from the times of the Apostles down to ours, were always perswaded, that by Baptism they were made Members, not of any particular Church, but of the universal Christian Society. There is not any thing, which is more confirm'd by the constant Suffrage of Christians, than that by virtue of their Baptism, all Christians obtain a Right to communicate with all Churches whatsoever, and with all Assemblies consecrated to the publick Worship.

2. A second Argument may be fetch'd from Excommunication, as it was administred in the Primitive Church. Nothing can be more notorious to such as are the least versed in Ecclesiastical Antiquities, than that he who was excommunicated from any particular Church, was thereby thrown out of the whole Catholick Church. Thus the xiii^b Apostolick Canon directs ^b, *If any Clergy-man or Lay-man that is excommunicated, or suspended from Communion, shall remove, and be receiv'd in another City; let both him that receives him be excommunicated, and he that is receiv'd, And though he be already excommunicated, yet let his Excommunication be farther extended, as against one that has lied to and deceived the Church of God.* This Practice of the Church is very well explain'd by Sinesius in his Epistle concerning *Andronicus*, where we have these Words ^c: *The Church of Ptolemais sends these Orders to her Sisters all over the World. Let no Temple of God be open'd to Andronicus and his Adherents; nor to Thoas and his. Let every holy Place be shut against them, and every Temple and Fold. The Devil has no part in Paradise.— But if any one despise this as the Church of a small City, and shall receive those whom she has excommunicated, as if there was no Necessity of obeying a poor [Church;] let him know that he has divided the Church,*

^b Εἰ τις κλεικὸς ἢ Λαϊκὸς ἀραιομένη, ἥτοι ἀδεκίῃ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἀνὰ γραμμάτων ὑσαλινῶν, ἀραιοῖται καὶ ὁ δεξαμένης, καὶ ὁ δεχθεὶς. Εἰ καὶ ἀραιομένης εἴη ἐπιτενέτω αὐτῷ ὁ ἀραιοσμός, ὡς ψάσανθ' καὶ ἀπαίσανθ' τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ δεῖ.

^c Ἡ Πτολεμαῖδος Ἐκκλησία τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιταχὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διαλέτῃς. Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, Θόανθ' καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν τεύχεσθ' τῇ δεῖ. Ἀπὸς αὐτοῖς ἱερὸς ἀποκεκλείσθαι καὶ Σηκὸς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν; ἐκ ὧν τὸ Διαβολὸν μέσθ' ἐν Παράδεισῳ — Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολιτὴν ἀποσκηβαλίσθ' τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ δέξῃ τὰ ἀποκηρύκτες αὐτῆς, ὡς ἐκ ἀντιπρ.

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Church, which Christ will have to be one. And such a one, whether he be a Deacon, or a Priest, or a Bishop, shall by us be esteem'd no otherwise, than Andronicus himself; and we will neither give him the Right Hand (of Fellowship,) nor ever eat with him at the same Table; and we will be very far from partaking of the ineffable Mystery with such us are willing to take part with Andronicus and Thoas.

A very remarkable Passage this, and one that fully demonstrates the Truth of my Notion of the Christian Church. *Sinesius* anathematizes *Andronicus* and *Thoas* for certain very heinous Crimes. He notifies the Matter to all other Churches; and does not so much advise, as command them to condemn those Persons by an unanimous Suffrage, and exclude them from the publick Assemblies: and that Church which should do otherwise, which should admit them to Communion, he judges her thereby to tear the Church in sunder, which Christ himself appointed should be one. In the Opinion therefore of *Sinesius*, the Unity of the Church does herein consist, that the publick Acts of any one Church are confirm'd by the Church universal.

Consonant hereto is that which *Epiphanius* relates of *Marcion*, that being excommunicated from the Church by his Father, he betook himself to the Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*; for *Higinus* Bishop of that See was dead, and no other yet chosen to succeed him: that he besought them, that he might be permitted to communicate with the La-

ἀνάσκει τῇ πένθι πείθεσθαι, ἵσω χάσας ἡ Ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν
ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν βύλει. Ὁ δὲ τοιαῦτα εἴτε Διδίτις ὄν, εἴτε Πρεσ-
βύτερος, εἴτε Ἐπίσκοπος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Ἀνδρονίκῳ μοίρα τε-
ταξέ, καὶ εἴτε ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ δεξιάν, εἴτε ἀπὸ τῆ αὐτῆς Ἐκκλη-
σίας πολλὰ δὲ δεινῶν κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀπορήνῃ τῇ γλῶσσῃ, τοῖς
ἐθνήσασιν ἔχειν μερίδα καὶ Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ Θόαν.

tin Church; and that the *Roman Presbyters* answer'd him to this Purpose^d, *We cannot do this without the Permission of your venerable Father* : Adding this Reason for it ; *Because there is one Faith, and one Mind ; and we cannot act in Opposition to our good Colleague, and your Father.* From all this it appears sufficiently, that according to the Opinion of the most ancient Fathers, the Catholick Church is one and the same Society : for if it consisted of different Societies independent of each other, it could never have happen'd, that a Person excommunicated from one particular Church, should be thereby excluded from all others. It is therefore sufficiently prov'd, both from Baptism and from Excommunication, that the Christian Church does not consist of divers Members all independent of one another ; but that it composes one Society, join'd together by the straightest Bond of Unity.

3. We may also prove, that this is the true Notion of the Church, from that Article of our Creed, in which we are taught to profess our Belief of the *Holy Catholick Church*. This Article concerning the Church is found in the most ancient Creeds ; as in that of *Jerusalem*, and in the *Alexandrian* : And what pious Antiquity understood by this Article, is abundantly manifest from thence, that they always made use of this Weapon against Hereticks ; as may be seen in *St. Augustin* and *St. Jerom*. If we go to the sacred Oracles, many Passages occur there, which confirm this Notion of the Church. It will easily be granted, that the Word *Church* has ma-

^d Οὐ δύναμεθα ἀνεῦ τῆ ἐπιτροπῆς τῶν πατέρων ὡς τὸ ποιεῖν· μία γὰρ ὅτι ἡ πίστις, μία ὁμολογία, καὶ ἐδυνάμεθα ἐναρμονίῳ θύειν τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, παλεῖ δὲ τῷ ἁγίῳ.

^e Ἑκκλησία.

ny significations. Sometimes it may mean the place ^f where the Church is gather'd together; but it very often signifies the Multitude of the Faithful, who embrace the Christian Religion: And this we read differently express'd, sometimes of *the Churches of God*, as *the Churches of the Saints*; and sometimes of *the Church*, as of that ^g in Priscilla's and Aquila's House. But it is to be observed, and was observed long since by the great Bishop Pearson, that as often as the holy Scripture speaks of any Country or People converted to the Faith, it always uses the Word *Churches* in the Plural Number: but when it speaks of a City, though it were never so large, and contain'd many Congregations of the Faithful, it only calls it one ^h Church. And this manner of writing was imitated by the most ancient Authors.

St. Ignatius ⁱ superscribes an Epistle, *To the Church of God, which presides in the place of the Chorus of the Roman* (according to the old Latin Version) or rather ^{*}, in the City and Suburbs of Rome. Clemens Romanus ^k: *The Church of God which sojourns at Rome*. Polycarp ^l: *To the Church of God sojourning at Philippi*. From these Superscriptions of Epistles it is very easy to observe, that *Church* always answers to *City*. Who does not know that *παρεκκλήσια*

^f 1 Cor. II. 18. *When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be Divisions among you.*

^g Rom. 16. 5. *Greet the Church that is in their House.*

^h 1 Cor. I. 2. *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth.* Acts 8. 1. *At that time there was a great Persecution against the Church which was at Jerusalem.* 2 Thess. 1. 1. *Unto the Church of the Thessalonians.* Coloss. 4. 16. *The Church of the Laodiceans.*

ⁱ Τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ θεῶν τῇ παρεκκλησίᾳ ἐν τόπῳ χωεῖς Ῥωμαίων. Ecclesiæ Dei quæ præsidet in loco chori Romanorum.

^{*} Vide Pearson. Not. in loc.

^k Ἐκκλησία θεῶν ἡ παρεκκλήσια Ῥώμῃ.

^l Ἐκκλησία θεῶν τῇ παρεκκλήσῃ Φιλιπποῖς.

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among the Ancients signifies the same thing, that *διοικήσεις* or Diocesis does with us. But a Church founded in one City never consisted of various and different Congregations, independent of each other (as some late Dreamers have with wonderful subtilty imagin'd;) but always compriz'd the whole City, together with all its suburbicary Districts, in their utmost extent. And after the same manner, that several Congregations united to their Bishop, compos'd a Diocesan Church; also divers Diocesan Churches united to the Archbishop, or ^m Principal Bishop, constituted a Provincial Church. But all the Provincial Churches spread over the whole World, preserv'd a most strict Peace among themselves by means of their Communicatory and Recommendatory Letters: insomuch that what one Church did, whether in admitting Catechumens to Baptism, or in excommunicating the Wicked and Profane, was also ratify'd by the rest. Hence there arises one Society, one Church made up of various Provincial Churches, and united to Jesus Christ alone, who is the Head of all Churches. Nor let any one imagine, that all this Ecclesiastical Polity is only owing to human Prudence, and the Canons of Councils: For it is founded in that great Command of Jesus Christ, by which he so often enjoin'd his Disciples to *follow after Peace*, and most diligently to *avoid Divisions and Schisms*, and to *preserve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*. I make no doubt but the Apostles themselves understood these Passages concerning the most firm Unity of the Ecclesiastick Society. For which reason all the Apostles did by unanimous Consent so institute Churches, that they might with all convenience possible obtain this most desired end.

^m Πρώτῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ.

They

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They appointed the private Congregations of every particular Church should be subject to their Bishop; the Episcopal Churches to their Archbishop; and all to a General Council; which without all Dispute has the greatest Authority; and whose Decrees it is the greatest Insolence and Madness to oppose. Now that this was the Sense and Judgment of the Apostles, there are many Arguments to convince us. As

1st. The incomparable Archbishop *Usher* has with very great variety of Learning prov'd, that the Angels in the *Apocalypse* were not only Bishops, but also Archbishops, or Metropolitans; to whom Episcopal Churches ever acknowledg'd a certain Obedience to be due. Concerning these Apostolical Churches the holy Spirit always speaks in the singular Number: ⁿ *Unto the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*. From whence it follows, 1st. That different Diocesan Churches united to an Archbishop, as to the Center of Unity, do in the Sense of the holy Spirit constitute one Church. 2^{dly}. That this dependence of Churches obtain'd in the Times of the Apostles. 3^{dly}. That it was the Opinion of the Apostles, that by this Means the Unity of the Catholick Church was best consulted.

2^{dly}. This dependence of Churches, for which I am contending, is wonderfully prov'd from that famous Controversy concerning Circumcision, and the Council of *Jerusalem* which was conven'd ^o upon that Occasion. A Question arises concerning Circumcision; the Judaizing Christians urge, that this Rite is necessary even under the Gospel: On the contrary, *St. Barnabas* and *St. Paul* deny this. But neither *St. Barnabas* nor *St. Paul* (though both were

ⁿ *Apoc. 2. 1.* Τῷ Ἀγγέλῳ τῆς Ἐφρεσίνης Ἐκκλησίας.

^o *Acts 15.*

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divinely inspir'd) attempted to decide this Controversy. They appeal to the Church of *Jerusalem*, to *St. James* the Bishop, and to the Apostles in Council: The Council is conven'd, and the Question determin'd by the common Suffrages of them all. This, to the best of my Judgment, evidently proves a manifest dependence of Churches.

3ly. It is certain that the Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, were all founded by the Apostles themselves. It is also certain, that these very Churches in the Times immediately following the Apostles, were the Heads of many Churches, to which by reason of their more powerful Principality (as *St. Irenaeus* speaks) all inferior Churches were wont to come. Why therefore may we not conclude, that that was the meaning of the Apostles, that Churches should be so dispos'd, viz. in such subordination, that the Unity of the Catholick Church might remain safe and intire?

These Arguments abundantly prove, that the Christian Church is one Society most closely united together. It were very easy to confirm this Notion of the Church by innumerable Testimonies of the holy Fathers, if that were my present purpose. I will select two or three. *St. Cyprian* ^p says, *The Lord speaks thus to St. Peter: I say unto thee that thou art Peter, &c. and again he says to him after his Resurrection; feed my Sheep. And though he gives an equal Power to all his Apostles, and says: As my Father sent me, &c. yet to manifest the Unity (of the Church) he by his Authority has so dispos'd the Original of that Unity, as that it should have its rise from one: For the rest of the Apostles were the same with St. Peter, endow'd with an equal share of Honour and Power; but the beginning proceeds from an*

^p De unitat. Eccl. sup. citat. p. cccli. &c.

Unity, that the Church may be manifested to be one. For there is one God and one Christ; his Church one, and the Faith one, one People join'd together by the Cement of Concord into the solid Unity of a Body. And again^a The Episcopacy is but one, and is so shar'd among all Bishops, as that each has a right to the whole. The Church also is one, which by a fruitful Increase is widely extended to a Multitude. But if the Episcopacy be no more than one, and all Bishops do so share this one Episcopacy among them, as that each has a right to the whole; it follows, that he who is regularly ordain'd a Bishop in any one Church, will be own'd as a Bishop by the whole Catholick Church; and that from that very Ordination of his, the Care of the whole Catholick Church is incumbent upon him. St. Irenæus^r says of the Church, That though she is dispers'd over the whole World, yet she dwells as it were in one House. And Tertullian^r says, We and they have one Faith, one God, the same Christ, the same Hope, the same Sacrament of Baptism; in a word, we are one Church. These Passages are sufficient to shew, what Opinion was entertain'd concerning the Nature of the Catholick Church, by the most holy Fathers, even those that liv'd almost in the next Age to the Apostles. Whether therefore we consider the Arguments drawn from Baptism and Excommunication, or the Signification of the Word Church in the holy Scriptures, or the constant Practice and Custom of the Church;

^a Ibid. p. 108. Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur.

^r Iren. adv. Hær. Lib. i. c. 3. Ἡ ἐκκλησία, καί περ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη—ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκῶσα.

^r Tertull. de veland. Virgin. cap. 2. Una nobis & illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem Lavacri Sacramenta; semel dixerim, una Ecclesia sumus.

or lastly, the Testimonies of the holy Fathers, it is necessary to believe,

1st. That the Christian Church is a true and proper Society, distinct from all the Societies of this World.

2^{dly}. That the Catholick Church wheresoever dispers'd, is only one Society united by the strictest Bond of Union.

DISSERTATION II.

The Apostles constituted Bishops for the perpetual Government of the Church, with a peculiar Power of Ordination.

HAVING prov'd that the Christian Church is a true and proper Society, my Method seems to require, that I should proceed to speak concerning the Governors, to whom the Administration of this Society is committed. I therefore assert, that the Apostles constituted Bishops for the perpetual Government of the Church, with a peculiar Power of Ordination.

But to the end that this Dissertation concerning the Government of the Church may be the more clear and perspicuous, I shall premise some things, which will give the greatest Light to this Controversy.

I. It is agreed between us and our Adversaries, at least the Presbyterians, that Jesus Christ has instituted a certain Form of Church-Government, from which it were a heinous Sin to depart. I confess when I seriously read over St. Paul's Epistles to *Titus* and to *Timothy*, it seems to me very wonderful, that it could

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could come into any one's Mind to think the contrary. But this is so fully confirm'd by *St. Clement*, a Person of the greatest Integrity and Authority, that nothing that is of the least Moment can be alleg'd against it.

2. There is a very great Difference to be made between a Church to be founded, and a Church which is already regularly founded, and perfect in all its Parts. It is foolish and absurd to expect, that the Scriptures should particularly enumerate all the Offices in the Church, when the Christian Church was not yet come to full Maturity.

3. And for that Reason the Testimonies of the second Century, when the Church was now perfect and consummate, will be the safest Judges in this Controversy.

4. From all this we may gather, that our Schismatics are guilty of the most senseless trifling, as often as they importunately demand, that we should prove our three Orders, (*viz.* of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons) from clear and express Words of holy Scripture. It seems abundantly sufficient for us and our Cause, if we can prove, (which we can very easily) that the Apostles committed the Care and Government of Cities converted to the Christian Faith, to single Persons, with a peculiar Power of Ordination, which could not be administered by those of the inferior Orders.

5. I assert therefore against all Innovators whatsoever, that the holy Scripture of the New Testament (if it be expounded according to the Custom, either of the Temple or of the Synagogue, and the universal Practice of the Primitive Church, both of the first and second Century) does most clearly and fully prove, that the Apostles constituted Bishops for the perpetual Government of the Catholick Church, with a peculiar Power of Ordination.

6. Jesus Christ did punctually imitate the *Jewish* Rites and Institutions, as sufficiently appears in the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lord's Supper. And for that Reason it is very probable, that also in establishing the Government of the Church he had the *Jewish* Form before his Eyes, and fram'd his own chiefly after the Model of that. Now from hence we may conclude, that that Form of Government, which approaches nearest to the *Jewish*, is the very same that Jesus Christ has constituted. It farther follows from hence, that all the Passages of holy Scripture, which concern the Government of the Church, particularly the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, ought to be so understood, as to agree most conveniently with the Principles of the *Jews*; and by no means be perverted and wrested with the utmost Violence, to make them seem favourable to the unheard of *Polities* of Innovators.

7. Every one knows very well, that the *Jewish* Form of Government founded by God himself, had *Levites*, Priests, and the High-Priest. It is therefore very consentaneous to Reason, that our Saviour instituted a Form of Government also in the Christian Church, not altogether unlike this. This certainly is no contemptible Argument of it, that almost all the Fathers do with one Consent most constantly affirm, that the thing was so. Nay that which perhaps will have more force with our Adversaries, St. *Jerom* himself, the most strenuous Advocate for the Equality of Orders (as they are wont to boast) does most eagerly contend, that Deacons hold the same Rank in the Christian Church which *Levites* held in the *Jewish*; that Presbyters have obtain'd the same Dignity which the Priests of old claim'd; and that Bishops have succeeded in the room of the High-Priest. And if we go from

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the Temple to the Synagogues, we shall likewise in them easily perceive no obscure Footsteps of the same inequality: For besides the ordinary Ministers, who were employ'd in reading Lessons, and making Exhortations, they had also their Ἀρχισυνάγωγος, or *Ruler of the Synagogue*.

Having premis'd these things, I come now to the confirmation of my Proposition. And I begin my Proofs with the holy Scriptures.

We read in the Epistles to *Timothy*, that this holy Person, adorn'd with the greatest Gifts, was by St. Paul set over the Church of *Ephesus*, with full Authority to do all things, that might any ways conduce to the Confirmation and Enlargement of that Church. There can be no doubt but *Timothy* was superior to all the Presbyters then constituted at *Ephesus*, and endow'd with a superior Power. Nay it most clearly appears, that he receiv'd Authority from St. Paul to ordain Deacons and Presbyters, to 'reward with double honour such as had ruled well, to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures even upon the Presbyters themselves. It must therefore remain a thing undoubted, that the Church of *Ephesus* was committed to the Care of *Timothy* alone, with a peculiar Power of Ordination.

But here it is usually ask'd, not without very great earnestness, whether St. *Timothy* is to be reckon'd among the ordinary Ministers of the Church, or only among such as were extraordinary; namely among those, to whom greater Authority than ordinary was committed, in order to found the Christian Church; but was to expire with the Apostles and those Apostolick Men. For this is that

¹ 1 Tim. 5. 17. Οἱ καλῶς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς προϊστάμενοι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιοῦνται.

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known subterfuge to which the Schismatics always have recourse.

I assert therefore, that *St. Timothy* was an ordinary Governor of the Church, and exercis'd an ordinary Authority, the same which was to continue to the end of the World.

The Reasons upon which I assert this, are chiefly two: the first is drawn from the intrinsick Characters of these Epistles. The second from the constant Opinion of the Primitive Church.

1. In the whole course of these Epistles we do not meet with any thing at all, that may occasion so much as the least suspicion, that the Authority committed to *St. Timothy* was extraordinary, and to continue only for a time. Nay all that occurs there is to the contrary. Pray what is there which *Timothy* us'd to do in the Church of *Ephesus*, that Bishops are not in all Churches, both oblig'd and accusom'd to do?

1. The Apostle in the first place exhorts him, that he would take most diligent Care, that publick Prayers should be duly offer'd up, for all Sorts and Conditions of Men, especially for Kings, and for all that are in Authority ^u.

2, He admonishes *Timothy*, what sort of Persons they ought to be, and adorn'd with what Vertues, whom he should advance to the Dignity of Bishops ^w.

3. He teaches him how to behave himself towards Hereticks, and by what Method to preserve safe and intire, the People committed to his Charge ^x.

4. He instructs him how he should inflict Ecclesiastical Censures, and what was fit for the Elders, what for the Younger, and what for Widows ^y.

^u 1 Tim. 2. ^w Ibid. c. 3. ^x Ibid. c. 4. ^y Ibid. c. 5.

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5. The Apostle also shews him, how he ought to receive an *Accusation against an Elder or Presbyter*: To pass by all the rest of this kind.

Now what can there be found in all these Instructions, which does by any means denote an extraordinary Office? what is there that does not shew such an one, as was ordinary and convenient for the Church in all times?

For what reason is it therefore, that they exclaim with so much assurance, that *Timothy* was an extraordinary Minister; and that nothing can be gather'd from his Authority over Presbyters, which will make for our Episcopal Tyranny? But from what Indications, from what Characters do they collect this? that is what they do not know.

Since therefore all the Characters and Indications contain'd in the Epistles themselves, do apparently declare his Ministry to have been ordinary; we are under an Obligation to assert, that St. *Timothy* was an ordinary Minister; and that he exercis'd no more than an ordinary Authority, such as is very necessary to all Churches in all times. Likewise I cannot but think, that St. *Timothy* affords us a most clear Example of Episcopal Government. The same may be said of *Titus*.

II. But I come to the second Reason, for which I asserted, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were ordinary Ministers; and that is taken from the constant Opinion of the Primitive Church. And here it will be sufficient to observe, that all the holy Fathers who speak of *Timothy* and *Titus*, do always make mention of them, as of Bishops ordain'd by the Apostles. *Eusebius* says ^a, That *Timothy* is related

^a *Ibid.* c. 5, 19.

^a *Hist. Eccl. L. iii. c. 4.* Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τ' ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πα-
τριάρχης ἱστορεῖται πρῶτον τ' ἐπισκοπῇ ἐληχέναι· ὡς καὶ Τίτῳ
τ' ἐπὶ κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν.

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to have been the first that obtain'd the Bishoprick of the Diocese of Ephesus: as also Titus did that of the Churches in Crete. The false *Ambrosius*, whom the Presbyterians boast to be on their side, asserts^b, That the Apostle consecrated Titus a Bishop. Theophylact says^c, He was appointed Bishop of Crete. We have also in this case the acknowledgment of St. Jerom^d, that Timothy was ordain'd Bishop of the Ephesians by St. Paul.

It is manifest therefore, as well from the intrinsic Characters of the Epistles, as from the unanimous Consent of the holy Fathers, that Timothy and Titus were ordinary Ministers of the Church, that is, Bishops. From whence therefore I would willingly know, had the Presbyterians those Monuments of Antiquity, and under what Rubbish were they bury'd, which inform'd them that the Authority committed to Timothy was extraordinary, and such as was to continue only for a time? Let them produce their Evidences into the open Light, that we may at length be undeceiv'd as to this inveterate Error. In the mean time I beseech our Adversaries, that they will vouchsafe to pardon me, if I am not willing to have the same value for their unskilful Conjectures, as for the clearest Testimonies of Eusebius, St. Jerom, and other very great Men.

But they who reckon Ecclesiastical Government as one of the things indifferent, are wont farther to urge, that there is no Consequence from all this. St. Paul, say they, instituted an Episcopacy at Ephesus and at Crete, therefore Episcopacy is of di-

^b Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum. See his Commentaries upon Titus.

^c Ἐπίσκοπος ὁ καὶ κρητικὸς καὶ κρητοῦν.

^d Timotheus à Paulo Ephesiorum Episcopus ordinatus.

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vine Right ; therefore all other Forms of Church-Government are unlawful. That does not follow. The other Apostles might appoint altogether different Forms of Government : Nay and perhaps St. *Paul* himself did in other Places make choice of another way.

I answer, that all the Apostles agreed together in the Institution of Episcopal Government : For,

1. In the first place the Apostles were careful to observe a wonderful Uniformity in things of great Moment : And what can be of greater Moment, than the Government of the Church, without which the Christian Religion could not subsist ?

2. It is in Fact most evident, that the Episcopal Form of Government obtain'd in all Churches founded by the Apostles, even in the very times of the Apostles themselves.

Now this will be easily confirm'd by the particular Enumeration of the Successions. That the Rulers of the Churches of *Asia*, of which the *Apocalypse* makes mention, were Bishops, is a Fact beyond all possibility of doubt. They are call'd the *Angels of the Churches*; it is necessary therefore that they must have been single Persons ; for whoever heard, that an Assembly of Presbyters could be represented by an Angel ? But here also it may be added, that our Saviour very severely reproves the Angels for the Impieties of the Churches. Now this plainly supposes, that the whole Administration of the Church was committed to this single Persons, signify'd by the Name of Angels. But why do I dwell on this kind of Arguments, when the very learned Archbishop *Usher* * has most fully demonstrated, from the ancient Monuments of the

* See his *Treatise de Jure Metropolitano.*

Church,

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Church, that these Angels were not only Bishops, but even Archbishops?

This is also farther prov'd from the Catalogues of Bishops compil'd by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; by which we perceive at first sight, that the Primitive Church acknowledg'd no other Form of Government, but the Episcopal.

All this is most fully confirm'd by *St. Irenæus*, a Person of the greatest Authority, and as ancient as the Age next the Apostles: for more than once he calls^f Bishops the Successors of the Apostles; and he affirms, that the Apostles constituted Bishops in the Churches; and then proceeds to enumerate those Bishops to us, who sat in the See of *Rome*. *The Apostles therefore*, says he, *founding and instructing the Church, for the Government of it committed the Episcopacy to Linus, and to him succeeded Anacletus, &c. And likewise Polycarp, who was not only taught by the Apostles, and had convers'd with many of those that had seen our Lord; but was also by the Apostles constituted Bishop in Asia, in that Church which is at Smyrna, &c.* Here it is to be observ'd, that the Church of *Smyrna* is one of the *Asiatick* Churches mention'd in the Book of the *Revelations*, nor is it unlikely that *Polycarp* himself was the Angel of that Church.

Next to *St. Irenæus* I will produce *Tertullian*, who in his Book *de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, affords us a most full Testimony. *Let them shew therefore,*

^f *Iren. adv. Hæc. lib. iii. cap. 3.* Fundantes igitur & instructes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt, succedit autem ei Anacletus, &c.—— Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, & conversatus cum multis ex iis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt; sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asiâ, in eâ quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesiâ constitutus Episcopus, &c.

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says he ^s, *the Originals of their Churches; let them run over the Order of their Bishops, descending from the Beginning through their Successions in such manner, as that the first Bishop had some of the Apostles or Apostolical Men, (who yet had convers'd with the Apostle.) for his Author or Predecessor: For by this means the Apostolick Churches deduce their Originals; as the Church of Smyrna recurs to Polycarp plac'd there by St. John; as likewise Clement Bishop of Rome was ordain'd by St. Peter: and in the same manner, as the other Churches exhibit those, who were constituted Bishops by the Apostles, and are therefore Shoots from the Apostolick Stock: so let the Hereticks invent any thing like this.*

From this most noble Testimony of *Tertullian* we understand, 1. That the Episcopal Government did every where prevail in *Tertullian's* time. 2. That the first Bishops were appointed by the Apostles. *Let the Hereticks (says Tertullian) invent any thing like this: and I say the same of the Presbyterians.*

To all this it were easy, if that were my present Purpose, to add a long Enumeration of Bishops, whom the Apostles themselves instituted, as we find them in *Eusebius, Origen, Theodoret*, and other Authors of good Credit. But he that desires more Instances may read *Dr. Taylor* concerning Episcopacy, *Seet. 18.* where he will find great plenty of them.

Seet. 32. Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit autorem & antecessorem: Hoc enim modo Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt; sicut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia Polycarpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert: sicut Romanorum Clementem à Petro ordinatum itidem: perinde utiq; & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant: consingant tale aliquid Hæretici.

The Sum therefore of the whole Argument is this : *Timothy* and *Titus* were invested with Episcopal Authority, and set over the Churches of *Ephesus* and *Crete* by *St. Paul*. All the other Apostles did every where institute the same Form of Government. It is abundantly manifest, that Bishops presided in all Churches whatsoever, the least Monuments of which have escaped the Injuries of time, and come to our Hands. Nor is there to be found so much as one Instance, so much as one Example of any Church for the three first Centuries, which own'd any other Form of Government. From all these Considerations laid together, I think it clearly and perspicuously follows, that Bishops were instituted by the Apostles, for the perpetual Government of the Christian Church.

But they are wont to urge yet farther, that nothing can be founded by divine Right, but what may be most certainly known to have come from God, with a Design to oblige perpetually. But it is, say they, by no means manifest from the Practice of the Apostles, to which you appeal, that this Form of Church Government was instituted by God with such a Design of perpetual Obligation. The Practice of the Apostles shews indeed sufficiently, that this Form of Government is safe and convenient enough, and not unacceptable to God : but, say they, it by no means proves, that this Form of Government is perpetual : it does not by any means shew, that it is unlawful, that it is a crime to change this Form in compliance with the exigence of times, and to substitute another in the room of it.

To this Objection, which is plausible indeed as well as common, I answer :

First, Granting that the Episcopal Form of Government was founded by the Apostles themselves,
and

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and has been confirm'd by the whole Catholick Church, by a continual Succession down to this very time : it seems from hence to be very credible, that it was the Intention of the Apostles, that this Form of Government should remain for ever. That the Episcopal Form is safe, our Adversaries freely own : but no Man living will ever be able to prove, that it is safe to alter this Form. In a Matter of so great Importance wise Men will always follow that which is certain, and has been confirm'd by primitive Antiquity : and will most carefully avoid that which is uncertain, and inconsiderate ; and which may possibly prove to be against the Intent of the Apostolick Institutions.

Secondly, The very same unquestionable Evidences, that prove Episcopacy to have been constituted by the Apostles, do also prove, that it was constituted with an Intention of obliging perpetually : That, if I am not mistaken, is abundantly manifest from St. Ignatius, St. Cyprian, and the rest of the Fathers, who often inculcate the Necessity of Episcopacy. It will be sufficient to observe, that the very Definition of the Church given by the Primitive Fathers did always comprehend this Form of Government. St. Ignatius says^h, *Without these* (he speaks of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons) *it is not call'd a Church.* And St. Cyprianⁱ, *They are the Church*, says he, *the People united to the Bishop, and the Flock adhering to its Shepherd.* And again, *That is no Church, which has not Bishops.* And again, *In like manner also the Church, consisting of many Degrees, ends in Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops.* I

^h Epist. ad Trall. Χωρίς τῶν Ἐκκλησιαῶν καλεῖται.

ⁱ Epist. lxxvi. p. 168, &c. Illi sunt Ecclesia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo Grex adhærens. — Et alibi, Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet Sacerdotes — Similiter & Ecclesia multis gradibus consistens ad extremum Diaconis, Presbyteris, Episcopis finitur.

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conclude therefore, that the Apostles founded Episcopacy, with an Intention that it should oblige perpetually.

What has been hitherto said in this important Controversy, does in my Opinion abundantly suffice to maintain Episcopacy against all the Calumnies of Innovators. But that nothing may be wanting, which can be desir'd to confirm a matter of this great moment, I will produce some new Proofs from *St. Ignatius* and *St. Cyprian*.

St. Ignatius flourish'd in the beginning of the Second Century, almost contemporary to *St. John* himself; and he must be the vainest of all Men living, that can doubt but he is an unquestionable Evidence of the Apostolick Institutions. Indeed if we had no other but *St. Ignatius*, he has given such ample Testimony to Episcopacy, that the cause of the Equality of the Clergy must come to nothing. Our Adversaries have never been able to invent any thing, (as fruitful as we may allow their Imaginations to have been in this kind) that could defeat his Authority. As for such as babble I know not what concerning the Beginnings of Anti-Christ, and a certain universal Corruption, I can think them only fit for *Bedlam*.

1. From every one of the Epistles of this most excellent Writer it is as clear as the Sun, that at that time the three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons prevail'd. From whence, I beseech you, was this sudden and great change, if it was the Intention of the Apostles, that all the Authority of the Church should reside in an Assembly of Presbyters? These are nothing but the Dreams of Madmen, and the Impertinencies of mere Triflers.

2. It appears from these Epistles, that nothing relating to the Church ought to be done without the Permission of the Bishop. Without the Bishop's
Leave

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Leave the Presbyters could neither consecrate the Eucharist, nor baptize, nor celebrate the *Agape*, or Love-feast ^k.

3. The most holy Martyr exhorts the *Ephesians* ^l, *not to resist the Bishop, that they may be subject to God. And a little after: It is manifest therefore, that we ought to regard the Bishop, as the Lord himself.*

4. In his third Epistle, which was written to the *Magnesians*, he admonishes them to yield the highest Reverence to the Bishop; because the Reverence which was paid to the Bishop was understood to be given not to him, but to God the Father. He that imposeth upon the Bishop, says he ^m, *does not despise him that is visible, but him that is invisible.* Nay the most holy Man goes farther, and being inflam'd with an heavenly Ardor, affirms that they are by no means true Christians, who dare attempt any thing without the Bishop. *Such* (says he ⁿ, *as dare do any thing without the Bishop's Allowance) do not seem to me to be consciencious Persons; because they do not assemble authoritatively according to the Commandment.* Now by κτ' ἐν ὁλω, according to the Commandment. St. Ignatius means, according to the Apostolick Institutions; for the Apostles had so regularly dispos'd Matters, that nothing should be done without the Bishop; to the end that the Unity of the Church might suffer no Damage.

These and the like Passages do every where occur in the Writings of this most blessed Martyr,

^k Vide Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 36. Edit. Vsser.

^l Epist. ad Ephes. p. 3. πρὸς ἀζωμὴν ἐν μὴ ἀντιστάμεν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὡμὴν θεῶν ὑποτασόμενοι. Et p. 4. Τὸν ἐν ἐπισκοπῶν δῆλον, ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸ κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν.

^m ἐκ αὐτὸν τὸ προσβλεπούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀόρατον θεωροῦμεν.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 11. οἱ τοῖτοι ὅτι ἐκ ἀσυνείδησί μοι εἶναι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κτ' ἐν ὁλω συναθερίζεσθαι.

and

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and are to be found in every Epistle, and in every Page. Now let us pause a while here, and contemplate the most ancient Form of the Catholick Church. Hitherto we see the Christian Church, chaste, modest, and uncorrupted, just now form'd and modell'd by the greatest Masters, the Apostles themselves. In this Church, which no Man will deny to be truly Apostolick, we have Deacons, Priests, and Bishops. That the Center of Unity was plac'd in the Bishop, is confirm'd by a thousand Testimonies. Nay without the Bishop, in the Judgment of St. *Ignatius*, the Church it self cannot subsist. What greater Privileges, I beseech you, than these, which are so extraordinary, do our Bishops either enjoy or desire? Whence is it therefore, that they are persecuted by the Schismatics with so inveterate an Hatred? Whence is it, that they are accus'd of Tyranny, Popery, and whatever worse even than Popery it self the Fanatics can invent? To wit, this is our Fault, this our Crime, which no Atonement can expiate, that we have closely follow'd St. *Ignatius*, and the Apostles themselves; and that with the greatest Constancy we maintain and defend the Primitive Form of Church-Government. This has ever afflicted our Tribe of Innovators, who have nothing more at Heart, than to overturn all things, to condemn Ecclesiastical Traditions, to pervert the holy Scriptures with their foolish and senseless Comments, and with their most absurd Reforms, both to deform and to destroy the Christian Church it self. But enough of these Men. Let us shake Hands with them, and their Party.

From St. *Ignatius* we proceed to St. *Cyprian*, a wonderful great Man, and an egregious Assertor of the Authority of the Church. In his incomparable Epistles we meet with a great many Passages, relating

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ting to the Discipline of the Church, which do very well deserve to be taken notice of. With regard to Episcopacy, these following Particulars are most observable.

1. That in the Church of *Carthage* there were many Presbyters. See his vth Epistle, and his xxxvth, wherein he acquaints his Clergy, that *Numidicus*, for his extraordinary Fortitude and Constancy of Mind, was consecrated a Priest, and advises them to add him to the Number of the Presbyters of *Carthage*.

2. That both the Presbyters and the whole Church were under the Government of *St. Cyprian*. In his ith Epistle ^c he reproves the Presbyters after this manner: *For what Danger ought we not to apprehend from such an Offence against the Lord, when some of the Presbyters, unmindful both of the Gospel, and of their Station, nay and thinking neither of the Judgment of the Lord hereafter, nor of the Bishop that is now set over them, do what was never in the least done before under my Predecessors, with the Reproach and Contempt of their Superiour challenge all to themselves?* See also his xxith, xxii^d, xxvth, xxxth, xxxivth and xxxixth Epistles, according to *Pamelius's* Order.

3. That. *St. Cyprian* himself was fully persuaded, that the Power of governing the Church was committed to him, not by the People, but by God himself. For thus he speaks^p, in his Epistle concerning the *Lapsed*: *Our Lord, whose Precepts we ought to observe*

^c *Epist. 10. Edit. Pamel.* Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensâ Domini, quando aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omninò sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ & contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vendicent?

^p *Epist. xxvii.* Dominus noster, cujus præcepta observare & metuere

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serve and revere, ordering the Honour of the Bishop, and the Constitution of his Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to St. Peter; I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loos'd in Heaven. From thence through the Vicissitudes of Times and Successions, the Ordination of Bishops and the Government of the Church is deriv'd, so as that the Church is constituted upon Bishops; and every Act of the Church is regulated by the same Superiours. Since this therefore is founded by the Divine Law, I wonder that some with an audacious Rashness would so write to me, as to draw up Letters in the Name of the Church; when the Church is constituted upon the Bishop and Clergy, and all such as stand fast in the Faith.

From all this it does most evidently follow, that Episcopacy prevail'd every where in the time of St. Cyprian; and that it did so prevail, as an Institution of Jesus Christ himself. Nay if we believe the most holy Martyr, the Church is so constituted upon the Bishops, that if you take away Episcopacy, you cannot so much as conceive a Church. This

tuere debemus, Episcopi honorem, & Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, in Evangelio loquitur & dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam Petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam, & tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum, & quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata & in cœlis, & quæcunq; solveris super terram, erunt soluta & in cœlis. Inde per temporum & successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur: & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cùm hoc itaq; divinâ lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse, ut Ecclesiæ nomine liceras facerent; quando Ecclesia in Episcopo & Clero, & in omnibus stantibus sit constituta.

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was the Judgment of pious and uncorrupt Antiquity, to whose Opinion in this and all other Controversies, I most religiously profess my self to subscribe. From these Passages we likewise understand, that St. *Cyprian's* Episcopacy was Diocesan Episcopacy, viz. such an Episcopacy, as contains many Assemblies or Congregations under it. But as to that Congregational Episcopacy, which *Baxter*, and after him *Clarkson*, took so much Pains to establish, there does not any where appear the least trace or footstep of it, either in St. *Cyprian*, or in all Antiquity. But, believe me, it is so senseless and foolish an Invention, so foreign to all, both Reason and Example, that I am often us'd to wonder with my self, how it could ever get even into *Baxter's* Head.

Thus I have abundantly prov'd, that the Apostles instituted Bishops with an Authority over Presbyters, for the perpetual Government of the Church. The Bounds of this Discourse will by no means admit our descending to the Fathers of the Fourth Century, a great Army of most learned Men, and a vast Cloud of Witnesses for Episcopacy.

ORDINATION BELONGS ONLY TO BISHOPS.

I would not be so understood, as if I maintain'd that Presbyters were never join'd with Bishops in Ordinations, nor ever laid Hands with them upon the Heads of such as were to be ordain'd. I only mean, that Ordinations cannot be made without a Bishop; and that all Ordinations by Presbyters, and much more by Laicks, are invalid and null. Nay I assert, that the Presence of Presbyters is by no means necessary to Ordinations; but that they may be duly celebrated by the Bishop alone. Ha-

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ving thus explain'd my Opinion, I shall confirm it by these following Arguments.

In *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans* says ^a, *How shall they preach, except they be sent?* So that in the Apostle's Judgment, no Man can lawfully preach the Gospel, or perform any sacred Function, but he that is sent by God; but he to whom God has committed the Power of preaching the Word. But since, now that Miracles have been long ceas'd, we can have Recourse only to ordinary means; it is a great Question in debate among Christians, what is the Subject of this Power, I mean of Ordination, viz. who they are, to whom the Power of consecrating others for the Ministry is committed. A Question indeed of the greatest Moment; and to the Discussion of which, we ought seriously to apply our selves. I maintain therefore, that this Power of Ordaining is plac'd only in the Bishops, and am convinc'd of this, both by the Testimonies of holy Scripture, and by the unanimous Consent of the first and purest Ages of the Church.

I. Though you read over the New Testament never so often, you will find that none but the Apostles ordain'd Ecclesiasticks. *St. James* is set over the Church of *Jerusalem* by the Apostles. *St. Paul* and *St. Barnabas*, both of them Apostles, consecrate Presbyters ^r. As to the Argument drawn from *the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery* ^s, which the Presbyterians produce against us, not without great triumph, many things may be answer'd to it. It may be enough in this place to observe only, that the 2^d Epistle to *Timothy* informs us, that *St. Paul* himself also laid his own Hands upon

^a Rom. x. 15. Πῶς ὃ κηρύξουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσι;

^r Acts 14. 23.

^s 1 Tim. 4. 14. μὴ ὑπθέσεως τῶ χειρῶν τῶ πρεσβυτερίου.

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Timothy. But what Countenance is given by these Epistles to the Cause of the Equality of the Clergy, I am not able to see. It is prov'd indeed, that the Presbyters did together with the Apostles lay their Hands upon the Heads of the Candidates. But I desire to know, whether from this Place it can ever be prov'd, that the Presbyters did at any time ordain without the Apostles, or without Bishops. No such matter. It is most certain, that the Imposition of Hands, mention'd *Acts* xiii. 3. relates to a particular Benediction. *St. Paul* committed a Power of ordaining to *Timothy* and *Titus*, when he made them Bishops of the Churches of *Ephesus* and of *Crete*. And indeed from these Epistles it may be gather'd, not without the highest probability, that the Presbyters of the second Order did never in the Apostles times obtain a Power of ordaining. It cannot be doubted, but that many Presbyters were constituted by *St. Paul* in the Church of *Crete*; yet *Titus* is sent thither with a peculiar Power of ordaining. Now from this it seems to follow, that a Power of ordaining was never committed to the Presbyters of the second Order. But to dispatch this matter in a few Words: The holy Scriptures do not afford the least Argument, by which it can be prov'd, that Presbyters ever either ordain'd, or receiv'd a Power of ordaining from the Apostles. We read in the New Testament, of no Man that was ordain'd, but by the Apostles themselves, who without doubt were superiour to the Presbyters. *St. Paul* set single Persons over Churches, with a peculiar Authority of Ordination. Let those that are impartial Judges say, whether the Opinion of such as are for Episcopacy be not both safer and wiser, which declares for retaining that Method of ordaining, which the holy Scriptures, if they do

not command, do at least not obscurely describe and commend to us.

II. But that we may the more perfectly understand the Sense of the holy Scriptures concerning this Controversy, I am next, according to my propos'd Method, to produce the Testimonies of the primitive Church, back'd with which we need not fear asserting, that lawful Ordinations can be deriv'd only from Bishops. And indeed if I can clearly prove, that the primitive Church acknowledg'd no Ordinations, but such as were Episcopal; it will be easy for any one that has but common Sense to collect, that that was the Sense of the Apostles, who founded the Christian Society: and that that was also the Meaning of all those Passages of holy Scripture, which plainly declare, that Ecclesiasticks were ordain'd only by the Apostles; and that a Power of ordaining was in a peculiar manner entrusted with *Timothy* and *Titus*: and of those which attest, that if such are promoted to the sacred Dignity of the Priesthood, as are not worthy nor fit for it, the Fault is in the Bishops alone, and the Bishops alone are to be blam'd for it. This Article concerning Ordination comprizes in it self alone almost all the Controversies concerning the Authority of Bishops. If they with whom we have to do, would at least grant us this, that Ordinations ought to be had from none but Bishops, we should very easily agree about other Controversies, which are of much less moment. In this matter we utterly disagree with the Presbyterians. We cannot allow the Ordinations of Presbyters: we cannot but reject them, as rash, vain, and null. Nor have the Presbyterians any just Cause of complaining, that we treat them more harshly than what becomes Christians; since as they pretend, they are join'd with us in the same Bond of Faith and Charity.

But

But we are forbid to deal more mildly in a matter of so much Importance by the sacred Oracles ; which seem to have committed this Power of Ordination only to the Apostles and their Successors : we are forbid this by the constant Opinion of the Catholick Church ; whose Authority, next to that of the holy Scriptures, ever has been, and ever must be regarded by us, as of very great Weight. And indeed, unless I am very much mistaken, the Catholick Church affords us such full Evidence in this behalf, so perfect and compleat in every part, that nothing farther can be desir'd even by the most obstinate of our Adversaries. Now to demonstrate this with all the Clearness possible, I will undertake to prove these three Propositions.

1st. That the Primitive Church admitted of no Ordinations, but such as were administred by Bishops.

2dly. That all the holy Fathers to a Man, who speak of Ordination, do so speak of it, as of a Power appropriated only to Bishops.

3dly. That Ordinations attempted by the insolent Temerity of Presbyters, were always invalid upon that very Account, that they were administred by Presbyters, who have not the least Authority in this matter.

I. In order to prove my first Proposition beyond all Dispute, I could produce all the Histories of the Church, all the Epistles of the holy Fathers, and in fine all the Councils, as Evidence in this Behalf. Where-ever we read of the Ordination either of a Bishop, or of a Presbyter, we also read that it was administred by a Bishop. The second Canon (of those which are call'd Apostolical, and which without all doubt do testify the Usages of the Second and Third Centuries) enjoins, that a Presbyter be ordain'd by one Bishop. And who ever saw a Canon, which I do not say confirms, but so much as intimates Ordinations by Presbyters.

But let us reflect a little upon the two first Canons; they are express'd thus^r: *Let a Bishop be ordain'd by two or three Bishops, and a Presbyter by one Bishop.* From these two Canons taken together I argue, 1st. That the Ordination of Bishops is distinct and separate from the Ordination of Presbyters, I mean that by which they are made Presbyters. 2^{dly}. That a Presbyter can not be made a Bishop without a new Ordination, different from the former by which he was made a Presbyter. From hence also I think it follows, that *Blondel's* *περὶ τὸ καθεδρεῖα*, or first place among the Presbyters, which that learned Man endeavours with so much pains to make good, can by no means be confirm'd by the most ancient Monuments of the Catholick Church. And indeed it is well worth observing, that *Salmasius*, *Blondel*, and *Dallé*, that Triumvirate of Enemies to the Episcopal Order, did all own that the Power of ordaining was appropriated to Bishops only, as soon as the Orders of Bishop and Priest began to be distinguish'd. Since therefore it has been sufficiently prov'd, that these Orders were always distinct, from the very times of the Apostles, it will follow from that Concession of theirs, that the Power of ordaining did always belong to the Bishops only.

But that I may omit nothing, which may seem to conduce to the farther illustration of this Matter, I will thoroughly consider all the Arguments that are usually brought for the Ordinations of Presbyters. And since *David Blondel* does, both in Learning and Judgment, and great Reading, far exceed all the rest of our Adversaries, I will sum up with the utmost Fidelity all that even *Blondel* can suspect makes

^r Ἐπίσκοτος χειροτονέω καὶ δύο ἢ τριῶν Ἐπισκόπων
Πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἐνός Ἐπισκόπου.

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against us. All which that learned Man has been able to collect concerning Ordinations, I have carefully read over more than once, and it may be all reduc'd to these five Heads.

1st. He maintains that the Presbyters of the Church of *Alexandria*, from the time of St. *Mark* the Evangelist, down to that of the Patriarch *Heracleas* (that is, from the Year of our Lord LXI to the Year CCLXIV) did name their Bishops at their own Discretion, and were both the Electors and Ordainers, and Inthronizers of their own Bishop.

2^{dly}. He expects great Service in this Cause from the *Chorepiscopi*, who being, he says, no more than mere Presbyters, are frequently read to have ordain'd Presbyters and Deacons.

3^{dly}. He asserts, that in the *Gothick* Churches for the space of almost LXX Years, from about the Year of our Lord CCLX to the Year CCCXXVII, the Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction was in the hands of the Presbyters.

4^{tly}. He borrows his next Argument from *Cassian*, who relates [†], that the Abbot *Daniel* was advanc'd to the Dignity of Presbyter by *Paphnutius* a Presbyter.

5^{tly}. He concludes all with a famous Passage of St. *Leo* [†], concerning the Ordinations of Pseudo-Bishops, whom *Blondel*, honest Man, dream'd to have been mere Presbyters.

These are all the Arguments for the Ordinations of Presbyters, which this most zealous and learned Adversary has with the greatest Industry, and with indefatigable Pains been able to rake together, out of numerous Libraries and scraps of History, and in one word, out of the Rubbish of all Antiquity.

[†] Cass. Coll. 4. cap. 1.

[†] Epist. xcii.

And to each of these Arguments I shall endeavour to give a short, clear, and solid Answer.

1st. The first Instance is grounded upon the Authority of St. *Jerom*, and of *Eutychius's Annals*. The Presbyters, says St. *Jerom* ^u, choosing one out of their own number, and placing him in a higher Degree, nam'd him Bishop. *Eutychius*, as he is translated into Latin by Mr. *Selden*, affirms ^w, that St. Mark chose twelve Presbyters with Hananias, to the end that when the Patriarchate should be vacant, they might out of those twelve Presbyters, make choice of one, on whose Head the other Eleven might lay their Hands, and Consecrate him.

I answer, that nothing can be gather'd out of this Passage of St. *Jerom*, that does any way come up to the purpose. He affirms indeed, that a Bishop was chosen and named by the Presbyters; but he says not one word of his Ordination. And what is this to the Case in hand? I assert, that in the Primitive Church Presbyters never ordain'd. On the contrary, *Blondel* shews out of St. *Jerom*, that the Presbyters of *Alexandria* chose their Bishop, placed him in a higher Degree, and nam'd him; as if it were the same thing to choose and to ordain; or as if he that Names, has also Power to Consecrate a Bishop.

With respect to *Eutychius*, it will suffice to observe, that he was a little Author of the Xth Century, an ignorant, credulous, and foolish Collector of all sorts of trivial worthless Matters, and is deservedly to be reckon'd, not among the Historians,

^u Presbyteri unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. *Epist. ad Evagr.*

^w Sanctus Marcus duodecim cum Hanania elegit Presbyteros, adeo ut cum vacaret Patriarchatus, eligerent unum e duodecim Presbyteris, cujus capiti reliqui undecim manus imponerent, eumque consecrarent.

but among the famous Compilers of Romances. Besides all this, he contradicts both *St. Athanasius*, and *Eusebius*. Nay to shew all the World how diligent and accurate an Historian he is; he affirms, that the Bishops assembled at the Council of *Nice* were in number 2048. And yet *Eutychius* himself can never be brought to give his Suffrage for the Ordinations of Presbyters. In his Chronicle he frequently enough affirms, that Bishops are superior to Presbyters by divine Institution. But they who desire to see more concerning the Antiquities of *Alexandria*, let them consult *Abrahamus Ecbellensis Maronita*, who has deservedly chastiz'd *Selden* for his wretched Blunders with regard to the *Arabick* Tongue, and for his meanly serving a very bad *Hypothesis*.

2dly. The next Example is taken from the *Chorepiscopi*. To which I give this Answer: The XIIIth Canon of the Council of *Ancyra* provides, that the *Chorepiscopi* shall not ordain Presbyters or Deacons, without the leave of those Bishops, under whom they were. The Xth Canon of the Council of *Antioch* has these words; * *It pleas'd the holy Council, that they who are in Villages or Countries, or they who are call'd Chorepiscopi, although they have received Imposition of Hands from Bishops, should yet know their own Bounds, and govern the Churches put under them, and content themselves with the Government and Care of them, &c.*

This *Antiochian* Canon (says *Cabassutius*) does farther inform us in two particulars concerning

* Ji qui sunt in vicis & Regionibus, vel qui Chorepiscopi nominantur, etiam si impositionem manum Episcoporum acceperint, placuit Sanctæ Synodo, ut suum modum sciant, & sibi subjectas Ecclesias administrant, earumque curâ & moderamine contenti sint, &c.

Chorepiscopi. 1st. That they were not constituted in Cities, but in Villages and lesser Towns. 2^{dly}. That it may happen that *Chorepiscopi* be also dignify'd with the Episcopal Order: Which Observation does admirably reconcile the *Antiochian* Canon with the Decretal Epistle of Pope *Damasus*, which denies that the *Chorepiscopi* have any right of Ordaining; because they are no more than Presbyters, and are by no means Bishops. For *Damasus* speaks of the Power of a *Chorepiscopus* strictly, as he is such; yet he does not deny, but it may happen, that a Bishop undergo the Care of a *Chorepiscopus*, or a *Chorepiscopus* be consecrated a Bishop. Thus far *Cabassutius*. Therefore from this *Antiochian* Canon it manifestly appears, that the *Chorepiscopi* were very often adorn'd with the Episcopal Order. And why then might they not ordain and consecrate both Priests and Deacons, by Imposition of Hands? In vain therefore does *Blondel* bring into the Field against us these *Chorepiscopi*, since they make nothing for the Ordinations of Presbyters.

3^{dly}. Our next Combatants are the *Goths*, whom he arms out of *Philostorgius*: But we have little occasion to be afraid even of the *Goths*. Concerning the *Gothick* Regions converted to the Christian Faith, we may consult *Philostorgius* ², *Sozomen* ^a, *Socrates* ^b, and *Theodoret* ^c. *Blondel* contends that these *Gothick* Churches, being converted to the Faith by the Clergy that were in Captivity, continued without any Bishop for LXX Years; and that all Power as well of Jurisdiction as Ordination, was in the Hands of the Presbyters till *Ulpilas* was created Bishop by *Eusebius*. To this I answer:

¹ Τὸς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κώμας ἢ ταῖς καλυμμέναις χωρεπισκόπους.

² Lib. 2. cap. 5.

^b Lib. 4. cap. 33.

^a Lib. 6. cap. 36.

^c Lib. 4. cap. 37.¹

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1. Granting that there were no Bishops in the *Gotbick* Churches before *Ulpilas*, it does not by any Means follow from thence, that Presbyters ordained. It is possible, that all who were employ'd in the sacred Function, were ordain'd by other Bishops: Nay and that the thing was actually so, the Principles of that Age hardly leave us room to doubt. See the Story of *Fruementius* in *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History.

2. We learn from *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Sozomen*, that before *Ulpilas*, *Theophilus* govern'd the Churches of the *Goths*. Nor yet will this furnish *Blondel*, as he flatters himself, with any stronger Argument against us: For neither has he prov'd, nor will his Followers ever be able to prove, that this *Theophilus* was consecrated by Presbyters.

3. Neither *Socrates*, nor *Sozomen*, nor *Theodoret*, nor *Philostorgius* mentions so much as one Deacon, much less a Priest, nor so much as one Priest, much less a Bishop, to have been ordain'd by these *Gotbick* Presbyters. What therefore is to be gather'd from the *Goths*? That Presbyters in the IVth Century had a Power of ordaining? By no means. This learned Man wearies himself to no purpose: It is to no purpose that he endeavours with so much subtilty, and with such an immense variety of Learning, to defend a most senseless Cause. The Cause of the Presbyterians is not capable of being defended.

4^{thly}. But let us proceed to the Abbot *Daniel*, ordain'd by *Paphnutius* a Presbyter. In the first place I will produce the Passage of *Cassian* ^a. He was preferr'd, says he, to the Office of a Deacon by blessed *Paphnutius*, a Presbyter of the same Retirement,
and

^a *Cassian. Coll. iv. cap. 1.* A Beato Paphnutio solitudinis ejusdem Presbytero, & quidem cum multis junior esset ætate, ad Diaconum

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and that when he was inferior in Tears to many. For the holy Paphnutius had so much regard to his Vertues, as to hasten to make him equal to himself in the Order of Priesthood, whom he knew to be equal in Merits and Grace: For not bearing that he should continue any longer in an inferior Ministry; and desiring to provide himself a fit Successor in his own Life time, he advanc'd him to the honour of Presbyter. From this Passage, forsooth, it manifestly appears, that the Presbyter Paphnutius consecrated Daniel a Presbyter. I must own that my Eyes are too weak to discern any such consequence. Daniel was preferr'd to the Dignity of Presbyter by Paphnutius: therefore Paphnutius ordain'd him. I doubt this is no demonstration. Well, let us go on. But Paphnutius advanc'd him to the Honour of Presbyter. What then? Did he therefore consecrate him? O Blondel! I congratulate you with that new Logick of yours, which has taught you to frame such wonderful, such unusual, and such illogical Consequences. But to be serious. In the Ecclesiastical Writers Men are most frequently said to be preferr'd or advanc'd by those, who recommend or elect them. So that from this kind of Expressions it is in vain for any one to argue, who has a mind to persuade either himself or others. We are also taught by the very Rules of St. Benedict, that the Abbot chooses out of his own Order such as are worthy to perform the Priest's Office. The Matter therefore at last comes to this. Paphnutius being induc'd by Daniel's Vertues, com-

aconi prælatus est Officium. In tantum enim beatus Paphnutius ipsius virtutibus adaugebat, ut quem vitæ meritis & gratiâ parem noverit, coequare sibi etiam sacerdotii ordine festinaret: siquidem nequaquam ferens in inferiori eum ministerio diutius immorari, opransque sibi met successeorem idoneum providere, superstes eum Presbyterii honore provexit.

mends

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mends him to the Bishop, and the Bishop makes him a Presbyter.

5thly. It only remains that I say something of the Pseudo-Bishops: and to dispatch the Matter in few words, I say this: that these Pseudo-Bishops were really Bishops, honour'd with Episcopal Ordination; and were only call'd Pseudo-Bishops, because they were not Bishops of that place; because they had violated the Canons; and because they had ordain'd Ecclesiasticks contrary to the Practice of the Church. Why did not *Blondel* prove these Pseudo-Bishops to be mere Presbyters? Nothing could have made more for his purpose. But this learned Man knew very well, that he could never be able to prove this: therefore with a conscious Silence he disingenuously conceal'd the senseless Fallacy. What I beseech you, may be observ'd more frequently, than that those are call'd Pseudo-Bishops, who are not canonically ordain'd, although by their own Bishops; or who exercise their Episcopal Power out of their own Dioceses? This appears very evidently from *St. Cyprian* alone.

I had perfectly forgot the ridiculous Story of the *Culdees*, and the Argument drawn from that Story, which is no less ridiculous. The Presbyterians are wonderfully fond of these *Culdees* with their Cowls, and none more than our *Blondel*. And thus he speaks: *That the first Church of the Scots was in the same Condition with the Goths, is the Opinion of John Fordon and John Mayor, two Writers of that courageous Nation.* Well, I grant that it is possible that those courageous *Scottish* Churches were in the same Condition with the Churches of the *Gorbs*. But what follows from hence? that Presbyters had power to Ordain? nothing less. Neither the *Gorbick* Presbyters, nor the *Scottish* ever ordain'd Bishops or Priests. Neither *Fordon*, nor

Mayor, nor *Boëthius* says any thing of the Ordination of Presbyters.

It remains therefore a certain and unshaken Truth, that no Ordinations were admitted by the Primitive Church, but such as were administer'd by Bishops. I come next to my second Proposition, which is this:

II. *That all the holy Fathers to a Man, who speak of Ordination, do speak of it as of a Power appropriated only to Bishops.*

Thus *St. Jerom* declares in most exprefs words: *What, says he^e, can a Bishop do, which a Presbyter does not, except Ordination only?* Therefore in *St. Jerom's* Opinion Ordination does so properly belong to Bishops, that a Presbyter dares by no means usurp it. Nor is there any reason, that with *Blondel* we should suppose, that the holy Father had respect only to his own Times, and to the Practice of the Church in the IVth Century. There is nothing that any way upholds this supposition: for if *St. Jerom* himself had known, that Presbyters even in the most ancient Times had ever exercis'd the Power of Ordaining; it is hardly credible that he would have omitted that; when nothing could be alledg'd more material to his purpose, which was to make Presbyters equal to Bishops.

St. Chrysostom^e comments upon 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. in these words: *He does not speak here of Presbyters, but of Bishops; for the Presbyters did not ordain the Bishop.* Nothing can be more evident, than that the holy Father spoke of Ordinations administer'd in the Times of the Apostles. In the Judgment

* Quid facere potest Episcopus, quod non facit Presbyter, solâ Ordinatione exceptâ? *Epist. ad Evagr.*

^e Οὐ δὲ Πρεσβυτέρων φησὶν ἐκλῆθαι, ἀλλὰ δὲ Ἐπισκόπων· ὃ δὲ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ Ἐπίσκοπον ἐχειροτόνουν.

there.

therefore of St. Chrysostom, the Power of ordaining was appropriated to Bishops in the very Age of the Apostles.

Hereto may be added the Words of St. Epiphanius, speaking concerning the Aërian Heresy, which are very full to our purpose. Aërius argues thus: *In what particular does a Bishop excel a Presbyter? There is no difference between the one and the other: for they are both of the same Order, both have the same Honour and Dignity. The Bishop ordains, and so does the Presbyter, &c.* In the first place St. Epiphanius calls this a *mad Assertion* of Aërius, and the utmost degree of Folly, to say, that a Bishop and a Presbyter are equal; for every wise Man, says he, will easily perceive, that nothing is more foolish than to attempt to make them equal.— And the most learned Father proceeds thus: *And how is this possible? for the Bishop's Order is to propagate Fathers; for it begets Fathers to the Church: But the Order of Presbyters, unable to beget Fathers, does by the Laver of Regeneration beget Children to the Church; but neither Fathers nor Teachers. And how was it possible for him to constitute a Presbyter, who had not receiv'd Imposition of Hands (and therewith Authority) to ordain?* From this Passage many Considerations do naturally arise, that yield a wonderful confirmation to my Proposition: For from hence it appears,

^a Lib. 3. adv. Hær. p. 906. Ed. Par. 1622. Τί ὅτιν Ἐπίσκοπος πρὸς Πρεσβύτερον; ἔδὲν διαλλάττει ὁ αὐτὸς τὰς τῆς μίας γὰρ ἑστὶ τάξις, μία (φυσί) τιμὴ, καὶ ἐν ἀξίωμα. χειροθετεῖ, φησὶν, Ἐπίσκοπος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, &c.

^b Ibid. Λόγον μανιώδη. & p. 910. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀφροσύνης ὅτι τὸ πᾶν ἐμπλεῶν, τοῖς ζωέσιν κεκλημημένοις τὸτο δῆλον. τὸ λείπειν, αὐτὸν Ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ Πρεσβύτερον ἴσον ἔχει. — καὶ πῶς ἔσται τὸτο δυνάτον; ἢ μὴ γὰρ ὅτι πατέρων Γεννητικὴ τάξις. πατέρας γὰρ ἡμεῖς τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἢ ὅτι πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη ἡμεῖς, διὰ τὸ ἴσον αὐτῇ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα ἡμεῖς τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐμὴν πατέρας ἢ διδασκάλας. καὶ πῶς οἷόν τε ἡμεῖς πρεσβύτερον καθιστάν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τῇ χειροτονεῖν;

1st. That *Aërius* was rank'd among the Hereticks.

2^{dly}. That he was rank'd among them for this very reason, because he made Presbyters equal to Bishops. So also St. *Augustin* in his Treatise concerning Hereticks, condemns *Aërius*, because he had asserted, ⁱ *That there ought to be no difference made between a Bishop and a Presbyter.*

3^{dly}. That by the Principles of the IVth Century, a Presbyter as such, cannot ordain.

4^{thly}. That the Reason why Presbyters cannot ordain is, because they have not receiv'd Imposition of Hands, or Power to Ordain.

5^{thly}. From all which it likewise follows, that to Presbyters as such, the holy Scriptures have not committed any Power of ordaining.

My second Proposition does therefore hold good, viz. That all the holy Fathers to a Man, who speak of Ordination, do speak of it as of a Power appropriated only to Bishops. I proceed to the Third, which is this,

III. *That Ordinations attempted by the insolent Temerity of Presbyters, were always invalid upon that very account, that they were administer'd by Presbyters, who have not the least Authority in this matter.*

This Proposition is abundantly demonstrated by the famous Example of *Ischyra*, who was therefore replac'd among the Laicks, because he had been consecrated by *Colluthus* an imaginary Bishop. But because *Blondel* has taken a great deal of Pains to deprive us of this Instance, it will be necessary to inquire into it a little more particularly. I shall therefore in the first place faithfully relate the whole Story of *Ischyra* from St. *Athanasius*, and

ⁱ Lib. de Hæres. ad Quod vult Deum. p. 16. Tom. 6. Edit. Frob. 528. Presbyterum ab Episcopo nullâ differentiâ debere discerni.

afterwards consider *Blondel's* Objections, on which he lays so much stress. What *St. Athanasius* has written concerning the Ordination of *Colluthus* is in his *Apology* against the *Arians*. But because *Colluthus*, says he *, *died a Presbyter, both all his Ordinations were inauthoritative, and all that were ordain'd by him, and in Schism, were become Laicks again.* — For he was ordain'd by *Colluthus* a *Presbyter* that personated a *Bishop*, and was lately enjoin'd by *Hosius* in a *General Council*, and by the *Bishops* there assembled, to demean himself as a *Presbyter*, such as he was before. In like manner *Ischyrras* himself was reckon'd a *Laick*.

From these Words of *St. Athanasius* I collect,

1st. That *Colluthus* was a mere *Presbyter* when he died.

2^{dly}. That for that reason all his Ordinations were invalid, and all the Persons ordain'd by him remanded among the *Laicks*.

3^{dly}. That being but a *Presbyter*, he pretended to be a *Bishop*; but had never been dignify'd with the *Episcopal Order*; and was only an imaginary and no real *Bishop*, ἐφανίζετο ἐπισκοπῶν, that is, among his own Friends and Companions he feign'd himself a *Bishop*, and glory'd in it.

4^{thly}. That it was decreed by *Hosius* and the Council of *Alexandria*, that he should remain a *Presbyter* as he was before. Where it is to be most carefully observ'd, that *Colluthus* was not degraded from the *Episcopal Order*, as one that had truly re-

* P. 732. Edit. Par. 1627. — Ἄλλ' ὅτι κόλληθ' πρεσβύτερον ὦν ἐτήδυσσε, καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἀκυρῶς, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτῷ κατεσθέντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ χάσματι, λαϊκοὶ γενόμεσι. Εἰρ. 784. ὑπὸ γὰρ κολλυθῶς τ' πρεσβυτέρου φανταζέμενος Ἐπισκοπῶν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς τ' Ὀσίου Σωώδου, καὶ τ' (ὡς) αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπου, κελδεαίνοντος πρεσβυτέρου ἔει, καθὼς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦν. — ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰσχυρᾶς λαϊκὸς ᾤφθη.

ceiv'd it; but only depriv'd of an imaginary Title, which he had insolently arrogated to himself. It was decreed that he should remain a Presbyter; because he was never consecrated Bishop, viz. by the Imposition of Bishops Hands. From hence it is to me most evident, that in the Judgment of the Primitive Church, the Ordinations of Presbyters were invalid and null, for that very Reason; because they were administer'd by Presbyters. The Assertors of the equality of the Clergy shall never wrest from us this Instance, which is so full and clear against them. But let us see what *Blondel* has been able to allege against most evident History, a Man indeed of very great Learning, but too much addicted to the Faction of the *Calvinists*.

There are three things which this most learned Adversary produces to enervate the force of this Example, viz.

1st. That *Colluthus* was not a Presbyter, but a Bishop in the *Upper Cynus*¹, consecrated by *Meletius*.

2^{dly}. That he did not cease to be a Bishop, till he was depos'd by *Hosius* and the Synod of *Alexandria*.

3^{dly}. That *Ischyra*s was therefore replac'd among the *Laicks*, not because he had been ordain'd by a Presbyter, but because he had been ordain'd *uncanonically*^m by a Bishop, contrary to the Canons and establish'd usage of the Church.

To these three Objections I answer.

1st. It appears from *Alexander's* Circular Letter, that there was one *Colluthus* a Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*. That this was the same with our *Colluthus* who ordain'd *Ischyra*s, is manifestly attested by *St. Epiphanius*, whose Authority *Blondel* does in vain endeavour to enervate. We

¹ Εν τῇ ἄνω Κύνῳ.

^m Ἀκανονίστως.

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read, that *Coluthus* ^a was constituted a Bishop in the *Upper Cynus*, but not *Colluthus*. Either *Blondel* is miserably blind; or he imposes upon his Followers what he sees and knows to be false.

2dly. It is as clear as the Light from the very Words of *St. Athanasius*, that before the Synod of *Alexandria*, *Colluthus* was by no means a Bishop: for pray let us reflect a little: ° by *Coluthus* a *Presbyter*, that personated a Bishop, and lately by a General Council, &c. He that personated a Bishop was not a true and real, but only a fictitious and imaginary Bishop. *Colluthus*, even before the assembling of the Synod of *Alexandria*, did only personate a Bishop, only counterfeited and boasted himself to be a Bishop, when he was a mere *Presbyter*. Therefore the *Alexandrian* Synod did not deprive him of the Episcopal Order, which he had never receiv'd; but openly pronounced, that he was by no means a Bishop; that he was nothing more than a mere *Presbyter*; because he was never ordain'd by a Bishop.

3dly. From hence it naturally follows, that *Ischyra*s was put back among the Laicks, because he was consecrated by a *Pseudo* Bishop, (not only an uncanonical, but) a false and fictitious Bishop.

And having thus both confirm'd and illustrated my three Propositions, I shall not fear boldly to assert, that Ordinations belong only to Bishops, and that Ordinations administer'd by mere *Presbyters*, are upon that very account void, invalid and null.

But before I conclude this Dissertation, it will not be either unprofitable or foreign to my Purpose, to make some few Observations concerning the Or-

^a Κόλυθος non Κόλλυθος.

° Κόλλυθος ἢ Πρεσβύτερος, φαντασθέντος Ἐπισκοπὴν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς Συνοδου, &c.

der of Deacons. For there are some who dream, that the Deacons Order is only a temporary and civil Office, by no means to be reckon'd among such as are Ecclesiastical.

This therefore shall be my last Proposition.

IV. *The Order of Deacons instituted in the vith of the Acts is not civil and temporary; but is spiritual and perpetual.*

1. The Apostles require ^p, that the Persons to be chosen to this Office, should be *full of the Holy Ghost and Wisdom*; that is, that they should be endow'd with extraordinary Gifts, and well instructed in the holy Scriptures, viz. in the Old Testament, especially in the Prophecies, that they might be able, as often as occasion should offer, to dispute with the *Jews*, as *St. Stephen* did. Does not this seem to suppose something more excellent, than the Office of a Steward? What, are extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, and a full Knowledge of God's Word requisite to the Discharge of that Office? I am very much mistaken, if an honest Mind, and a well approv'd Integrity be not abundantly sufficient for that Employment.

2. Deacons were instituted to ^q *serve Tables*, and had their Name from thence. But *the Tables of the Disciples* (as the great Bp. *Pearson** rightly observes) *were common and sacred; that is, they celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in common*, each contributing his Symbol to the *Feast of Charity*. It is very credible, that these Deacons assisted the Apostles in the Celebration of it; and distributed the consecrated Elements among the Faithful. This is most certain, that

^p Acts vi. 3. Πλήρεις πνεύματος ἀγνῆς καὶ σοφίας.

^q Ibid. v. 2. Διακονεῖν τραπέζαις.

* In Act. Apost. Lect. iii. Sect. vi. p. 53. Mensæ enim discipulorum hunc temporis communes & sacræ etiam fuere: hoc est, in communi convictu Sacramentum Eucharistiæ celebrabant.

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in the time of *Justin Martyr*, that Office belong'd to the Deacons. *The President*, says he^r, or *Bishop* having blessed or consecrated the Bread and Wine and Water, those that are by us called Deacons, distribute them to every one present.

3. They were ordain'd by Imposition of Hands of the Apostles in the very same manner, that Priests and Bishops are ordain'd. But this Ceremony, which is so solemn, would certainly never have been us'd for the Designation of a Civil and Temporal Office.

4. Add to all this, that soon after *Stephen* preach'd the Gospel, and *Philip* administred Baptism to the Eunuch. These several Particulars, as far as I can judge, do most evidently denote an Ecclesiastical Office.

They, says the Apostle^t, *that have used the Office of a Deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree*; that is, a degree towards the Order of Presbyter: For that was the Custom of those Ages, to choose Deacons out of the best of the Christian People, Presbyters out of the best Deacons, and out of the best Presbyters to elect Presidents or Bishops. In the *Clementine Constitutions* there are Prayers for a Deacon; in which are these Words^t: *Grant that he having administer'd the Office committed to him agreeably, constantly, unblameably, and irreproveably, may be thought worthy of a greater degree.*

^t Just. Marr. *Apol.* 2. p. 97. Edit. Par. 1615. Ἐυχαισίσω . . . ὃ τὸ παρὲς ὦτ' — Οἱ καλῶς παρ' ἡμῖν Διάκονοι διδάσιν ἐκάσῳ τῷ παρόντων μέγα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαισισθέντος ἀρετῆς καὶ οἷος καὶ ὕδατος.

^t 1 Tim. 3. 13. Οἱ καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὸν ἐαυτοῖς καλὸν ποιῶν.

^t Clem. Const. Apost. Lib. 8. cap. 18. Καταξίωσον αὐτὸν εὐαισώς λειτουργήσαντα καὶ ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Διακονίαν ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεκλήτως, μείζονα ἀξιοθῆναι βαθμῇ. Grot. in loc.

But besides all this, let us enquire what Opinion concerning this Office was held by pious and uncorrupt Antiquity. That the holy Apostles did in all Churches, together with Bishops and Presbyters, also constitute Deacons, appears from *St. Clemens Romanus*, and from *Hermas Pastor*. But what Sentiments the primitive Church had concerning Deacons, you will easily judge from the following Citations out of the holy Fathers.

St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the *Philippians* ^u, exhorts the Deacons to behave themselves unblamably, *as the Deacons or Ministers of God in Christ, and not of Men*.

St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the *Trallians* ^w has these Words: *And Deacons being the Mystery (or rather Ministers of the Mysteries) of Jesus Christ, ought by all means to please all Men; for they are not Dispensers of Meat and Drink, but Ministers of the Church of God*.

St. Cyprian speaks ^x thus of Deacons: *But Deacons ought to remember, that the Lord chose Apostles; that is, Bishops and Governours: but after the Lord's Ascension into Heaven, the Apostles constituted Deacons for themselves, to be Attendants upon them as Bishops, and upon the Church*. What does it signify to proceed farther, and weary the Reader with a long Enumeration of Authors? From these three most

^u P. 17. Edit. Oxon. 1644. ὡς θεὸς ἐν χειρὶ Διάκονοι, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπων.

^w P. 48. Edit. Voss. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Διακόνους ὄντας μυστήριον Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ πάντα τρέπον πᾶσιν ἀρέσκειν. ἔργα βραμάτων καὶ ποσῶν εἰσὶν Διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας θεὸς ὑπάρχει. Μυστηρίων legunt & Interpolator, & vetus interpres, quæ forsan lectio præferenda est.

^x Epist. lxxv. Ord. Pamel. Meminisse autem Diaconi debent quoniam Apostolos, id est, Episcopos & Præpositos Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt, Episcopatus sui & Ecclesiæ ministros.

clear Evidences of the truly Apostolick Traditions, it is abundantly manifest, that Deacons are not Servants of Tables (as some Triflers among us assert) but Attendants of the Bishops, and of the Church; and consequently are with the Bishops and the Church to continue unto the End.

DISSERTATION III.

The Christian Society from the times of Constantine has never incorporated with the Civil: but with respect to all its purely spiritual Powers has ever remain'd entire and distinct.

TO any one that seriously considers the Christian Religion, it will easily appear, that there are two States of the Church very different and distinct: One, when the Powers of the World did not as yet protect the Christian Faith: The other, from the time that the *Roman* Empire began openly to profess the Name of Christ. In the former state, while Persecution was still raging, the Church was administer'd by Bishops with the Counsel of their Presbyters: and for the more convenient Government of it they made Laws, and confirm'd them with the greatest and strongest Sanction, *viz* with Banishment from all sacred Commerce; which they look'd upon as a great Prejudice, or kind of rul'd Case, that predetermin'd the future Judgment. But when the most renown'd Emperor *Constantine* had submitted his victorious Eagles to the Cross, and heartily profess'd the most pure Doctrine of Christ; a new Face of things seem'd to arise: and from this new face of things we shall be apt to expect many
and

and those considerable Alterations. The Emperor confirms the Ecclesiastical Power with new Laws, and new Authority : and the Church yields to the Emperor certain new and extraordinary Privileges. What therefore I assert is only this, that by this Alteration the Christian Church was by no means blended and confounded with the Secular Authority ; but with regard to all its purely Spiritual Powers remain'd intire and separate.

Mr. *Selden* in his ixth Book *de Synedriis*, grants us, that before the times of *Constantine* the Christian Church was a certain fixt Society, and exercis'd the Power of Excommunication. But then, honest Man, he thinks all this is to be deriv'd, not from any divine Right, nor from any Precept of the Apostles, nor from the Nature of the Christian Religion; but from I know not what Compact, very obscure and known but to few, viz. only to one or two of the Tribe of the Criticks. But how does it appear that any such Compact was ever made? It appears (if we believe Mr. *Selden*) as clear as the Sun from that famous Epistle of *Pliny* ^w to the Emperor *Trajan*, in which *Pliny* writes thus of the Christians : *That they were wont to bind themselves with an Oath, not to commit Theft, nor Robbery, nor Adultery ; not to break their Word, nor deny what was entrusted with them, when it should be call'd for.* From this Passage the learned Man does with great Subtilty gather, that the Christian Society is owing to a certain private Compact, because the Christians bound themselves with an Oath, not to violate the Precepts of their Saviour. This Reasoning to Men of small and moderate Understanding, may seem perhaps new

^w *Lib. x. Ep. 97. Quod essent soliti — se Sacramento — obstringere — ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.*

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and very admirable: but it is thus that great Wits are sometimes pleas'd egregiously to trifle. For this Invention of Mr. *Selden's*, rais'd with so much Zeal and Labour, falls and vanishes at one Blow; if we only call to mind, that all the holy Fathers without Exception, who make mention of this Society, do not intimate that it arise from any Compact; but maintain, that it was deliver'd down by the Apostles themselves, and founded by the very Precepts of our Saviour. The whole Controversy therefore comes to this: Whether more Regard is to be had to Mr. *Selden*, a Man indeed of very great Learning, but a most deadly Enemy to the Clergy, than to the constant Opinion of the primitive Church. And yet from this unlearned and rash Hypothesis, Mr. *Selden* proceeds after his usual manner to argue, that all this Power, as soon as *Constantine* had embrac'd the Christian Faith, was by a certain natural Right devolv'd upon the Civil Government. Insomuch that all Ecclesiastical Powers whatsoever, from the Reign of *Constantine* down to our times, are not in his Opinion to be deriv'd from God, nor from a Spiritual Authority founded by Jesus Christ; but from the King, and from the Senate, and from the People. This is that impious and pestilent Opinion, which alas! has ravag'd far and wide, and which I shall now undertake to overthrow.

I assert therefore against Mr. *Selden*, and all the other Authors of that Stamp, that the Christian Society from the times of *Constantine* was not mix'd with the Civil: I assert, that all those Powers, which Jesus Christ committed to the Governours of his Church, do still belong to the Church of Christ; so that no Laws nor Edicts whatsoever can either abolish them, or deprive the Clergy of them.

And

And to make good this Assertion, I shall take this following Method. I shall prove it,

1st. From the Nature it self of the Christian Society.

2^{dly}. From the very Concessions of the Emperors.

3^{dly}. From various Contentions that have happen'd between the Emperors and the Bishops.

I. First therefore it is abundantly manifest from the very Nature of the Christian Society, that it cannot by any means be mix'd or confounded with the Civil Power. I have prov'd that the Christian Church is a true and proper Society : I have prov'd that the Authority of governing this Society is committed to the three Orders of Ministers. How therefore this Power and Authority can be transferr'd to the Civil Magistrate, it is past my Skill to discern. I own indeed, that there is nothing in the Nature of things can hinder, but that the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority may meet in one and the same Person : For the Exercise of the latter is by no means inconsistent with the Administration of the former. And it is agreed among all learned Men, that before the Law of *Moses* the Supreme Civil and Sacerdotal Power remain'd in the Hands of the First-born. Hence we read of *Melchisedeck*, that he was both a King, and also *the Priest of the most High God*. *Abraham* was a Priest to himself and his Family ; offer'd Sacrifices, and order'd as he thought fit all things relating to the Worship of God. The Case was the same with all Kings, and with Heads of Families, who themselves were also very often Kings. But God, who knew what was fit for his Church, thought good to change this Order of things ; and therefore taking away this Right of Primogeniture, he transferr'd the Priesthood to certain particular Persons : He chose the Tribe of *Levi*,
and

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and the Family of *Aaron*, out of all others ; and adorn'd them with the illustrious Dignity of the Typical Priesthood. To them only he gave Leave to carry the Tabernacle, to slay the Sacrifices, and to burn Incense in his Presence. And whatever Authority of old Kings had claim'd in things sacred, did now all of it accrue to this peculiar Order : and did so accrue to it, that it was no longer lawful for Kings, without the greatest Impiety, to meddle with these sacred things. It was not now permitted to the Kings of *Judah*, either to offer Sacrifice, or to burn Incense : Upon all that violated the Priesthood, God inflicted most grievous Punishments ; as we learn from the Example of *Uzziab*. The same and abundantly more may be said of the Christian Priesthood. The most blessed Founder of our Religion did not revive that ancient and Patriarchal Priesthood ; nor left it to the Powers of this World, to frame their own Forms of Church-Government ; but partly himself, and partly by his Apostles, he consecrated to himself a peculiar select Order of Men, separated from the Multitude of the Faithful, to represent him, and perform Ecclesiastical Offices. To these, and to these only, he committed the Right of consecrating his most sacred Body and Blood in the Eucharist, and that of inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures, the Power of proposing Articles of Faith, and Authority to ordain others. No Man living can consecrate the holy Eucharist, nor admit any one into the Church, or after he is admitted, shut him out again ; but he that has receiv'd this Power from Jesus Christ ; who has promis'd that he will ratify that in Heaven, which they shall do according to his Institution upon Earth. A King as he is King, as he is the Supreme Power, neither has nor can have any manner of Right whatever in Offices purely Spiritual : For there is a very great difference

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rence to be made, between Natural Religion, and Religion which is reveal'd and instituted. In Natural Religion, I readily own, it belongs to the Supreme Power, to take care of things sacred, and to name, and choose, and appoint such, as may preside in holy Offices. Where there is no Revelation, this Right is grounded on the Nature it self of the Supreme Power, to which it belongs to order and appoint with full Authority, what things soever may conduce to the publick Good. But granting that Religion was instituted by God himself, the Reason is altogether different. We are oblig'd to observe his Institution, let it be what it will; and though it appear never so unjust to the Civil Magistrate. Since therefore it was sufficiently prov'd in the preceding Dissertation, that Jesus Christ committed this Society to Bishops; it follows, that the Church cannot be so blended with the Civil Society, as that its Spiritual Rights should be transferr'd to the Supreme Power in such a manner, as that all Ecclesiastical Powers must be deriv'd from that only.

No Man can efficaciously administer the Sacraments, but he who is instituted to that Office by Jesus Christ; and to whom Christ has promis'd to ratify whatever he shall perform according to that Institution. The Emperor, or the Sovereign Authority, in whomsoever it resides, never receiv'd this Power from Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot efficaciously administer the Sacraments.

No Man can ordain others, that is, grant them a Power of administering the Sacraments, but he who has receiv'd this Authority from God, to send others, and endow them with such Privileges as these. But the Sovereign Power, as such, never receiv'd this Authority from God.

No Man can with Authority determine concerning Controversies of Faith, but he to whom the Custody of the Faith is committed ; to whom it belongs to propose the Faith to the People, as a necessary Condition of Ecclesiastical Communion. But the Faith was never committed in this manner to the Civil Magistrate. Jesus Christ committed the *Depositum* *, the *Form of sound Words* to the Apostles, and the Apostles to Bishops. It belongs to them to propose the Faith, without the Profession of which no Man ought to be admitted into the Church of Christ. It is their Business to judge, whether such a one thinks rightly or not concerning the fundamental Articles of Faith: and it appertains to them to determine which Articles are to be esteem'd necessary and fundamental. Hence moreover we collect, that it belongs to Bishops to compose Creeds, to explain controverted Articles ; and if the Necessity of the Case require it, with new Terms to confirm and defend them against Hereticks. And therefore the most holy Fathers of the Council of *Nice* did by the Term *Consubstantial* † admirably confirm the Doctrine of the holy and undivided Trinity against the unreasonable Wiles of the *Arians*. Besides, all Christians are oblig'd not only to profess the Faith in general, but to express it in Terms appointed by the Church. They that do otherwise, and either reject the Terms of the Church, or invent new ones of their own Heads, are deservedly shut out of the Church.

These Powers our blessed Saviour committed to the Governours of his Church ; and for that Reason I maintain, that they cannot be transferr'd to the Civil Magistrate.

* 2 Tim. 1. 12, 13, † ἀποκαταθήκην — ὑποῦπωσιν ὑψίστου
 λόγων. ἑμῶσι.

But

But our Adversaries will object, that there is no need, there should be found in the holy Scripture exprefs mention concerning this matter. This Right, say they, arises from the Nature of the Sovereign Power, to which alone it appertains to perform all those things, that any way regard the Weal publick, and the Advantage of the Society. I own indeed, that this Objection would have some weight, if our Controversy were concerning mere Natural Religion. But, as was observ'd above, it is of no Moment at all in Religion that is reveal'd. Jesus Christ has delegated these Powers to a certain peculiar Order, without any the least mention, that they were to be devolv'd upon the Civil Magistrate, as soon as he should embrace the Christian Faith. It is therefore necessary, that the Civil Magistrate depart from his Natural Right, to pay Obedience to the Institutions of Jesus Christ. This is what the *Jewish* Kings did: the Christian Emperors also did the same most willingly: and all Princes are oblig'd to do the same, who believe that the Hope of eternal Life is placed in the Merits of Christ's Death.

But the Followers of *Erastus* go on with their Noise. What, say they, according to your Hypothesis a Christian King has no Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters, all things depend upon the Will of the Clergy, who, as is very often seen, are not wont to be too favourable to the Regal Dignity. It is not permitted to Christian Princes, to stir the least Pin of the Church without the Bishop's Leave: but to do it were the greatest Impiety, and a profane Invasion of the Priesthood.

But on the contrary, we who are Priests do openly maintain, that according to our Hypothesis Christian Kings have the greatest Authority even in Matters Ecclesiastical.

Now

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Now what may be safely allow'd to Christian Princes in Ecclesiastical Matters, without any Prejudice to the Divine Institution, we may learn from *Grotius*. Kings, says he, may do these things following with respect to sacred Matters.

1st. They may take care that what is commanded by God, be perform'd with Liberty and Conveniency.

2^{dly}. The human Law superinduces a new Obligation, not only by permitting, but also by commanding what is already commanded by the Divine Law.

3^{dly}. The sovereign Power prescribes certain Circumstances of Place, Time, and Manner to Actions commanded by God, in order to the more decent performance of them. Hitherto belong various Laws in the *Novels*.

4^{tly}. Human Laws take out of the way the Matter and Occasions of such Actions, as are forbidden by God. Thus *Hezekiah* remov'd the high Places.

5^{tly}. It belongs to the supreme Power, by denouncing Punishments, to constrain Men to do those things which God commands, and to deter them from what he forbids. And *Justinian* calls this ², *the Keeping of the divine Laws*. And to the same purpose is that of *St. Augustine* ³, *Let the Kings of the Earth serve Christ, even by making Laws for Christ*.

These are those things, which the Bishops granted to the first Christian Emperors: Contented with these, those excellent Princes did not so much as desire any farther Power; but accounted it the great-

² Auth. Coll. ix. T. 20. Nov. 137. Præf. Θεῶν νόμων ἐξουλακῆ.

³ Epist. 48. Tom. 2. p. 113. Serviant Reges terræ Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo.

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est Impiety, either to invade, or to diminish the Offices of the Priesthood. And we likewise most willingly allow the same Authority, and the same Privileges to the supreme Power ; but a larger Authority than this we neither can nor dare allow, for fear of basely and dishonourably betraying, to the Destruction of our Souls, and the apparent Ruine of the Catholick Church, the most holy Offices of the Priesthood, which our blessed Saviour has intrusted with us. We maintain and defend the Sacerdotal Dignity in such a manner, as that no occasion of Fears and Jealousies can be taken from thence by Kings, whom we most freely acknowledge to be next to God, and inferior to him only : and to resist whom, even when they command what is most unjust, we stedfastly pronounce not only to be unlawful, but to be a Crime that shall be punish'd with eternal Damnation. We so Regard and Reverence the Authority of Kings, as yet to esteem it inferior to that of Jesus Christ : for we are careful, as becomes both Christians and Priests, not by a base and abject Flattery to give those things unto Kings, which Jesus Christ claims wholly and intirely to himself. This therefore after all is what we mean, this is what we so eagerly contend for, that the things that are *Cæsar's* be render'd unto *Cæsar*; and that those which belong to God, and to Christ, and to the Church, be in like manner granted unto them.

Our Adversaries do farther object, that granting the Church of Christ to be a true Society, distinct from the Civil ; it will hence follow, that there will be * one Government or Society within another ; which both implies a Contradiction, and roots up the very Foundations of the Civil Society. This

* Imperium in Imperio.

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is an Objection they never fail to make ; this they continually challenge us with ; and confidently boast that it can never be answer'd. And yet such is the unhappy Confidence of these Men, that if we look never so little into it, we shall find nothing was ever seen more trivial and foolish, than this very Objection: For

1st. It may be safely deny'd, that from our Hypothesis it follows, that there will be one Government or Society within another : for by Government they ought at least to understand a Government vested with Power of Life and Death. To suppose two such Governments independent of each other, in one Society, does indeed imply a most manifest Contradiction. But what is this to us ? It may perhaps be of some force against the Papists ; but against us it is of none at all.

We most industriously disclaim, in our Society, all external Force whatsoever: we affirm over and over, and stedfastly maintain, that the Church of Christ is not of this World ; but that all its Punishments, as well as its Rewards are to be expected in the World to come. She gives not the least Disturbance to Secular Governments, which without any opposition from the Christian Church, enjoy all things that appear any way necessary to their preservation. Mr. *Selden* knew all this very well ; and for that reason would acknowledge no Punishments, but such as are External and Coercive : but how very trifling this is, and how unworthy of Mr. *Selden*, is evident to all Men at the first view.

2^{dly}. Granting that it follow'd from our Hypothesis, that there would be one Government or Society within another, there is no Consequence from thence, which is either absurd or contradictory : The reason is plain, because these Governments or Societies are of such a different Nature ; for one

is Secular, the other Spiritual; one endow'd with External Power, the other with such as is only Spiritual and Internal. Hereto must be likewise added, that the Christian Church teaches us to pay the most devout Obedience to the Civil Magistrate; and in the fullest manner condemns all sorts of Resistance whatsoever. Why may not these two Societies agree very well in one Government? As far as I can discern, they mutually confirm and adorn one another.

3dly. We shall find one Government within another almost from the very infancy of the World; therefore this involves no Contradiction. Every Political Government comprehends many Paternal Governments within it. Parents have a Right to the Obedience of their Children from the Law of Nature; the Obligation of which Law cannot by any means be abrogated by the Sovereign Power. And yet the Sovereign Power has no reason to be afraid of this Paternal Government; because the Power of Life and Death is placed only in the Civil Magistrate. Now for the very same Reason the State can receive no Damage from the Church; which enjoys only an internal Power.

But our Adversaries urge still farther.

It may happen, say they, that the King may command one thing, and the Bishops the contrary: so that it will be impossible to obey both their commands. What shall the People do? They stand hesitating and know not which way to turn themselves: If they obey the Church, they must expect nothing but Wracks and Halts; but if they comply with the Prince, they must be condemn'd to eternal Flames. Who does not see, *say they*, that in this case the very Foundations of the Society are undermin'd and dissolv'd?

Now to all this I return these several Answers.

1st. If

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1st. If it shall happen that the King and the Church impose contrary Commands, I grant indeed, that a great Inconvenience will arise from thence, and a grievous Calamity. But can we thence conclude, that there cannot be one Government within another; because there may arise some Inconveniencies from such a Supposition: I cannot, I confess, see the least Shadow of a Consequence in this. As if there were any State of things in this World, so happily and perfectly establish'd, as to be liable to no Inconveniencies. I suppose our Disputant came lately out of *Utopia*; the Arms and Arguments he makes use of are so evidently of that Growth.

2^{dly}. It can never happen, that the Political and the Sacerdotal Power have any struggle with each other, while they contain themselves within the Bounds that are proper to each of them. Let the King govern his People, and consult the Safety and Ornament of the State; and let the Priest serve the Altar; faithfully expound the Word of God; explain the Faith and defend it: Let the King strengthen and adorn the Church with his Secular Authority; and let the Church make the Subjects Obedient and Faithful to the King, by the Principles of Christianity, by the Obligation of Conscience, and by the most just dread of Hell and eternal Damnation. By this means the Church makes the most grateful Returns to the King for the benefit of his Protection. Believe me, the Sovereignty and the Priesthood are in their Nature so dispos'd by God, that they mutually embrace and cherish each other. Neither of them can be happy and perfect without the other. The Sacerdotal without the Secular Power, wants both Ornament, and Protection; and the Secular without the Sacerdotal, does in vain require the faithful Allegiance of

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the Subjects, and the stedfast Obedience which arises from Conscience. Away therefore for ever with those worst of Men, Friends neither to God nor the King, neither to Church nor State, who dare to separate and disjoin the two greatest Powers in the World, that most sweetly agree with each other, and are not only safe, but happy in their mutual embraces.

3dly. Granting that it may happen, that the King and the Bishop impose different and contrary Commands; in this case it is not so difficult, as they pretend, to determine to which of the two Obedience must be paid. Let us only consider a little these few and those very easy Rules, and all the Difficulty will immediately vanish.

1st. If the Bishop invade the Rights of the Civil Magistrate, there is no Obedience due to him; because Secular Power does not belong to the Bishop, as he is a Bishop. All the Power that he has of that nature, must of necessity be deriv'd from the Civil Magistrate, who may revoke it whenever he thinks fit.

2dly. If the King violate the Rights of the Bishops; it must be well consider'd, whether the Rights thus violated are such, as were committed to the Church by God, or as are owing to human Laws, namely, to the Constitutions of Canons. For

1. If they are of the former kind, we must obey the Bishop (which is in this Case to obey God) rather than the King. This Controversy, if it ought to be called a Controversy, has been determin'd^b by the Apostles themselves.

2. If they are of the latter sort; and are plainly Indifferent; and do no way strike at the Essentials

^b Acts 4. 19.

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of Religion; Obedience must be paid to the King, and not to the Bishop. But

3. If they are of a doubtful Nature; and it be very probable, that an Essential part of the Christian Religion is in danger; it will then be best and safest to obey the Decrees of the Church; and with a great and stedfast Mind to bear the Punishments inflicted by the Civil Magistrate.

He that observes these Rules will, in all Contests of this nature, easily perceive, to which side he ought to join himself.

There is still remaining one Objection, though it hardly deserves that Name, which our Adversaries are wont to produce, as the last Struggle for their sinking Cause: and I shall not think much to vouchsafe an Answer to it, though it does not at all deserve one. The Objection, being brought into the Form of a Syllogism, stands thus.

Those Powers which may be limited by the Civil Magistrate, are deriv'd only from the Civil Magistrate: But Ecclesiastical Powers may be limited by the Civil Magistrate. Therefore Ecclesiastical Powers are deriv'd only from the Civil Magistrate.

I deny the major Proposition, which the *Erastians* will never be able to prove. But that you may fully perceive the weakness of this Argument, you need only consider the *Jewish* Priesthood. Few will deny, that that was deriv'd from God. And yet every one knows, that with respect to the outward Exercise, the Priesthood of the *Jews* was limited by the *Jewish* Kings; which yet does not prove, that these Sacerdotal Powers were deriv'd only from the Civil Magistrate. How then, I beseech you, should it prove that in the Christian Priesthood! Let our Adversaries find this out, and

as occasion offers, let them impart the Secret to us.

Hitherto I have argued from the Nature of Society, that the Ecclesiastical can by no means be blended with the Civil Government; I mean so blended, as that the Spiritual Powers should be transferr'd to the Secular. But for a more full and perfect decision of this Controversy, it will be very necessary to consider, what was the Opinion of the most holy Fathers concerning the Nature of this Society. Whether they thought that this Society was Temporary, form'd only for the present Exigence of Time, and afterwards to sink into the Civil, and be consolidated with it; or that it was a Society distinct from the Civil, and to remain so to the end of the World.

II. My second Argument is taken from the very Concessions of the Emperors. I will begin with *Constantine* the Great. In the time of this Emperor two Calamities miserably afflicted the Church. One, a Controversy concerning the Celebration of *Easter*; the other, the impious Heresy of *Arius* concerning the Son of God, which had spread far and wide. The pious and truly Christian Emperor, to apply some Remedy to these Evils, convenes a Council at *Nice*, and refers all these Matters to the Judgment and Determination of the Bishops. But let us see in what Words he address'd himself to the Bishops, and what he seem'd to think of their Authority. *Socrates* relates^c, *That the Emperor being enter'd into the Council, would not so much as sit down till the Bishops desir'd him.* In an Epistle written concerning the Decrees of the Council, the most holy Emperor expresses himself in these words;

^c Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 18. Edit. Valef. 'Ου παύσας καθίζεν, πρὶν αὖ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐπινοήσαν.

^d Since

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^a Since therefore three hundred and more Bishops, wonderful for their Gravity and Sagacity, have all confirmed one and the same Faith — Let us go to the common Body. And after a few words he proceeds thus: For that which the three hundred Bishops decreed, is nothing else but the determination of God; especially where the holy Spirit, inspiring the Minds of such and so great Men, reveal'd the divine Will. And in his Epistle which he sent to the Churches: For, says he, whatsoever is transacted in the holy Councils of Bishops, is all to be referr'd to the divine Will — for which cause ye ought to receive the Reason above-mention'd. And in his Discourse with the Bishops we meet with this Expression, *You indeed are appointed by God a Bishop of those things which (or of those Persons who) are within the Church; I, of those that are out of the Church.* What Constantine means by τὰ ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, the things which are out of the Church, is very aptly explain'd by a Canon of the Council of Carthage, which Decrees thus: *If any one be disobedient to his Bishop, he shall be depos'd: — If he persist in his Madness, he shall be chastiz'd by the External Power, that is by the Secular.* Therefore Constantine's meaning was, that the State belong'd to him, and the Church

^a Ibid. p. 26. Τετακοσίων γὰρ καὶ πλείονων Ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ Σαφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ θαυμαζομένων μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πίσιν — βεβαιούσαν — ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν Σῶμα — ἰωμεν. — Ὁ γὰρ τοῖς τετακοσίοις ἤρρεσεν Ἐπισκόποις καὶ ἐν ὅσιν ἑτέροις, ἢ τῇ θεῇ γνώμῃ, μάλιστα γὰρ ὅπου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀνδρῶν ταῖς διανοίαις ἐσκεύαζον τὴν θεῖαν βύλησιν ὀξερώτισιν. Ibid. p. 28. Πᾶν γὰρ ὅ, τι δ' αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις τῇ Ἐπισκόπων Συνοδείᾳ περὶ τῆς, τὸτο περὶ τὴν θεῖαν βύλησιν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν διότι τὴν παρεξηγημένον λόγον ὑποδέχεται — ὀφείλει.

^c Ὅτι μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐκτὸς Ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ θεῶν καθιστάμεν ἐπίσκοπον αὐτὴν αἶλω.

^f Si quis Episcopo inobediens fuerit, deponetur: — Si pergat insanire castigabitur διὰ τὴν ἐξωθεν βίαν.

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to the Bishops: And that this was the Opinion of that most excellent Emperor, we are inform'd by *Ruffinus*, who describes ^s *Constantine* expressing himself in these words: *God has made you Bishops, and given you Power to judge also of us; and therefore we are rightly judg'd by you; but you cannot be judg'd by Men.* It cannot be doubted what *Constantine's* Opinion was, concerning the Sacerdotal Authority. He openly affirms, that Bishops have Power to judge even concerning Emperors in things Spiritual; and that this Power was committed to them, not by the Civil Magistrate, but by God himself. But farther, from these Passages taken together, we may easily collect these following Particulars.

1st. That it appertains to Christian Emperors to convene Councils, at least such as are General and OEcumenical. This Power the first Christian Kings ever claim'd to themselves; and we also most willingly allow the same to our Kings: What the Jesuits prate of the Authority of the *Roman Pontif* in this particular, is all vain, frivolous, and without Foundation.

2^{dly}. That it belongs to the Bishops only, and to such as are Ecclesiasticks, to examine into Controversies concerning Articles of Faith; to condemn unreasonable, false, and heretical Propositions; to confirm by new Testimonies such as are True and Catholick, and to propose them to the People to be believ'd. This is most evidently collected from the very Words of *Constantine*. *Whatsoever*, says he, *is determin'd by a plenary Council of Bishops,*

^s Ruff. Hist. Eccl. Lib. X. cap. 2. Deus vos constituit Sacerdotes; & potestatem dedit de nobis quoque judicandi; & ideo nos à vobis rectè judicamur: vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari.

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that is to be regarded ^h as the *Will and Determination of God*, and ought to be receiv'd by all Christians. This one thing is to be observ'd, that this determination of the Faith, establish'd by the *Nicene Fathers*, deriv'd all its Vertue and Obligation, not from the Royal Authority, but from the Spiritual Power of the Council. From these two Propositions there arises another.

3dly. That the Christian Society is not mix'd and confounded with the Civil.

From *Constantine* let us proceed to *Theodosius*, who will most clearly confirm our Opinion. It is very well known to every one, how the Emperor, as he was entring into *Milan*, was treated by *St. Ambrose*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Bounds both of the Temporal and of the Ecclesiastical Authority. Having encourag'd a cruel and barbarous Slaughter, the Emperor goes to the Church after his usual manner; but *St. Ambrose* meets him, tells him it is neither right nor lawful for a Man laden with so heinous a Guilt, to approach to the holy Table, and be made partaker of the Eucharist. And then breaks out into these words: *Depart therefore, and do not attempt to increase your former Transgression by additional Sins: but take the Bond which God, who is the Lord of all, confirms by his Suffrage from above. For this is Medicinal, and a procurer of Health. The Emperor yielding to these words; for being instructed in the divine Ora-*

^h Θεῷ γνώμῃ, καὶ θεῷ βέλῃσις.

ⁱ Theodorēt. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 18. p. 220. Edit. Val.
 Ἀπὸ τούτων, καὶ μὴ περὶ τοῖς δόξασιν ἢ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πα-
 ρανομίαν, καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸ δεσμὸν, ὃ ὁ θεὸς ὁ τῶν δεινότητος ἀνω-
 θεὸν γίνεσθαι σύμφητον. Ἰαλεῖν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑψίστης.
 Τέτοις εἰσὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς λόγοις· τοῖς γὰρ θεοῖς λογίοις
 ἐνθεραμμένον ἢ δὲ σαφῶς τίνα μὴ τῶν ἱερῶν, τίνα δὲ τῶν βασιλέ-
 ων ἰδία, &c.

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cles, he knew very well what were the proper Offices of Bishops, and what of Kings, &c. And then at last being reconcil'd to the Church, he professes to *Nectarius*, that he now understood ^k the difference between an Emperor and a Bishop. I was hardly, says he, at last instructed, what was the difference between a Bishop and an Emperor. I with difficulty at last found a Master of Truth; for I know none but Ambrose that deserves to be call'd a Bishop. From this most full Evidence of the Emperor's may be drawn a very strong Argument against Mr. Selden's Hypothesis. In the first place the Bishop by the Right of the Keys, repels the Emperor from the holy Eucharist. The Emperor ^l perfectly instructed in the Christian Faith, submits to the Bond of Excommunication: He owns that there is a very great difference between a Bishop and a King; that each of them has his proper Offices, which the other cannot usurp. He desires Absolution of the Bishop in the most humble manner; and after performing due Penance, at last obtains it. *Theodosius* does by no means reprove this Proceeding of St. Ambrose, as rash, or bold, or impious: On the contrary, he extols him with praises after a wonderful manner, that he had behav'd himself with that constancy of Mind which became a Bishop of Jesus Christ. Is it credible, if all Ecclesiastical Powers had been deriv'd from the Civil, that St. Ambrose, a Man bred up at Court, and that bore a very great Affection to his Prince, and was most observant of him, would treat him with so much Impudence and Impiety? Is it probable that the Emperor would, not only take no Notice of this most unjust

^k Ibid. p. 323. Μόσις Βασιλέως καὶ ἱερέως ἐδιδάχθην Διαφορὰν· Μόσις εὖ ἔσθ' ἀληθείας διδάσκαλον· Ἀμβρόσιον γὰρ οἶδα μόνον Ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλέμενον.

^l Τοῖς θεοῖς λόγοις ἐνθεραπεύμενος.

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and insolent Affront, and let it escape unpunish'd; but would also approve and commend it? It is abundantly evident, that the Christians of the IVth Century had a quite different Opinion concerning Episcopal Authority, from that of our Modern Reformers, who have nothing more at heart, than utterly to subvert and overthrow all Ecclesiastical Power, and together with the Power of the Church to destroy the Christian Religion it self.

If we descend to the Council of *Chalcedon*, we may find many things that confirm the truth of my Assertion. The Emperor *Martian* absolutely renounces and disclaims all Power of judging, concerning Matters of Faith. He acknowledges over and over, that it belongs only to God's Priests. But I refer the Reader to the Acts of the Council themselves.

Hereto likewise ought to be added that famous Answer of the Emperor *Valentinian* to the Bishops; who desired him, that they might meet and correct the Errors introduc'd by the Explication of the Word *Consubstantial* *. *Sozomen* gives ^m us his Answer, and it is conceiv'd in these Words: *For me indeed, who am rank'd among the Laicks, it is not lawful to examine too nicely into such Matters; but let the Bishops, to whom the Care of this belongs, meet by themselves wherever they please.*

What was the Opinion of the Emperors concerning the Authority of the Church, and the Powers of the Christian Priesthood, it will not be difficult to conjecture from what I have said: But before I dismiss this Argument, it may not be unprofitable to add something, concerning the Imperial Laws,

* Ὁμοούσιον.

^m Hist. Eccl. Lib. vi. cap. 7. p. 525. Edit. Vales. Ἐμοὶ μὴ λαῶν τελαγμύρον, ὃ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμονεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς, οἱ τὰς μέλεις, καθ' ἑαυτῶν ὅπῃ βέλονται συνίστωρ.

which

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which related to Matters Ecclesiastical. From thence without the least difficulty, this Controversy of ours will be determin'd. For if all the Authority of the Church were mixt and confounded with that of the State, then all Spiritual Powers are to be deriv'd from the Secular Fountain; and no Ecclesiastical Laws can become obligatory, even in Conscience, any farther than as they are confirm'd by the Emperor. But if on the contrary it shall appear (as if I am not mistaken it will most evidently) that the Church ever enjoy'd an Authority proper to her self; that the Ecclesiastical Canons deriv'd their Force of Obligation from the Councils themselves; that the Bishops always exercis'd this Authority; and that the Emperors always acknowledg'd it: If (I say) I can make all this appear, will it not follow with the clearest Evidence, that the Ecclesiastical Authority is most fully separated from the Civil? And that all this is so, no Man will deny, who having carefully perus'd the *Theodosian* and *Justinian* Codes, will there easily perceive, that the Christian Emperors never determin'd any thing concerning Articles of Faith, But what had been before decided by Councils; that they never inflicted Ecclesiastical Censures; but always refer'd the exercise of that Power to the Bishops, as a thing most foreign to the Royal Dignity.

But before we come to the Laws themselves, it will not be disagreeable to my purpose, to lay before the Reader what the Catholick Church has determin'd concerning the true Agreement of these two highest Powers, the Sacerdotal and the Imperial. For although on the one side she most strenuously contends, that the Church of Christ is a Spiritual Society, and contains in her by the grant of God, all those things which may any way seem necessary to her Preservation, even in the worst
of

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of Times : For which reason she has always claim'd to her self a Power of determining Controversies of Faith; that of Ordaining Bishops and Presbyters, to whom only it appertains to offer up Prayers publickly to God for the Multitude of the Faithful, and to administer the Sacraments; And lastly, a Power of inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures: Although, I say, on the one side the Church always laid claim to these Powers, and claim'd them as such, as can neither be alienated from the Church, nor transferr'd upon any other, even upon the Emperor himself; yet on the other side she most evidently granted, that we are Subjects as well as Christians; and as Subjects, are under the Government of the Secular Magistrate. That Kings are bound to serve God, not only as private Men, but also as Kings: That they are Guardians of the Laws of both Tables; that they are Assertors and Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Canons; that they have the greatest Power over all Christians, as they are Christians, and even over Ecclesiasticks themselves; that it belongs to them to take most diligent Care, that Ecclesiastical Canons constituted by Councils, be most religiously observ'd by all Persons, and especially by the Clergy; that they have Power to make Laws for establishing the Observation of such Canons; and to subject those who do not observe them, not only to Secular, but also to Canonical Punishments: Not that Emperors can either exclude a private Christian from Communion, or depose a Bishop. But they can press the Governours of the Church, both to deprive the one and excommunicate the other, for offending against the Canons. And from hence the Answer is easy to all those Laws, which frequently occur in the Codes, whereby it is commanded, that such a one be excommunicated or depos'd. They by no means prove
what

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what Mr. *Selden* pretends, that the Emperor, for that Reason because he is Emperor, has Power of excommunicating or deposing. They prove no more than this, that Christian Kings have Power to confirm the Canons, and to oblige the Clergy to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures, according as the Canons prescribe. But these two things, if I am able to discern any thing, are very widely different.

Having premis'd this, I come now to the Imperial Laws themselves, from which it will most clearly appear, what the Emperors of the IVth Century judg'd concerning the Authority of the Church; and with how unanimous a Consent they all disclaim'd, as foreign from them, those spiritual Powers, which have with so much Labour been attempted to be fasten'd upon them by Mr. *Selden*, and by *Erastus* and all his Followers, who are very numerous.

First, it is abundantly manifest from the Imperial Laws, that the Emperors never determin'd any thing concerning Matters of Faith, but what had been first decided by Councils.

I will begin with the *Theodosian* Code: And here we meet ⁿ with that golden Sanction of *Theodosius*, that pious and wholsom Edict (as *Baronius* justly calls it) whereby the most excellent Emperor confirms the *Nicene* Faith, and commands, *that according to the Apostolical Discipline; and the Doctrine of the Gospel, we believe the one Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, under an equal Majesty, and a sacred Trinity.* He commands likewise, that all People embrace the same Religion which *St. Peter* deliver'd to the *Romans*, and which *Damasus* Bishop

ⁿ *Lib. vi. Tit. 1, 2. Ut secundum Apostolicam Disciplinam, Evangelicamque Doctrinam Patris & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, unam Deitatem sub parili Majestate, & sub piâ Trinitate credamus.*

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of Rome, and Peter Bishop of Alexandria, do still, says he, most stedfastly hold, namely the very same Faith, which was declar'd by the Council of Nice.

The most serene Emperor, in Concurrence with the Decree of the Council of Constantinople, commanded ° that the *Macedonian* Heresy, which that Council had condemn'd, should be utterly extirpated; and that all Hereticks should be expell'd out of the Churches, to the end ^p *That the Sacerdotal Offices,* (they are the very Words of the Law) *of the true and Nicene Faith may remain uncorrupted.* ^q Sozomen also makes mention of this Law in these Words: *And these things were thus decreed by the Council: (namely by that Council which Nectarius assembled at Constantinople.) And the Emperor ratify'd them by his Suffrage; and made a Law, that the Faith of those who had met at Nice, should be confirm'd.* That which the Historian means is, that the Council condemn'd the Error of *Macedonius*, and prov'd the *Nicene* Faith by a new Testimony; but the Christian Emperor added Force to the Council's Decrees, and confirm'd them by the Secular Power. The same thing may be observ'd of all the Imperial Laws, which were made concerning Articles of Faith.

The Emperors *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian* enact ^r, that as often as any Contest should happen among the Clergy, concerning any matter relating to Religion, it should especially be observ'd, that the Presbyters of the Diocese being conven'd by the

° Tit. 1. 3.

^p Ut veræ & Nicænæ Fidei Sacerdotia casta permaneant.

^q Soz. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 9. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὡς εἰς τῇ Συνόδῳ ἐδόξαν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσαστο, καὶ νόμον ἐθέλει κυεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ συνελθόντες.

^r T. 2. 23.

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Bishop, the matters in Controversy should be determin'd by their Judgment. So the Interpretation.

We must distinguish between Ecclesiastical and Secular Causes. *Political Actions* ^r, as the *Novels* speak ^t, which appertain to the Practice of the Publick Law, belong to the Civil Magistrates, and ought to be determin'd by them: but it is fit that Causes of Faith, *Ecclesiastical Controversies* ^u, be decided by Bishops: nor can they without impious Rashness be handled by the Secular Magistrate. This we are taught by the most peremptory Testimony of the ancient Fathers; who had the greatest Veneration for the Powers committed to them by Christ; and defended them with the utmost Constancy ^w. Hence it was, that the most holy *Ambrose* inveigh'd with so much Bitterness against the Emperor *Valentinian the Younger*; because he had violated the sacred Authority of the Bishops; and had submitted Ecclesiastical Causes to the Judgment of the Laicks. *When*, says he ^x, *most Gracious Emperor, did you hear, that Laicks judg'd concerning Bishops in a Cause of Faith? Are we therefore so bow'd down by Flattery, as to be unmindful of the Right of the Priesthood? And that what God has bestow'd upon me, I should think ought to be committed to others? If the Bishop be to be taught by a Laick, what will be the consequence? Therefore let the Laick*
dispute

^r Πολιτικά ἐσκήματα.

^t Novella. Instit. 83. Praef. 83.

^u τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικά ζηήματα.

^w Vide Basil. Epist. 385. Gregor. Nazianz. Epist. ad Nestarium, 227. Novel. Instit. 83. c. 1.

^x S. Ambros. Epist. xiii. lib. 2. Quando audisti, clementissime Imperator, in causâ fidei Laicos de Episcopis judicasse? Ita ergo quâdam adulatione curvamus, ut Sacerdotalis juris sumus immemores? Et quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est Episcopus à Laico, quid sequeretur?

Laicus

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dispute, and the Bishop hear; let the Bishop learn of the Laick. But certainly if we either consider the Tenour of the holy Scriptures, or call back ancient times: we cannot deny, but that in a Cause of Faith the Bishops were wont to judge concerning the Emperors, and not the Emperors concerning the Bishops.

In his Oration against *Auxentius* he has these Words: * *Tribute is Cæsar's; none denies it. The Church is God's, and therefore ought not to be ascrib'd to Cæsar; because the Temple of God cannot be Cæsar's Right. Which no Man can deny to be said with due Honour to the Emperor: for what is more honourable, than that the Emperor should be said to be the Son of the Church. And when this is said, it is said without Offence, nay it is said with respect. For a good Emperor is within the Church, not above the Church.* — What could have been conceiv'd more full, or more suitable to my purpose, than this Testimony of the venerable Father? Is it possible to believe that *Mr. Selden's Hypothesis* obtain'd at that time? Who, pray, can so much as suspect, that the Church was so blended with the Civil Government, as that all Ecclesiastical Powers were to be deriv'd from that only? Nay the contrary is most evidently demonstrated. *St. Ambrose* and the Fathers of the Fourth Century did not in the least dream, that

Laicus ergo disputer, & Episcopus audiat; Episcopus discat à Laico. At certè si vel Scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abnuat in causâ fidei (in causâ, inquam, fidei) Episcopos solere de Imperatoribus Christianis, non Imperatores de Episcopis judicare?

* *Id. Conc. I. sub finem p. 104. T. 5. Edit. Par. 1632. Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur. Ecclesia Dei est, Cæsari utiq; non debet addici: quia jus Cæsaris esse non potest Dei Templum. Quod cum honorificentia Imperatoris nemo dictum potest negare: quid enim honorificentius, quàm ut Imperator Ecclesiæ filius esse dicatur? Quod cum dicitur, sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur. Imperator enim bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est.*

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all the Powers of the Church depended upon the Secular Magistrate, and was to be fetch'd from the Imperial Law. Innumerable are the Instances to this Purpose, with which we are furnish'd in the *Theodosian Code*: but the Bounds of this Discourse will by no means suffer me to venture any farther into so vast an Ocean.

Let us proceed therefore to the Emperor *Justinian*, and see what he has determin'd concerning this most important Question.

In his Code^y there is extant the Emperor *Martian's* Edict in these Words: *Let no Man dispute publickly concerning the Christian Faith; for it is also injurious to the Judgment of the most Reverend Synod, if any one shall go about to reverse, and publickly dispute things, that are once determin'd and rightly dispos'd: seeing that those things which are known to have been now decreed concerning the Christian Faith by the Bishops who were assembled at Chalcedon by our Command; were establish'd according to the Expositions of the Apostles, and the Constitutions of the CCCXVIII Nicene Fathers, and of the CL in this Royal City.*

^{*} *Neither let any Man either speak or write against the venerable Council of Chalcedon.*

In the Book of *Authenticks* we shall find other Instances like to these; or rather yet more full to

^y *Cod. Justin. Lib. I. T. c. Nemo de fide Christianâ publicè disputer, nam & injuriam facit judicio Reverendissimæ Synodi, si quis semel judicata, & rectè disposita resolvere, & publicè disputare contenderit: cùm ea quæ nunc de Christianâ fide à Sacerdotibus, qui Chalcedone convenerant per nostra præcepta, statuta sunt juxta Apostolicas expositiones, & instituta Sanctorum Patrum CCCXVIII Nicææ, & CL in hac Regiâ Urbe, definita esse noscantur.*

^z *Ibid. T. 5. l. 8. Nulli etiam contra venerabilem Chalcedonensem Synodum liceat aliquid, vel dictare, vel scribere, &c.*

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our purpose. Out of that immense Heap I will select one or two.

^a *We enact therefore, that those holy Ecclesiastical Canons obtain the Force of Laws, which were expounded or confirm'd by the four sacred Councils; that is, by the Nicene Council of CCCXVIII holy Fathers; by the Constantinopolitan of CL; by the first Council of Ephesus, in which Nestorius was condemn'd; and by that of Chalcedon, wherein Eutyches was anathematiz'd together with Nestorius: For we receive the Decrees of those four now mention'd Councils, as we do the holy Scriptures; and shall observe their Canons as Laws. And therefore we enact according to their Determinations.*

^b *If we study that the Civil Laws, the Power of which God through his Goodness to Men has intrusted with us, be kept inviolable by all, for the Security of such as obey them: how much more Care ought we to take to keep the sacred Canons, and Divine Laws, which are establish'd for the Salvation of our Souls? For they who keep the sacred Canons, are worthy of the Help of our Lord God: but they who transgress them*

^a *Authentic. Coll. ix. T. Cap. Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere sanctas Ecclesiasticas regulas, quæ à sanctis quatuor Conciliis expositæ sunt, aut firmatæ, hoc est, in Nicæno CCCXVIII, & in Constantinopolitano sanctorum Patrum CL, & in Ephesino primo, in quo Nestorius est damnatus, & in Chalcedonio, in quo Eutyches cum Nestorio anathematizatus est; Prædictarum enim quatuor Synodorum dogmata, sicut sanctas Scripturas accipimus, & Regulas sicut Leges observabimus. Ideoq; sancimus secundum earum definitiones.*

^b *Const. 137. Coll. 9. Tit. 20. Pref. Ἐἰ πᾶς πολιτικὸς νόμος, ὡς ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἑαυτὸς φιλανθρωπίαν ὀπίσσω, βασιλεὺς διὰ πάντων φυλάττει καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῷ ὑπνύοντι πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις, πόσω μάλλον πλείονα πᾶν τὸν ἐκείνου θεῶς ποιῶντος κανόνων, καὶ θεῶν νόμων ὡς φυλακὴν τῷ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πνεύματι ὁμιλῶντι. οἱ γὰρ πᾶς κανὼν φυλάττει, καὶ οἱ τῶν ὡς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς*

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them, thereby render themselves obnoxious to Judgment. Therefore those most holy Bishops lie under greater Condemnation, to whom it has been intrusted and committed to enquire into and observe the Canons; if they leave any Omission of them uncondemn'd and unpunish'd—— For if the general Laws do not allow that the Transgressions of the Laicks escape both Inquisition and Punishment: how shall we suffer those things to be despis'd, which have been Canonically decreed by the holy Apostles and Fathers concerning the Salvation of all Men? That Ordinations of Bishops ought to be administred with all Diligence and Rigor, Gregory the Divine, who is also accounted among the Saints, plainly teaches us, following the Apostles, and the Divine Canons—— And a little after: Resting therefore upon these things, which have been decreed by the sacred Canons, we make the present Law, &c.

But I will stop here, that my Dissertation may not exceed its Bounds. From these Imperial Laws, which I have set down with the utmost Fidelity, may be very easily gather'd these following Particulars.

1. That Causes of Faith cannot be handled by Laicks, without the greatest Impiety, and a Contempt of the Divine Ordinance.

αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοὺς τῇ καταλείψει ὑπεβάλλουσι· μέζοντι δὲ ὑποκείνῳ καταλείπει οἱ ὁσιώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς πιστὸς ὁ καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ κανόνα, καὶ φυλάττειν, ἅπερ τι τέτων ὡραζανόμενον, ἀνεκδίκητον καταλειφθεῖν—— Et Cap. 1. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ὡρα τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀμαρτανόματα οἱ γενικοὶ νόμοι ἐὺ συλῶνται δίχα ζήλῳ, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καταλιμπάνεσθαι, πῶς τὰ ὡρα τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ πατέρων ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινῆς κανονικῶς διαλυτοῦνται περὶ εἶν ἀναχόμεθα; — ὅτι δὲ τὰς χειρουργίας τῶν ἱερῶν μετὰ πάσης ἀκρίβειας [cum omni diligentia & rigore] προσήκει γίνεσθαι, διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγόριος, ὁ θεολόγος, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις, καὶ θεοῖς κανόσι. — Et Cap. 2. Τοῖς ἐν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κανόνων δεδεδόταις ἀκολουθεῖν, τὸ παρὲν ποιούμεθα νόμον, &c.

2. That

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2. That the Emperors of the IVth Century, as often as they enacted any thing concerning the Faith, did that in Consequence and Confirmation of the Decrees of Councils.

3. That all such are unmindful of the Sacerdotal Right, who think this Power of determining concerning Articles of Faith, is to be entrusted with Laicks.

4. That it appears from the Tenor of the holy Scriptures, that Bishops are us'd to judge concerning Emperors in Controversies of this Nature, and not Emperors concerning Bishops.

5. That Ordinations of Bishops ought to be perform'd, that is, observ'd with all Diligence and Rigor.

6. That Ecclesiastical Canons derive their Authority and obligatory Nature, not from the Civil Power, but from Councils, and the Determinations of Bishops.

And from all these Particulars I farther argue, that the Church of Christ under the Christian Emperors retain'd a Legislative Power committed to it by Jesus Christ himself; and consequently that it is a true Society distinct from the Civil; and therefore is not by any means blended and confounded with the Civil Society.

III. My last Argument is drawn from the Contests which have happen'd between the Emperors and Bishops; and of this very briefly.

It is a thing most notorious, that there were the greatest Controversies, and the most grievous Contentions between the *Arian* Emperors and the Catholick Bishops. And it will make very much for our Purpose, if we rightly understand, how the Bishops behav'd themselves towards the Emperors; what Powers they claim'd as due to them by divine Right; and on the contrary what they own'd

to have receiv'd from the Emperors. Our Question is stated concerning the Matter of Fact, viz. whether the Christian Society was so incorporated with the Supreme Civil Power, as that all the Rights of the Church depended upon the Secular Magistrate : or whether it reserv'd to its self Spiritual Powers entire and untouch'd. Now this will appear most evidently from these Contests.

First therefore let us hear St. *Athanasius* himself, the great Ornament and Support of the Christian Faith. In his Epistle to such as liv'd a solitary Life, this most holy Confessor writes thus^c : *The Bishops bearing these things, (viz. the Emperor's Menaces) and being very much astonish'd, lifted up their Hands to God, and propos'd their Reasons to the Emperor with very great Freedom, informing him that the Kingdom was not his, but God's, who had given it to him, whom they pray'd him to fear, lest he should suddenly take it away again : and threatned him with the Day of Judgment ; and advis'd him not to corrupt their Ecclesiastical Rights ; nor blend the Roman Empire with the Decrees of the Church. And again^d : For when, says he, were such things heard from the Beginning of the World ? When did the Judgment of the Church receive its Authority from the Emperor ? Or when was*
this

^c Tom. I. p. 831. Ed. Par. 1627. Ταῦτα ἀκίσαντες οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι, πανύψε θαυμάσαντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνελάναντες πρὸς τὸ θεὸν πολλῇ τῇ χτ' αὐτῶ παρρησίᾳ καὶ λόγων ἐχρήσαντο, διδάσκοντες μὴ εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶ, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεδοκότεν θεῷ, ὃν καὶ φοβέσθαι αὐτὸν ἠξίου. μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὴν ἀφελῇ. ἐπέειπεν τε καὶ ἡμέτερον τὸ κείσεως, καὶ συνεκάλειον αὐτῶ μὴ διαφθεῖναι τὰ Ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ ἐσκαλαμίσσειν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν Ἀρχὴν τῇ τὴν Ἐκκλησίας διαλαγῇ.

^d Ibid. p. 845. Πότε γὰρ ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι ἠκούθη τοιαῦτα ; πότε κείσις Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὴν βασιλείᾳ ἔχε τὸ κῆρος, ἢ ὅπως ἐγνώθη τὸτο τὸ κείμεν ; πολλὰ Σύνοδοι πρὸς τέτε γεγονάσι.
πολ.

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this ever own'd as a Judgment? There have been many Synods before now, and many Judgments or Determinations of the Church; but neither did the Fathers ever address themselves to the Emperor in these things: nor did the Emperor concern himself with the Affairs of the Church. From these Words of the most holy Father it is evident beyond Contradiction, that the Fathers of the Fourth Century were of Opinion, that the Church is a Society subsisting of it self, separate from that of the State. They thought that it belong'd to none but the Bishops to determine Controversies of Faith: they judg'd it a very heinous Crime for the Emperor to concern himself in Matters of this Nature. This was the Opinion of that most excellent and courageous Prelate, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Nature of the Christian Religion, and maintain'd it with the greatest Constancy. He had not the least Suspicion of any Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters, that appertain'd to the Civil Magistrate, nor of the confusion of those two Powers.

Next to St. *Athanasius* let us hear *Hofius* the famous Bishop of *Corduba*, a Man truly great, and eminent both for Piety and Constancy of Mind; tho' at last weary'd out with old Age and Misery, he left a memorable Example of human Weakness.

In an Epistle which he wrote to *Constantius* himself, there is this Passage most worthy of a Primitive Bishop: *Forbear, I beseech you, and remember, that you are a mortal Man; dread the Day of Judgment, and preserve your self Pure against that Day. Do*
not

πολλὰ κείματα τ' Ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν. ὅμ' ἔτε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι
ἔπεισαν πρὸς τὴν τέτων βασιλεία, ἔτε βασιλεὺς τὰ τ' Ἐκκλησίας
περιεργάσατο.

Ibid. p. 839, 840. Παῦσαι, Ὁρακαλῶ, καὶ Μνήσθητι, ὅτι θνητὸς
ἄνθρωπος τυγχάνεις· φοβήθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν κείσεως, φύλαξον
C.

not concern your self in the Affairs of the Church, nor lay any Commands upon us in such Matters; but rather learn such things from us. God has invested you with the Kingdom, but has entrusted Ecclesiastical Matters with us: And as he that secretly invades your Government, resists the Ordinance of God; so do you also beware, least by drawing to your self those things which belong to the Church, you become guilty of a great Crime. It is written, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are Gods. Neither therefore is it lawful for us to govern upon Earth, nor have you, O Emperor, Power to offer Incense. He admirably agrees with St. Athanasius. He repeats almost the same words, and most expressly distinguisheth between the Regal Authority and the Sacerdotal. As it is a Crime for the Bishop to snatch the Reins of the Empire, so it is a Crime for the King to usurp the Rights of the Bishop.

The last I shall mention is *Lucifer* Bishop of *Cagliari*, a most strenuous Defender of the *Nicene* Faith, and of the Discipline of the Church. This Bishop of *Cagliari* wrote three bold Epistles, and such as shew'd the Spirit of a Bishop throughout. He sent these Epistles to the Emperor *Constantine*, to plead in behalf of St. *Athanasius*. In

Σεαυλὸν εἰς ἐκείνῳ καθαρὸν· μὴ τίθῃ Σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ Ἐκκλησια-
 στικά, μηδὲ Σὺ περὶ τέτων ἡμῖν ὀφθαλμὸν· ἀλλὰ μάλλον παρ'
 ἡμῶν Σὺ μάθανε ταῦτα· τοῖ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχέεισεν.
 ἡμῖν τὰ τῇ Ἐκκλησίας ἐπίδοσε· καὶ ὡσαύτῳ ὁ Χρὶς ἀρχὴν ὑπο-
 κλέπτων ἀνιλέσθαι τὴν διαβλαζανύον θεῶν· ἔτω φοβήθῃσι, μὴ καὶ Σὺ
 τὰ τῇ Ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλκων, ὑπάρθῃς ἐκκλημάτι μετὰ
 λαὸν ἡν· ἀπόδοτε, γέγραπται, τὰ καίσαρος καίσαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ
 θεοῦ, τῷ θεῷ· ἔτε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς ἔξεσιν· ἔτε Σὺ
 τῇ θυμῶν ἡγεσίαν ἔχεις, Βασιλεῦ.

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the first of them there are these words: *' Confess your self a Christian, join with us in execrating the Set of the Arians, rais'd by the Device of the Devil; believe as we believe, who are Bishops deriving our Succession from the blessed Apostles; confess the only Son of God, as they confess'd him, and as we confess him; and you shall obtain the Pardon of so great Crimes. And a little after: It is not to be wonder'd at, since we remember it is written: He that is holy is vile among the wicked; he that pleases God displeases all you that are Impious, and you especially who are Rash and Proud, and are hence known to be Rash and Proud, because you have stretch'd out your Hands against the Ordinance of God; because you thought that the Apostolick Tradition was to be destroy'd; and because you determin'd to reduce the Bishops under your Jurisdiction, under whose Care you ought to demean your self.*

See with what an infinite Cloud of most undeniable Witnesses we are encompass'd on all sides. Whether we consider the holy Fathers in their private Works, or appeal to Councils both General and Provincial; or regard the Testimonies of the Emperors themselves; or lastly, have respect to those various and unhappy Contests, which arose between the *Arian* Emperors and the Orthodox Bishops: From all these particulars it is most clearly demon-

^f Biblioth. Patr. p. 132. Fatere. te Christianum; execrare nobiscum catervam commento Diaboli quasitam Arianam; crede sicut credimus nos, qui ex beatorum Apostolorum successione sumus Episcopi; confitere unicum Dei filium, sicut illi confessi sunt, & nos confitemur, & veniam consequeris tantorum scelerum. — Non mirandum quandoquidem Scriptum teneamus, sanctus est autem immundus apud malos, vobis malignis displicet is, qui Deo placeat, tibi præsertim temerario & superbo, qui temerarius hinc intelligeris & superbus, quod contra Dei ordinationem manus tetenderis; quod Apostolicam Traditionem putaveris destruendam, quod Episcopos, sub quorum te sollicitudine agere debueris, sub tuam ditionem redigendos censuris.

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strated, that the Christian Society from the Times of *Constantine*, did never incorporate with the Civil Government, but always remain'd intire and distinct.

DISSERTATION IV.

The Right of Excommunication belongs to the Christian Church by divine Right.

IN the former Dissertations I have, I hope, fully and copiously prov'd, that the Christian Church is the true and proper Society, distinct and separate from the Civil Society, and administer'd by Governours of her own; and from those Premisses it always appear'd to me to follow, that the Right of Excommunication belongs to her: For we must either deny that the Church of Christ is a Society, which the Followers of *Erastus* are for the most part us'd to deny; or if we grant this, we must also acknowledge, that this Society comprizes in it a Power of Excommunicating. Nothing can be imagin'd more clear and evident than this; and yet such is the wicked Perverseness of Mankind, that there are not wanting such, as do not only deny this Power to the Church, but also maintain with great Vehemence, that it is both ridiculous and absurd. And indeed they have endeavour'd with the greatest Zeal and Earnestness to shew, that this tyrannical Opinion, as they are pleas'd to call it, cannot be defended either by Reason, or by the holy Scriptures, or by the Example and Authority of the Primitive Church. For this Reason I might seem to be very much wanting to my purpose, if I should pass by a Controversy of so great Moment and Importance, without taking notice of it. It shall

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shall therefore be my Province to shew clearly and distinctly, and yet in a few words, how much support this Cause of ours receives, both from Reason, and from holy Scripture, and lastly from the Examples of the purest Ages: And I cannot but entertain the strongest hopes, that all these do make very much for Us, and our Cause.

I affirm therefore, that the Right of Excommunication belongs to the Church by divine Right: And this I shall endeavour to prove from these following Arguments.

I. My first Argument shall be drawn from the very Nature of Society. That the Christian Religion is a true and proper, although it be a Spiritual Society, is so clear and evident, that nothing can be more. For it is not by any Means sufficient for our Salvation to give Credit to the Gospel, and conform our Lives according to the Moral Precepts contained therein: It is also necessary for us to join our selves to the Church of Christ, that we may partake of the Sacraments which Christ instituted for that end, that they may be Conveyances of Grace to us, without which we cannot please God. To say all in one word: Jesus Christ, God-man, by the Merits of his Passion, has obtain'd for us Reconciliation and Forgiveness of Sins: But he has so annex'd this Forgiveness of Sins to his Sacraments instituted in his Church, that we must not so much as hope for this Forgiveness without the Participation of those Sacraments. And this sufficiently demonstrates the Christian Religion to be a true and proper Society.

It cannot be deny'd that every Society whatsoever has all those things which are necessarily requir'd to preserve the Society safe and intire: But for preserving a Society safe and intire, it is in the first place requir'd, that it have a Power of receiving

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ving worthy and fit Persons into the Society, and of turning out such as are Refractory and Unworthy. All Men must necessarily grant me this; Without this Power it is not possible for any even the least Society to subsist.

The Christian Church is a true and proper Society: therefore it is necessary, that the Christian Church have the same Power of admitting worthy and fit Persons, and of Ejecting, that is, of Excommunicating such as are obstinate.

Hence likewise we may collect, that this Power of Excommunication appertains to the Church by divine Right. For since the Christian Church is a true and proper Society, founded by God himself; it most evidently follows, that God has granted to this Society all those Privileges, which are necessary to preserve it as a Society. Therefore it was very well observ'd by the learned *Grotius*, that for the asserting of this Power to the Church of Christ, it is not necessary to descend to particular Passages of holy Scripture. This is abundantly demonstrated from the very Nature of Society. And indeed this Right of Excommunicating appears so necessary, I will not say to the Christian Church, but to every Religion whatsoever, that you will hardly find one Sect or Way of Worship even among the Heathen, that does not enjoy the like Privilege. We are inform'd by *Julius Caesar*, that the *Druids* were wont to exclude those from their Sacrifices, who did not observe their Decrees. In *Philip of Macedon's* Epistle to the *Arbenians* we read *, *That the People were so exasperated against the Megarenses, because they had kill'd Anthemocritus, as to exclude them from their Mysteries.* And the Scholiast of

* Εἰς τὸ το ἐλλήλυσεν ὁ δῆμος, ὥστε μυστηρίων μὴ εἶσθαι αὐτοῖς.
Aristo.

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Aristophanes observes, ^h *That it was the Custom that Murderers should not partake of the Sacrifices.* *Nicolaus Damascenus* says of the *Cerceti*, a People of *India*, ⁱ *That they shut out from their holy Rites such as had any way injur'd them.* It is a thing most notorious, that before the Sacrifices were slain a Cryer made Proclamation with a loud Voice: ^k *Away, far away ye Prophane; shut the Doors upon the Prophane.* From all which it most evidently appears, that all Sects of Men whatever have enjoy'd this Power, viz. ^l *Of excluding from the Sacrifices, the Prophane, the Impure, the Unholy;* and of ejecting them out of their Society. Such Instances do by no means prove, what this vile Factor of the Atheists would prove from them, that the Christian Church borrow'd this tyrannical Custom, as he calls it, from the Heathen: But they manifestly prove, that Excommunication is so necessary to all sorts of Religion, that the Heathen themselves did by the Light of Nature, both find out and exercise that Power. Indeed it appears to me very hard and unjust, to deny the Christian Religion (which was constituted by Christ himself) that very Power, which the wiser Heathens most freely allow'd even to the foolishlest Religions in the World.

Supposing therefore that the Christian Religion is a true Society, no Man that has not finally bid adieu to all Modesty, can deny that the Right of Excommunication belongs to it by Divine Right.

And here peradventure those various Instances mention'd in sacred Writ, might not be improperly

^h Καὶ τὸ ἔθθος οἱ ἀνδροβόνοι μὴ μελαμβάνωσι τῶν θυσιῶν.

ⁱ Τὸς ἀδικήσαντας ὅτι ἐν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπέρυσσι.

^k Ἐκὰς, ἐκὰς ἐς ἐβεβήλοι, θυρὰς δ' ἐπίθετε βεβήλοις.

^l Τὸ πρὸς βεβήλους, ἀνιερεῖς, ἐναγίσεις, τῶν θυσιῶν ἀπέρυσιν.

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alledg'd, by which it appears that the Apostles themselves exercis'd this Power for which we contend. I will content my self with only one of them, that of the incestuous *Corinthian*. St. Paul reproves the *Corinthians* ^m, that they had not mourn'd for that wicked Person, who was just going to be remov'd from the Church: for the holy Apostle had resolv'd to take away this most grievous Sinner from among them; to cast him out of the Church; and *to deliver him unto Satan*. But for what purpose was this? To what end does the Apostle do it? To wit, that the incestuous Person being broken and softned by this severe Discipline, might return to a better Life; that the Church might suffer no Damage; that the sounder part might not be infected with this corrupt Example; for rotten Fruit is apt to infect that which is sound; and bad Example does wonderfully weaken such as stagger and are infirm; and gives a Tincture even to the best. *A little Leaven*, says the Apostle ⁿ, *leaveneth the whole Lump*. Let us now consider, if you please, the Reason of the Apostolick Censure. The incestuous Person is by the Apostle's command thrown out of the Church of *Corinth*, that is to say, is excommunicated. And he is excommunicated for these two Reasons. 1st. That he might repent and return to the right way. 2^{dly}. That with his Pollution he might not infect other Christians, particularly such as were weak. But these very Reasons will always continue the same in the Christian Church; therefore this Power of excommunicating will be always necessary in this Church.

I cannot here pass by in silence a famous Obje-

^m 1 Cor. 5. 2.

ⁿ Ibid. v. 6. Μικροὶ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύρμα ζυμοῖ.

tion first made by *Erastus* himself, and since stolen from him by all that have pleaded the same Cause. The Objection is this, that none ought to be excluded from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; because no such Command occurs in the holy Scriptures: Nay if they, good Men, are not miserably mistaken, we find Commands there which are directly contrary. *Let a Man examine himself*, says the Apostle°, *and so let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup*. None must approach unworthily to the holy Table: but it is in the Power of each particular Christian to judge whether he be unworthy or no. The Church has no Authority in this matter, say they; the Bishops have none. This Objection, as much as it may at first sight appear to favour the *Erastians*, has nothing solid in it, and is very easily confuted: For

I will take this for granted, which I have most fully prov'd, that the Right of Excommunication belongs to the Church: If therefore the Christian Church can exclude out of her Society Persons that are Wicked and Profligate; she can also reject them from the holy Eucharist. The participation of this blessed Sacrament is the greatest Privilege of the Christian Church: But he that is for a just Cause depriv'd of the holy Society of the Church, is also deservedly depriv'd of the participation of this Sacrament. Our Adversaries therefore who make this Objection, do nothing but miserably Trifle; for they must either prove, that the Church of Christ cannot cut off her rotten Members with the Spiritual Sword; or remain eternally silent, and at least with their Silence confess themselves overcome.

II. My second Argument I take from Baptism,

* 1 Cor. xi. 28.

Go ye therefore, says our blessed Saviour ^p to his Apostles, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. From these words it is plain, that Jesus Christ gave his Apostles and their Successors command, by this Sacrament of Baptism, to admit all Persons whatsoever into the Church, with this Condition and Proviso, that they should promise most religiously to observe all things whatsoever Christ had commanded. For which reason the Apostles had, and their Successors have not only Power of administering Baptism, but also Power of judging who are worthy to be admitted into the spiritual Society, and who are incapable and unworthy. Those whom they judge worthy, they do by Baptism most willingly make Partakers of the heavenly Rewards; but such as they find to be unworthy, they either wholly reject, or subject them to farther Discipline. And that the Primitive Church always exercis'd this Power, is abundantly manifest from that severe and most wholesome Discipline, which was observ'd with regard to the Catechumens; that is, such as were Candidates for Baptism. They were admitted into the Church very late: First exercis'd during a space of many Years; macerated with continual Fasting; instructed and confirm'd by frequent Exhortations; after all which they obtain'd the Freedom of the Christian City. Now from this Power I argue, that the Church has Right of Excommunication; for it is one and the same Power, but administered after a various manner, and by a different

^p Matth. 28. 19, 20. Προσθέντες ἔν μαθηδύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι: διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ὑμῖν.

Method. They who have Power of denying Admission by Baptism to such as they shall judge to be unfit or incapable, have not they also Power of expelling them that are admitted, if they prove Contumacious; if they violate and trample under their Feet the fundamental Conditions of the Society? If we allow them one of these Powers, the other will follow of course, and cannot be deny'd them. Since therefore it is agreed on all sides, that Jesus Christ committed Power to the Clergy, to admit all such Persons into his Church, as they should find to be fit and worthy; it cannot be doubted but he also gave them Power to cut off from it such as should prove Wicked and Contumacious.

III. My third Argument is borrow'd from the holy Scripture. *And I will give unto thee, (says our blessed Saviour to St. Peter) the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven.*

I assert, that in these words Jesus Christ committed to his Church a full Power of excommunicating.

It is, if I am not mistaken, sufficiently agreed among Protestants, that the Power which is comprehended in these Words, Whatsoever that Power be, was not deliver'd to St. Peter alone, as the Papists maintain; but did likewise belong to all the rest of the Apostles without exception.

It will also be granted me, that this Power did not expire with the Apostles; but is to continue to the end of the World. Having premis'd this, I shall now apply my self to explain the Words them-

* Matth. 16. 19. Καὶ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆ βασιλείας τῆ γενεῶν· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆ γῆς, ἔσται δεσμευμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆ γῆς, ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

selves. But for the more clear understanding of our Saviour's meaning, we must remember that these Words which he made use of in this place, were taken from *Isaiab's* ^r Prophecy, where there is this Passage.

And the Key of the House of David will I lay upon his Shoulder : so he shall open and none shall shut ; and he shall shut and none shall open. The Prophet speaks of *Eliakim* the Son of *Hilkiab*, who the Lord foretold should come to the Kingdom of *Israel*. *Isaiab* describes to us the Kingdom, or the Right of governing, by the Key of the House of *David*, and the Power of opening and shutting. It is very manifest, that these Expressions denote the highest exercise of Royal Authority. And therefore what Man in his Senses can doubt, but these very Words us'd by our blessed Saviour, since they are so apparently taken from this Passage of *Isaiab*, do signify a certain Royal Authority in that spiritual Kingdom, the Foundation of which he was going to lay in his own Blood ?

What, I beseech you, can be understood by the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and by the Power of Opening and Shutting, but the highest exercise of Government ? If the Passage be taken in this Sense, there is nothing in it, but what is clear and perspicuous : but if the Words are wrested to any other meaning, they will appear harsh, foolish, and ridiculous.

But the Followers of *Erastus* object, that the Expressions of *loosing* and *binding* do signify nothing else, but the Explication of what is lawful, or not lawful. And this is explain'd by preaching the Gospel of Christ. Such Expressions occur very frequently in the *Mishnah*, and *Talmud*, and in the *Rabbi-*

^r *Isa.* 22. 22.

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nical Writers, as Dr. *Lightfoot*, an Author of very great Knowledge in that kind of Learning, has by a long Induction of Examples shewn upon this very Text. I own that this is the common subterfuge, to which all our Adversaries have recourse. This Objection is made by *Erastus*, and *Selden*, and all the other Writers against the Christian Priesthood. But as plausible as it may appear, I make no doubt of utterly overthrowing it.

I acknowledge that the Expressions of *binding* and *loosing* are us'd by the *Talmudists* in this Sense: But I positively deny that these words, as they are us'd by our Saviour, are to be interpreted the same way: For

1st. It is to no purpose to produce so many Examples of this kind out of the *Rabbins*, as Dr. *Lightfoot* has done, even till one is sick of them, though otherwise a Man of great Learning, yet too much addicted to the Dreams of the *Gemara*: for (as the learned Mr. *Dodwell* observes) *ever since the use of the Sacerdotal Power has been lost among the Jews, they have also lost the very knowledge of that Power*. Therefore it is of little Importance in this Controversy, what these Expressions signify in the *Talmudists*. Who does not know, that the *Rabbins* have ever since the Destruction of the Temple, been groping in more than *Egyptian* Darkness; and have invented I know not what monstrous Fictions, with which their Writings do every where abound?

Such declarations as these are deriv'd from the DCXXX Precepts, and from that Power which the *Jewish* Priests had of explaining and determining all things, which the Law of *Moses* had not determin'd, as may be seen in *Deuteronomy* ¹. But since these DCXXX Precepts are abolish'd by the Gospel of

Christ, and that Power which was exercis'd by the *Jewish* Priests, does no where appear; it is not any way possible, that we should thus interpret this Passage. Nay it is necessary that we find out another Interpretation of it, and that altogether different from this.

2dly. Besides it ought to be observ'd (for it is certainly most observable) that this Power of binding or loosing is the Power of the Keys. As often as the Priest either binds or looses a Sinner, he uses the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he shuts and opens. I desire therefore that we may be allow'd to explain the Expressions of Binding and Loosing, which may seem obscure, by that of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, which is most clear and perspicuous. And then nothing can be more evident, than that by the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is meant the Government and Power of the Christian Church: for which Reason I must insist upon it, that the Expressions of Binding and Loosing be so understood, as to agree with this Power of the Keys. This is farther confirm'd by that Passage of *St. John*, ' *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whosoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever Sins ye retain, they are retain'd.* To bind therefore and to loose is the same, as to remit Sins, and to retain them. And indeed in all the New Testament *to remit or forgive Sins* ^u, signifies nothing else, but to wipe out Sins, to abolish both the Punishment and Guilt of them, and that authoritatively. *Son be of good Chear*, says our blessed Saviour ^w to the Man sick of the Palsie, *thy Sins be forgiven thee.*

^c John 20. 22, 23. Ἀφέετε πνεῦμα ἄγιον· ἂν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφένθ' αὐτοῖς· ἂν τινων κέχητε, κεκεχῆται.

^u Ἀφέναι ἁμαρτίας.

^w Mar. 9. 2. Θάσεθ, τέκνον, ἀρέωνταί σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου.

3dly. I

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3dly. I am throughly perswaded, that the Explanation which I have given of this place is true; because it is confirm'd both by the Opinion, and by the Practice of the Primitive Church. The Catholick Church has always claim'd this Authority from the times of the Apostles down to ours; and as often as Occasion requir'd has exercis'd it.

The Primitive Church always laid Claim to this Power of Excommunication; and claim'd it as committed to the Church by Jesus Christ in this very Passage: And which is yet more, did not only always exercise this Power; but accus'd all those of Heresy, who attempted either to take it away, or to weaken it. This is most evidently attested both by the *Montanists*, and by the *Novatians*.

That the Primitive Church claim'd this Authority will appear, 1st. From the most express Testimonies of the Fathers. 2dly. From the Penitential Canons, which almost all Councils, as well General as Provincial, have made. 3dly. From the Schisms which in the most ancient times were form'd upon this occasion, viz. those of *Montanus* and *Novatian*.

1st. Let us look into the most express Testimonies of the holy Fathers. *Tertullian* in the Apology * which he drew up for the Christian Faith, describes the Church of Christ after this manner: *We are a Body from the Agreement of our Religion, and the Unity of our Discipline, and the Covenant of Hope. There* (that is in the sacred Assembly) *there are Exhortations, Reproofs, and a Divine Censure: for Judgment*

* Apol. cap. 39. Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, & disciplinæ unitate, & spei fœdere. — Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura Divina. Nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumque fururi
ff 4
judicii

ment is pass'd with great Solemnity, as among Persons perswaded of God's Presence at the Sentence; and it is a very great Prejudice, or ruled Case against the future Judgment, if any one have so offended, as to be banish'd from the Communication of Prayers, from the publick Assembly, and from all sacred Commerce. From this one Passage, which is so very full and exprefs, these three Particulars may, I think, be very easily deduc'd. 1st. That the Power of excommunicating such as were contumacious prevail'd in the Age of Tertullian. 2^{dly}. That this was a primary part of the Christian Discipline, which they did not institute by any Compact among themselves, but receiv'd as deliver'd down to them from the very Apostles. 3^{dly}. That the effect of Excommunication was, that it excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven: For it was the biggest Predetermination of the future Judgment, if any one did so offend, as to be banish'd from all sacred Commerce.

Next to Tertullian let us hear his Scholar St. Cyprian, in whom we meet with so many and such excellent Passages in Proof of the Authority of the Church, that it is difficult to determine, which we ought chiefly to make choice of. This most holy Martyr wrote a whole Book concerning the *Lapsed*, in which he rebukes them with the greatest Severity, for daring to receive the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper so hastily and rashly, before they had perform'd their Penance. The whole Argument of this Book supposes, that the Church has Power to shut out from the holy Communion such as are unworthy, and have the Stains of grievous Sins upon them, until they have cleans'd themselves by due Penance, and made themselves worthy of the

judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventûs, & omnis sancti commercii relegatur.

most

most holy Mysteries. He inveighs most severely against the *Lapsed*; and asserts, that they ¹ *had offer'd Violence to the Body and Blood of Christ*, in that they had communicated *before their Crimes were expiated; before they had made Confession of their Sin; before their Conscience was purg'd with the Sacrifice and Absolution of the Bishop*. And almost at the End of the Book, he earnestly exhorts ² them, *every one to confess his Sin, while he is still in this Life; while his Confession may be admitted; and while the Satisfaction and Remission administer'd by Priests, is acceptable to God*. In his Xth Epistle he treats upon the same Subject, and has these Words ³: *For seeing the Sinners do for less Sins perform Penance for a certain time, and according to the Order of Discipline come to Confession, and by Imposition of Hands from the Bishop and Clergy receive Right of communicating, &c.*

From these two Passages it manifestly appears, that it was the Practice of the Church in the Age of St. Cyprian, to debar Sinners from the Eucharist; to lay them under Ecclesiastical Censures, till they had perform'd the Penance impos'd upon them; and after that by Imposition of Hands from either the Bishop or Presbyter to admit them to the Participation of the holy Communion.

¹ Cyp. de Laps. Edit. Amst. p. 128. — Vis infertur corpori ejus & sanguini — Ante expiata delicta, ante exomologesin factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio & manu sacerdotis.

² Ibid. p. 134. Confiteantur singuli — delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in seculo est; dum admitti confessio ejus potest; dum satisfactio & remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est.

³ Epist. xvi. Edit. Amst. p. 37. Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores poenitentiam justo tempore, & secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, & per manûs impositionem Episcopi & Cleri jus communicationis accipiant, &c.

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Having thus shewn from most clear Passages both of *Tertullian* and *St. Cyprian*, that this Power of Excommunication was administred in the III^d Century, let us go farther back to the Fathers of the II^d, and even of the Ist Century, who all acknowledged the same Discipline.

St. Irenaeus relates ^b, that the Wife of a certain Deacon having been corrupted and defiled by *Marcion* the Heretick (and Magician) did at last by the great labour of her Friends, return to a good Life; and spent all her time in confessing, and lamenting, and bewailing the Defilement, which she had suffer'd from the Magician. The Word *Ἐξομολόγησις*, as *Morinus* learnedly observes, sometimes denotes only that part of Penance, which we commonly call *Confession*: but sometimes it signifies the whole Course of Penance, finish'd and perfect in all its Parts; and in my Opinion Confession is to be taken in this latter Sense; and then *Irenaeus's* Meaning will be, that this unhappy Woman was never reconcil'd to the Church; but spent all the remaining part of her Life in Penance, Prayers, Tears, and Fasting. And indeed this agrees perfectly well with the Discipline of the Primitive Church; which never admitted the more grievous Sinners (such as Idolaters and the like) to her Communion, till the very Moment before their Death. No Man of Learning, and conversant in the sacred Monuments of the Church, can doubt, but this Passage of *St. Irenaeus* does abundantly prove, that the Power of Excommunication obtain'd at that time. It will not be foreign to my purpose, to write down what *Feuardentius* has observ'd upon the Place. *The Greek and Latin Fa-*

^b Lib. 1. adv. Hær. cap. 9. p. 72. Edit. Par. — Ἀνὴρ τῆ ἀπανταχῶς ἡχομολογούμενη διετέλεσε, σπενθῶσα καὶ θρηνησάσα ἐφ' ἧ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ τῆς Μάρσε διαφθορᾶς.

ibers, says he ^c, have very unanimously call'd that Exhomologesis or Confession, by which any one does after Baptism ingenuously own himself to be guilty of many Sins, not only before God, or by making a general Confession; but also before the Governours of the Church, so as to comprize an open and distinct Enumeration of all his Offences. And that this is by Christ's Prescription, and the Practice of the Apostles, and the Consent of all the Churches throughout the World, a necessary means to wash away Sins, and the second Plank as it were after Shipwreck, is evident from this Chapter. Besides he cites St. Augustine's xlixth Homily, Tertulian de Penitentiâ, and St. Cyprian de Lapsis. From all which, as the very learned Dr. Grabe has judiciously observ'd ^d, the most ancient Practice and the Usefulness of that kind of Confession may be gather'd; but not the absolute Necessity of it to wash off the Stain of Sin.

But let us go up a little higher: If I be not mistaken, St. *Hermas* in his *Pastor* will discover to us very clear Footsteps of this Discipline. In his II^d Book, in that Section ^e where he speaks of putting away an Adulteress, there is this Passage: *What if the Woman that is put away should repent, and have*

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^c Ibid. p. 75. Magno consensu Græci & Latini Patres confessionem illam, quâ quis post baptismum se multorum peccatorum reum ingenuè agnoscit, non solum coram Deo, aut generali factâ confessione, sed & coram eis qui Ecclesiæ præsunt, & quæ apertam distinctamq; continent Delictorum enumerationem, exhomologesin vocârunt. Hanc verò Christi præscripto, Apostolorum usu, & universarum per orbem Ecclesiarum consensu, ad eluenda peccata necessarium remedium esse, & secundam à naufragio tabulam, ex hoc capite apertum est.

^d Ex his usus antiquissimus, atq; utilitas ejusmodi confessionis, non autem absoluta ad eluendam peccatorum maculam necessitas colligi potest.

^e Lib. 2. Mandat. 4. Quid si mulier dimissa pœnitentiam egerit & voluerit ad virum suum reverti, nonne recipietur à viro suo? Et dixit

a Mind to return to her Husband, shall not she be receiv'd by her Husband? And he said to me, Yes, if her Husband shall not receive her, he sins, and commits a great Crime: for he ought to receive a Sinner that has repented; but not often: for there is but one Repentance to the Servants of God. Without all controversy this most ancient Writer must be understood concerning the publick Repentance, by which a Sinner is reconcil'd to the Church: For he says, that there is but one Repentance to the Servants of God: now whoever affirm'd, that of private Repentance, which regards God only? Nay the *Novatians* themselves granted, that in the infinite Mercy of God there was Hope placed for all Men, even for the most grievous Sinners: but they deny'd that after Baptism any one guilty of very grievous Sins ought to be receiv'd to the Communion of the Church. *Daillé* to the best of my Remembrance, or *Blondel*, or one of that famous *Triumvirate*, who have waged a most deadly War against the holy Fathers, accuses *St. Hermas* of *Novatianism*, for this one Sentence, that *there is only one Repentance to the Servants of God.* But the learned Man is under a wretched Mistake, and seems not to have sufficiently comprehended, in what chiefly the Error of *Novatian* consisted. Both the Catholics and the *Novatians* acknowledge, that all Sins whatsoever are wholly wash'd away and abolish'd by the most wholesome Laver of Baptism: but the *Novatians* maintain, that a Man falling after Baptism into a grievous and mortal Sin, has no Hope left, that there is no returning for him into the

dixit mihi, imo, si non receperit eam vir suus, peccat & magnum peccatum sibi committit: sed debet recipere peccatricem, quæ poenitentiam egit; sed non sæpè; servis enim Dei una poenitentia est.

Church;

Church; from which therefore they utterly cast him out, and think he is to be left to the Mercy of God only. On the contrary, it was always asserted by the Catholick Church, that Repentance is not to be deny'd to any Sinner; and that the Gates of the Church ought always to lie open to all contrite Hearts, and truly humble Souls. Yet we must own that many, very many of the most ancient Fathers were of Opinion, that it was not by any means safe to allow a second Repentance to Idolaters, and such like grievous Sinners. Of this Number was *St. Hermas Pastor*; but consider the vast Difference between the *Novatians* and the Catholicks. The *Novatians* allow'd of no Repentance after Baptism: The Catholicks permitted one Repentance to all, even the most grievous Sinners; and some that were of a milder Disposition than ordinary, and more sensible of the Weakness of human Nature, indulg'd a frequent Repetition of that Repentance. But let us hear what *Petavius*, a Man of very great Learning, determines concerning the Error of *Novatian*, in his Notes upon *Epiphanius*, where he treats of that Heresy. '*We must know*, says he, *that Novatus and Novatian were accounted Hereticks, and banish'd from the Catholick Church, not because they deny'd that the Lapsed were to be admitted to the Communion and Peace of the Church: but because they perfidiously and inhumanly asserted, that the Church had no Right to reconcile such, and forgive them. The Novatians, I say, were condemn'd as Hereticks;*

^f Sciendum est non pro eo, quod Lapsos ad communionem & Ecclesiasticam pacem admittendos negarent, Novarum & Novatianum Hæreticos habitos, atq; ab Ecclesiâ Catholicâ proscriptos fuisse; sed quod nullum ad eos reconciliandos, condonandosq; jus in Ecclesiâ esse perfidiosè & crudeliter asseverarent. Quod, inquam, clavium, ut vocant, potestatem Ecclesiæ ac Sacerdotibus detraherent,

ut

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reticks; because, to omit their other Errors, they took the Power of the Keys, as 'tis call'd, away from the Church and Clergy. Otherwise to banish for ever from the Church the Lapsed, that is, such as were polluted with the Contagion of Idolatry, was not as yet known to be an Heretical Decree. Besides, that in those ancient and flourishing times of the Church, some certain degrees of Sinners were banish'd from Communion, and that for ever, is declar'd by very many Councils, and Testimonies of the holy Fathers. Thus that great Author Petavius, who as he was conversant in all sorts of Learning, so there is none in which he did not excel.

Therefore there is no reason to accuse St. *Hermas* of *Novatianism*. For this certainly we are oblig'd to him, that he has so evidently prov'd publick Penance to have been both known and practis'd in the very times of the Apostles.

All this may be confirm'd from the Apostolical Canons, as they are commonly call'd. That the Apostles themselves were the Authors of these Canons, no Man in his Wits can so much as dream. But that they are very ancient, and contain the Usages of the Primitive Church in the II^d and III^d Centuries, has been demonstrated by so many and such convincing Arguments by the great Bishop *Beverege*, that there is not the least Room left to doubt it. The xiith Canon is in these Words: If any Clergyman or Laick, that is excommunicated, or

not

ut reliquos eorundem errores omittam, Novatiani Hæretici damnati sunt. Alioquin Lapsos, id est, Idololatriæ contagione pollutos in perpetuum ab Ecclesiâ summove, nondum pro Hæretico Decreto cognitum fuerat. Quin etiam priscis illis florentis Ecclesiæ temporibus, certis peccatorum generibus communione interdictum, & quidem perpetuò fuisse, quàm plurima Concilia, & sanctorum Patrum testimonia declarant.

Εἰ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωεισμῶς, ἢ τοι ἄδεκ[τ]ο, ἀπελ-
 2
 θῶν

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not yet receiv'd into Communion, shall go and be receiv'd in another City without Communicatory Letters; let both him that receives him be excommunicated, and him that is receiv'd. But if he were excommunicated before, let his Excommunication be extended to a longer time. From this single Canon may be drawn a new Argument, grounded on those Letters of Form, which the Canon stiles *γράμματα συσταλικά*, Communicatory or Recommendatory Letters. By the use of these Letters those venerable Prelates did admirably consult the Unity of the Church. He that communicated with any one Church, had Right to communicate with all the Churches dispers'd and scatter'd over all the Face of the whole Earth. He that was cut off from any one Church, could be receiv'd by no other. Now from whence was this? Whence came it, that all the Churches throughout the World agreed in this Point, to preserve so strict an Unity among themselves? That they all exercis'd the same Discipline, so that what was done by any one of them, was ratify'd and confirm'd by all the rest? From whence, I say, did this proceed? From a certain private Contract made amongst the Primitive Christians, says Mr. *Selden*, that most bitter Enemy to the Authority of the Church. But how does Mr. *Selden* prove this? With what Testimonies does he defend this new Conjecture of his? With none at all. At what time was this Compact made? That he does not know. Which of the holy Fathers, and of the Ecclesiastical Historians make any mention of this famous Compact? Not so much as one of them. Can there be any time assign'd, wherein the Christian

ὅταν ἐν ἐτέροις πόλεσι δεχθῇ ἀντὶ γράμμάτων συσταλικῶν, ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ὁ διξάμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθεὶς. εἰ δ' ἀφαιρεσάμενος εἴη, τότε τινέτω αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀφαιρεσάμενος.

Church

Church did not maintain this Unity, and exercise this Discipline? No such matter. Therefore with good Mr. *Selden's* Leave, I shall be of the same Opinion with St. *Augustin*, that that whose Original we cannot trace out, and which is owing to no Decrees of Councils, but has obtain'd all over the whole Christian World, I shall believe, I say, with St. *Augustin*, that ^h *that was not instituted by Man; but deliver'd down by the Apostles themselves.*

Nor indeed are the Apostolick Constitutions to be pass'd by unmention'd in this Controversy. Not that I think they were either written by the Apostles, or collected into one Body by St. *Clement*, as a certain craz'd Mathematician is now undertaking to prove. But it was always the Opinion of learned Men, that many most useful Monuments of Antiquity are preserv'd in these Constitutions, which explain and illustrate the Rites and Customs of the III^d and IVth Centuries. It is indeed no contemptible Consideration, that all the ii^d Book of these Constitutions is employ'd wholly in this one Argument. The whole purpose of it is to inform the Bishops, how they ought to behave themselves, both in condemning and punishing Sins; from which it easily appears, what was the Opinion of the Church in those Ages concerning this Controversy.

2dly. That the Christian Church had the Right of Excommunication is also most evident from the Penitential Canons, which the Primitive Church establish'd. The Council of *Eliberis*, if we credit *Baronius*, was conven'd in the Year of our Lord CCCV, in the times of *Constantius* and *Galerius*. That which was chiefly done in this Council, was to appoint certain and stated times of Penance for

^h Non ab hominibus esse institutum, sed ab ipsis Apostolis traditum.

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almost all the more grievous Sins. *It was there decreed, that Idolaters were not to receive the Communion, even at the Point of Death: That he which should not come to Church for three Sundays together, should be suspended from Communion so long time, as that he might appear sufficiently rebuked: That if the Faithful give their Daughters in Marriage to Hereticks or Jews, they shall be suspended from Communion for five Years.* To this Council may be added that of *Ancyra*, and the first Council of *Arles*; assembled under the Reign of *Constantine*. In both which there are many Canons of this Nature. Now from all this it is very easy to collect, what was the constant Opinion of the Primitive Church concerning Excommunication: For we are not to imagine, that the Church of Christ did then first exercise this Power; because we meet with no Penitential Canons before those times. I have already prov'd the contrary from *St. Cyprian*, *St. Irenæus*, and *St. Hermas Pastor*. Indeed it always seem'd to me a very great Argument, that this Power of the Church was made use of by the Apostles themselves; because the whole Multitude of the Faithful did so very willingly submit their Necks to so heavy a Yoke. Good God! how many, and how great and bitter Mortifications did they endure, before they were permitted to return to the Church? They spent whole Days and Nights in Fasting, and lying upon the Ground; nay they employ'd all their Wits to find out various Methods of afflicting their Souls, and macerating their Bodies. Nothing could

Idololatrias nec in fine communionem accipere judicabant. Qui per tres Dominicas Ecclesiam non accesserit, tanto tempore abstinere, ut correptus esse videatur. Si Fideles Hæreticis vel Judæis filias suas in matrimonium dederint, per quinquennium abstinere debent.

be put upon them so hard, so grievous, and calamitous, but what they underwent in Triumph, that they might atone for their Sins, and obtain a Right to Communion. But is it credible or probable, that the whole Christian World would have so cheerfully and willingly endur'd such severe Mortifications, if they had not been thoroughly persuaded, that this was that very Discipline, which was instituted by Jesus Christ, the Lover of Souls, to be as it were a Plank after Shipwreck, the most ready and wholesome Cure of Sins committed after Baptism? Besides I would ask: when did this unworthy and insupportable Yoke begin to be first impos'd on the Necks of the Primitive Christians? By whose Contrivance was it, that this Ecclesiastical Tyranny first invaded the Christian World? It is most certain, that no Man can be found, that will be able to give a clear and distinct Answer to this Question. I may likewise add, that it seems little less than a Miracle, that such a monstrous Tyranny should have obtain'd so far and wide without any Opposition whatsoever. With what Madness was the Laity possess'd, with what Timorousness of Mind captivated, that they yielded so full and easy a Victory to the Ambition of the Clergy? All this does most forcibly persuade us, that this Power of Excommunication, which the Church always exercis'd, and without which it cannot subsist, was by no means invented and devis'd by Ecclesiastical Tyrants, but instituted by Jesus Christ himself, and deliver'd down and confirm'd by the Apostles.

Thus, if I am not mistaken, I have fully demonstrated, that the Church has always claim'd the Power of Excommunication. But,

3dly. It will add to the force of this Argument, if we call to mind, that the Primitive Church had so great an Esteem for this Power, that they mark'd all such as disown'd

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disown'd it, with the Brand of Heresy. No Man that is not altogether a Stranger to the holy Fathers, can be ignorant, what was the Opinion of those of the III^d Century concerning *Montanus* and *Novatian*. Both those Hereticks did after the most friendly manner agree in this one Point, to take away the Power of the Keys from the Church and Clergy. But herein the *Novatians* do greatly disagree with the Hereticks of our time, that they most freely allow'd the Power of excommunicating, and deny'd only that of reconciling to the Church: whereas these do utterly root up all Power of Excommunication; and maintain that even the most profligate Persons imaginable have a Right both to the Church, and to the Sacraments. So much both in Subtilty and Impiety have ours gone beyond the ancient Hereticks.

However it will by no means be foreign to my purpose, to shew how, and with what Arguments the holy Fathers disputed against those Hereticks. And I shall the rather do this; because the *Brassians* object nothing against this most wholesome Authority, but what their famous Predecessors of old objected against the Primitive Church. Hence also we shall more clearly and fully understand, what were the Sentiments of the purest Antiquity concerning this important Question.

1. The first that rais'd any Disturbance upon this Occasion was *Montanus*, who in the Reign of *Commodus* invented many new and pernicious Opinions; and falling away from the Catholick Church, instituted a Religion of his own. Among other things he peremptorily deny'd^k, that mortal Sins could be forgiven by the Church. This we are inform'd by *Tertullian* in his Treatise *de Pudicitia*,

^k Peccata mortalia ab Ecclesiâ posse remitti.

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which he compos'd after himself was become a *Montanist*; for what he wrote concerning the Power of the Keys in his Tract entitled *Scorpiace*, and in that *de Pœnitentiâ*, is Orthodox enough: For who, says he¹, forgives Sins but God alone? to wit, mortal Sins, which have been committed against him, and against his Temple? — Therefore if it should appear, that even the blessed Apostles themselves had pardon'd any such Sin, the pardoning of which belong'd to God, and not to Man, they must have done that, not by Discipline, but by Power: for they also rais'd the Dead, which only God can do; and gave new Strength to the Weak, which none can do but Christ: nay and inflicted Punishments, which Christ would not do. The Father here maintains, according to the Opinion of *Montanus*, that the Church never receiv'd Power of forgiving mortal Sins. He openly declares, that the Arguments drawn from the Examples of the Apostles, are of no Force with him. If the Apostles either bound or loos'd a Sinner, they did this, says he, not by Discipline, which was to remain always in the Church, but by their Apostolick Power, which expir'd with their Persons. *Zephyrinus*, who at that time sat in the See of Rome, undertook the Argument against *Tertullian*. This most holy Father affirm'd, that this Authority had always prevail'd in the Catholick Church: and was founded in that most ample Commission, which our

¹ *Tertull. de Pudicit. cap. 21.* Quis enim dimittit delicta nisi solus Deus? & utiq; mortalia, quæ in ipsum fuerint commissa, & in Templum ejus? — Itaq; si & ipsos beatos Apostolos tale aliquid indulgisse constaret, cujus venia à Deo, non ab homine competeret; non ex disciplina, sed ex potestate fecisse. Nam & mortuos suscitaverunt, quod Deus solus, & debiles redintegraverunt, quod nemo nisi Christus: imò & plagas inflixerunt, quod noluit Christus.

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Blessed Saviour gave ^m to St. Peter. *Tertullian*, to evade the Force of this Argument, asserts that this Power was committed only to St. Peter, and could not be deriv'd to others. Now this is apparently contrary both to Reason, and to the Judgment of the whole Church. Nay our more modern *Montanists* and *Novatians* (for why should they not be adorn'd with the same Names, since they vend the same Opinions?) reject this Subterfuge as trivial, and of no Weight, and so expound this Place, as to make it denote no Authority, distinct from that of Preaching the Gospel. But these things following, we learn most clearly from *Tertullian*, viz. that the Catholick Church assum'd to her self a Power of Excommunication; and further, that she believ'd this Power was given to her in that Text of St. *Matthew* ⁿ. Let the Reader look into his Book *de Pudicitia*, and that entitled *Scorpiace*; and he will easily find, that even *Tertullian* himself was altogether of another Opinion, whilst he remain'd within the Bosom of the Catholick Church: and that he was indebted for this Error concerning Excommunication to *Montanus*, *Prisca*, and *Maximilla*. In his *Scorpiace* he writes thus^o: *For if you think Heaven is still shut, remember that the Lord has here left the Keys to St. Peter, and by him to the Church; and that every one that is here examin'd and confesseth, shall carry them with him.* Behold *Tertullian* in this Passage strenuously contending for that very Authority, which he wrote against in his Book *de Pudicitia*.

^m *Matt.* xvi. 19.

ⁿ *Ibid.*

^o *Scorp.* c. x. Nam & si adhuc clausum putas cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, & per eam Ecclesiæ reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum.

2. *Montanus* was follow'd by *Novatian*, whose Opinion upon this Subject I have explain'd from the learned *Petavius*. Against him *St. Pacianus* and *St. Ambrose* disputed with very great Vehemence. But let us see what Forces they brought into the Field, and with what Art they were drawn up. *St. Pacianus* in his Epistle to *Sempronianus*, a Follower of *Novatus*, says these things, which are not unworthy to be observ'd. First he introduces *Sempronianus* cavilling after this manner: *You will say, none but God can do this*: (he speaks of forgiving Sins.) *Sempronianus*, good Man, was it seems most exactly of the same Opinion with the sagacious *Maximilla*. But *St. Pacianus* answers him very well: *It is true*, says he, *but what God does by his Priests, is also his Power*: for what is that which he says to the Apostles? *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*: why did he say this, if it was not lawful for Men to bind and loose? Was this only lawful for the Apostles? Then to baptize also was lawful for none but them; they only had Power to give the holy Spirit; they only could cleanse the People from their Sins: because all this was commanded only to the Apostles. In his III^d Epistle to *Sempronianus* he defends that Text in *St. Matthew*⁹, against his Objections, and then explains the Passage after this manner^r: *He is loos'd by Pardon, because*

^p Solus hoc, inquit, Deus poterit: (scilicet peccata remittere) Verum est— Sed & quod per Sacerdotes suos facit, ipsius potestas est. Nam quid est illud quod Apostolis dicit? Quæ ligaveritis in terris, ligata erunt & in cœlis: & quæcunq; solveritis in terris, soluta erunt & in cœlis. Cur hoc? Si ligare hominibus ac solvere non licebat? An tantum hoc solis Apostolis licet? Ergo & baptizare solis licet, & Spiritum Sanctum dare solis, & solis gentium peccata purgare: quia totum hoc non aliis quam Apostolis imperatum est.

⁹ Matt. xvi. 19.

^r Solvitur veniâ, quia peccato tenebatur; ligatur anathemate, quia solutus erat fide, per gratiam liberatus.

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he was bound by Sin. He is bound by Excommunication, because he was loos'd by Faith, and made free by Grace. From these Words of St. Pacianus we are taught, that at that time none but such as were open Hereticks, and Enemies to the Christian Church, did in the least doubt, but that this Passage in St. Matthew related to Excommunication, and to the publick Discipline of the Church. There are in these Epistles very many things, which make for this purpose: but these will suffice to shew the Judgment of the Primitive Church.

And now let us hear St. Ambrose, disputing with the same Adversary: In his First Book concerning Repentance, he has these Words: *But they say that they pay Reverence to the Lord, to whom only they reserve the Power of forgiving Sins. On the contrary, they do a greater Injury to none, than to him, whose Commands they would rescind, and throw back the Power he has committed to them: for seeing that the Lord Jesus himself has said in his Gospel, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever Sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever Sins ye retain, they are retain'd: Which of the two honours him most? He that obeys his Commands, or he that resists them? The Church doth in both respects preserve her Obedience, as well in binding Sin, as in loosing it: But (the Novatian) Hereticks, unmerciful in one regard, and disobedient in the other, desire to bind what they*
may

^c St. Ambr. de Pœnit. L. 1, c. 2. Sed aiunt se Domino referre reverentiam, cui soli remittendorum criminum potestatem referrent. Imò nulli maiorem injuriam faciunt, quàm ei cujus volunt mandata rescindere, commissum munus refundere. Nam cum ipse in Evangelio suo dixerit Dominus Jesus: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remisistis peccata, remittantur eis: & quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt: Quis est qui magis honorat; utrum qui mandatis obtemperat, an qui resistit? Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam, ut peccatum & alliget & relaxet. Hæresis in altero
 gg 4 immitis

*may not loose; and will not loose what they have bound. And herein their Opinion is condemn'd by it self: For it was the Intention of the Lord, that the Power of loosing, and that of binding should be equal; because he equally permitted both. He therefore that has not the Power of loosing, has not the Power of binding neither: For as according to the Lord's Intention, he that has the Power of binding, has the Power of loosing also: so their Assertion destroys it self; insomuch that because they deny themselves the Power of loosing, they ought also to deny themselves the Power of binding. How therefore can the one be lawful, and the other not lawful? For both are lawful to them, to whom the Power is given: and to them, to whom it is not given, both are unlawful: wherefore it is certain, that both are lawful to the Church; and that both are unlawful to Hereticks. For this Power is permitted only to Priests; and therefore is rightly claim'd by the Church, which hath true Priests; and Hereticks, who have no true Priests, can lay no claim to it. And after a few Words: Consider also this; that he who receives the holy Ghost, receives Power both of loosing and binding Sin: For thus it is written, Receive ye
the*

*immitis, in altero inobediens, vult ligare quod non resolvar, non vult solvere quod ligavit. In quo se sua damnat sententia: Dominus enim par jus & solvendi esse voluit & ligandi, qui utrumq; pari conditione permisit. Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet. Sicut enim secundum Dominicam sententiam, qui ligandi jus habet, & solvendi habet: ita istorum assertio seipsam strangulat, ut quia solvendi sibi jus negant, negare debeant & ligandi. Quomodo igitur potest alterum licere, alterum non licere? Quibus datum, utrumq; est licere; at quibus non datum, utrumq; non licere; certum est Ecclesie utrumque licere, Hæresi utrumq; non licere. Jus enim hoc solis permissum Sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc Ecclesia vindicat, quæ veros Sacerdotes habet; Hæresis vindicare non potest, quæ veros Sacerdotes non habet.——
Sp. Ita etiam illud, quoniam qui Spiritum Sanctum accipit, & solvendi peccati potestatem, & ligandi accipit, sic enim Scriptum est: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, &c. Ergo qui solvere
non*

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the Holy Ghost, &c. Therefore he that cannot loose Sin, has not the Holy Ghost. The Office of the Priest is the Gift of the Holy Ghost; and the Property of the Holy Ghost is to loose and bind Sins.

Nothing could be expected, more clear and evident for our purpose, than this; and you will find almost the same in the vith Chapter of this Book. Both St. *Ambrose* and St. *Pacianus* do most plainly attest, that the Primitive Church always look'd upon this Power of binding and excommunicating, as committed to her from God. But to sum up the whole Argument in a few Words.

It is manifest from the Nature of Society, that the Right of Excommunication belongs to the Christian Church: and since the Church of Christ was founded by God himself, it is also manifest, that this Right of Excommunication belongs to the Church by Divine Right. The Power of binding and of loosing is committed by our Saviour Jesus Christ to St. *Peter* in most expresse Words, and in him to the whole Church. That this Power of binding and loosing consisted in reconciling Penitents, was always the Opinion of the Catholick Church, even in the purest Ages. The Christian Church has always exercis'd this Power, from the very times of the Apostles; and has exercis'd it as a Power committed to her by Jesus Christ himself. This is abundantly evident, both from the clearest Testimonies of the holy Fathers, and from those Penitential Canons, which have in every Age been establish'd in all Churches. All Persons whatsoever, that have attempted either to take away or to diminish this sacred Authority, have been ever accounted Hereticks by the Church; and she has al-

non potest peccatum, non habet Spiritum Sanctum. Munus Spiritus Sancti est officium Sacerdotis; jus autem Spiritus Sancti in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est.

ways

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ways banish'd them from her Communion. And now after all this, let such as are impartial Judges determine, what is to be thought concerning the Power of Excommunication in the Christian Church. Does it imply any Contradiction? Is a Spiritual Government distinct from the Civil to be accounted monstrous or ridiculous? Ought it to be look'd upon as severe and cruel, to shut out even the most wicked Persons from the holy Eucharist? For my part I am throughly perswaded, that this most wholesome Discipline was not invented by the Bishops; but instituted by Jesus Christ himself, for the Comfort and Salvation of our Souls. And indeed I clearly perceive, that the Christian Religion can never shine with her own native Brightness, till by the pious Severity of her Clergy, this sacred Discipline be reviv'd. I cannot conclude better than in the Words of St. Gregory Nyssene: *Do not think, says he, that Excommunication is owing to the Arrogance of Bishops: It is a Law of our Fathers, an ancient Canon of the Church, which had its Rise from the Law, and its Confirmation from the Gospel.*

But here I cannot forbear adding something concerning the proper Effect of Sacerdotal Absolution; a thing which has a very great Relation to the Question before us. For there are a great many very good Men to be found, and those not unlearned, who reject all Absolution from the Priest, at least as a thing indifferent, because they are not able to conceive in their Mind, what is the Effect of such kind of Absolution. They argue with themselves after this manner: The truly penitent and contrite Sinner is in the Court of Conscience

* Μη'Επισκοπικῆς ἀνθεδείας ἐν νόμῳ τῷ ἀποκειμένῳ πα-
τρῶς ὁ νόμος, παλαιὸς τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κατὰν, ὅτι τὸ νόμος ἀ-
ξίωτος, καὶ κελεύει τῇ χάριτι.

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immediately absolv'd of God, and justify'd. What therefore does the Priest add to this divine Absolution? Does God, the Searcher of Hearts, wait for the Sentence of the Priest? We cannot think that. In order to answer this Objection, I shall clearly and distinctly set down, what was the Opinion of the Ancients concerning the Effect of Absolution.

It is most certain, that the Primitive Church never accounted a Sinner to be justify'd, however humble and contrite, till he had obtain'd Sacerdotal Absolution. Nor indeed does this seem to me in the least wonderful. All Men allow the same thing in the Sacrament of Baptism. No Person is worthy to come to Baptism, unless he be of a pure and clean Heart; one that from his Soul abominates all kind of Sin; and is most stedfastly resolv'd to conform his Life to the Law of the Gospel. And yet even all this does not justify him in the Sight of God. Baptism is still wanting; without which Remission of Sins cannot be obtain'd in the ordinary way. If such a Person should die, before he had put off the old Man by washing in this sacred Water, he would by the Principles of the Gospel have no Right to the Kingdom of Heaven. It is another Question what the God of Mercies would determine in his Regard, through the meritorious Blood of Jesus Christ, which was plentifully shed for the whole Race of Mankind. And why may we not judge the same concerning Repentance? Hence it is, that the ancient Fathers were wont to call Repentance a second Baptism. But I shall give you the Opinion of the most holy Fathers upon this Subject in the Words of *Morinus*, a very learned Man, to whom I most willingly acknowledge myself indebted in many things.

God

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God therefore, says he ^u, is the Author of Reconciliation; and the Priest is the Minister of it. What does the Priest effect? That which God, by the Assistance of his holy Spirit, had begun in the Penitent before Reconciliation, the Priest does by Absolution ministerially finish, according to that ministerial Power committed to him in those Words: (Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.) and such as are worthy of divine Absolution, he does actually and visibly absolve. Thus Morinus. And that this was the Opinion of the Primitive Church, is most abundantly manifest from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Pacianus, and St. Ambrose.

DISSERTATION V.

The Laity never receiv'd the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without having it first consecrated by Priests.

NOW I am treating about the Authority and Dignity of the Christian Clergy, I think it will not be foreign to my purpose, to say something here in short concerning that signal Difference between the Clergy and the Laity. Rigaltius, a Man indeed of indefatigable Pains, and a very great Critick; but not very accurate, and wonderfully fond of new Observations, whatever they

* Reconciliationis igitur Autor Deus, Minister Sacerdos. Quid operatur Sacerdos? Quod Deus in poenitente, per auxilia Spiritus Sancti, ante reconciliationem inchoaverat, Sacerdos per absolutionem ministerialiter perficit, juxta potestatem ministerialem ei commissam: Quaecunque ligaveritis, &c. dignosque divinâ absolutione reapse visibiliter absolvit.

are :

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are: has in his Remarks upon the iii^d Epistle of *St. Cyprian*, out of his innate Fondness of producing something new and unheard of, asserted, that in the Apostolick times there was no such distinction; but that by the Word *Clergy**, the whole Christian Church was always denoted. Indeed he owns, that in the Age of *Tertullian* and *St. Cyprian* this Word was wholly appropriated to Ecclesiastical Persons; but, good Man, he is pleas'd to ascribe that to the Pride and Ambition of the Priests. And in this he has been closely follow'd by all such, as are no Friends, either to our sacred Order, or to the Christian Religion. Hence it is, that this Objection against us, which has been so often made and answer'd, is now with the greatest Triumph reviv'd by this most impudent Scoffer, who has thrown upon us with great Vehemence all the Calumnies both of the *Arbists* and *Socinians*: but there will be no difficulty in confuting the unlearned Rashness of the great Man, from whom he copies. For,

1st. It is manifest, that Jesus Christ appointed twelve Apostles to preach the Gospel, to found and govern the Church, and to administer the Sacraments. It is also most evident from a thousand Places of holy Scripture, and particularly from *St. Paul's* Epistles to *Titus* and *Timothy*, that these Apostles chose others, conspicuous for their Faith, Doctrine and Piety; and by Imposition of Hands consecrated them to perform the same Offices; to declare Salvation to all Men through the Blood of Christ; to gather Churches; to receive, and feed, and confirm them with the Sacraments; and (what is most worthy of our Observation in this Controversy) with the same Ceremony, viz. Imposition of Hands to ordain and consecrate others, as the Necessity of

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the Church should require. What, I beseech you, can be more clear and evident than this? And therefore since the thing it self appears so plainly and fully from sacred Writ, why should we cavil about Words and Syllables? Grant that neither the Word Clergy, nor Laity can be found, either in the holy Scriptures, or in the most ancient Monuments of the Church: What then? What can be argu'd from thence? Nothing at all. The Word is wanting; but the thing for which we contend, occurs very frequently.

2dly. Let us proceed to the Monuments of the Primitive Church; and see whether no Footsteps of this Distinction are to be found amongst the most ancient Writers.

The first I will produce shall be St. Clement Romanus, a Man truly Apostolick, and mention'd * with very great Honour by St. Paul himself. In this Father's most excellent Epistle to the Corinthians we have these Words*: *For to the High-Priests are given proper Functions; and a proper Place is appointed for the Priests; and proper Ministeries are incumbent upon the Levites. The Lay-man is bound by Lay-Precepts.* In this Passage Lay-men are most clearly distinguish'd from Clergy-men, or Ecclesiastical Persons. But I know very well, that there are great Controversies made, concerning the true and genuine Sense of this Passage. The Advocates for Episcopacy cite these Words of St. Clement, in Proof of the three Orders; and object them to our Adversaries. Not indeed is this Opinion without Foundation. But they who maintain a Parity of

* Philip iv. 3.

* P. 92. Edit. Oxon. 1669. τὸ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίας δέδουται εἶσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἰδίᾳ ὁ τόπος προσέτακται, καὶ λαϊταῖς ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐτίθενται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἀνθρώπος λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεσται.

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Orders, do strenuously contend, that these Words do by no means belong to the Christian Church; but that this Writer had regard only to the Church of *Jerusalem*: nor indeed are they destitute of weighty Reasons, with which to support this Opinion of theirs. To determine this Controversy does not belong, either to this Place, or to my present Purpose. Whatever was St. *Clement's* Meaning, I shall easily shew what is mine. Let us therefore suppose, that in this Passage the Father speaks of the *Jewish* Church; it must of Necessity be granted me, that the Similitude of which he makes use, appertains to the Church of Christ: so that the same Distinction which had been made between the *Jewish* Clergy and Laity, did also obtain between the Clergy and Laity among the Christians. Otherwise the Reasoning of this Apostolick Writer would be lame, and imperfect, and of no Force. Inflam'd with a true Christian Charity, he exhorts the *Corinthians* to follow after Peace; and to perform all things according to the Divine Appointment: and alledges this as a most forcible Reason for their so doing; viz. that God himself had instituted this very Order of things; had distributed proper Functions to the High Priest, appointed the Priests their own Station, and the Levites their proper Ministeries: and the Laity were subject to Lay-Precepts, which became them as Laicks. But if we obstinately deny, that there was the same Distinction in the Christian Church, which no Man doubts there was among the *Jews*; of what Force, I desire to know, will this Reasoning be against the Schismatical *Corinthians*? It remains therefore a certain and unshaken Truth, that this Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity, obtain'd in the times of St. *Clement*, who flourish'd in the Year of our Lord LVI.

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Next to him I produce *St. Clement of Alexandria*, a most celebrated Writer of the II^d Century. He in a certain little Treatise lately publish'd at Oxford, and entitled, *Τὸ ὡζόμενον πλάσιον*; *What Rich Man can be sav'd?* gives a most ample Testimony to this Truth. Speaking of *St. John*, who was return'd to *Ephesus* from his Banishment, he has these Words²: *Being desir'd also he went to the neighbouring Provinces; what to constitute Bishops; and to form and regulate whole Churches; and likewise to set apart by Lot whomsoever the holy Spirit should direct.* That is, he chose into the number of the Clergy such, as by *Manifestations of the Spirit*, very usual at that time, he understood to be fit for that Office. It is certain therefore beyond all Controversy, that *Clement Alexandrinus* did most fully own this Distinction between the Laity and the Clergy. It were superfluous to descend to *Tertullian* and *St. Cyprian*; for *Rigaltius* himself acknowledges, that this Distinction prevail'd in the III^d Century.

Having now prov'd, that there obtain'd a true and proper Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity: I shall come up closer to the Question in dispute; and prove, that the Laity never receiv'd the holy Eucharist, till it was first consecrated by Priests. And this Question consists of two Parts: For it must be first prov'd, that Consecration is necessary, in order that the Elements of Bread and Wine may become the Body and Blood of Christ to the faithful Receiver: after which I shall shew, that the Right of consecrating the Elements can be-

² Cit. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 3. cap. 23. Ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ ὁρακαλέμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλεισιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν Ἐπισκόπος κατεστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόζων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρω, (ita enim legimus cum Eusebio, nam perperam κληρον habet Editio Oxoniensis) ἵνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν ἀνδράματι σημεινομένων.

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long to none but Priests, regularly and lawfully ordain'd by a Bishop.

I. Now to prove that Consecration is necessarily requir'd to the effectual Adminiftration of this holy Sacrament, I think it proper to begin from the very Institution of it, which St. *Luke* gives us in these Words ^a: *And he* (our Blessed Saviour) *took Bread, and gave Thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is my Body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of me.* I maintain, that this Command of our Lord Jesus Christ has regard to the whole Action, so as to comprehend the very Words of Consecration. Jesus Christ having taken Bread, blessed it, that is, set it apart from common Use, and consecrated it to a holy Mystery. This must necessarily be granted me from the Principles of the *Jews*, who always accounted that Bread and Wine were set apart, and consecrated by such Benedictions. Our blessed Saviour commands, that the Apostles should do that, which they here saw done by him. That they should do what? What was it which they saw him do? They saw him take Bread into his Hands, and consecrate this Bread by a certain solemn Form of Benediction. For this very Reason the Cup is call'd by St. *Paul* ^b, *the Cup of Blessing*. And what is to be understood by the Word *Blessing*, will be easily learn'd from the Holy Fathers, who frequently us'd the Words that we render ^c *Blessing, Invocation, &c.* to signify Consecration.

^a Luke 22. 19. καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, τὰτό ὅτι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τὰτό ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

^b 1 Cor. 10. 16. Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας.

^c εὐλογία, ἐυλόγησις, ἐπικλησις.

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But here the *Socinians* object, that all this is not clear and perspicuous; that these Words may be understood in another Sense, and admit of another Interpretation. Grant they may: yet I may be allow'd to affirm thus much; that this Exposition of ours is very probable, and most agreeable to the Principles of the Apostolick Age. Nay I maintain, that no other Interpretation of these Words can be invented, which shall either be more probable than this of ours, or more suitable to the purpose of our Saviour. And indeed that this is the true and only Meaning of the Text, I conclude from hence, that the Primitive Church always taught and understood it in this Sense. And this I will now make good by a Cloud of most unquestionable Witnesses.

And first let us hear St. *Irenæus*, St. *Polycarp's* Contemporary, a most egregious Asserter of Apostolick Tradition. In his ivth Book, being to prove against the *Marcionites*, that Jesus Christ was the Son of the one true God, who made the World, and instituted the Law of *Moses* for the *Jews*, he draws his Argument from the Oblation of the Eucharist: *And our Opinion*, says he^d, *is agreeable to the Eucharist, and the Eucharist does reciprocally confirm our Opinion: for we offer unto the Lord those things which are his, congruously declaring the Communion and the Unity both of the Flesh and Spirit.* And then follow these Words: *For as the Bread which is from the Earth, partaking of the Invocation*
of

^d Lib. IV. adv. Hæc. cap. 34. p. 363. Ed. Par. Nostra autem consonans est sententia Eucharistiæ, & Eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem & unitatem prædicantes Carnis & Spiritûs. Quemadmodum enim qui est à terrâ panis percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrenâ & cœlesti: sic & corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam,

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of God, is no longer common Bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and an heavenly: so also our Bodies partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer mere corruptible Bodies, but have Hope of a Resurrection. In this Passage the holy Father does most expressly assert, that the Bread is made the Eucharist, that is, the Body of Jesus Christ by the Invocation of God, to wit by Consecration, as will appear more fully in the sequel. In his vth Book the same holy Father disputes against *Valentinus*; and maintains, that Jesus Christ assum'd the human Nature truly and really, and not only ^e in appearance, as some Hereticks dreamt. And to prove this also, he applies the Sacrament of the Eucharist. And thus, says he^f, to wit, according to these things, neither has the Lord redeem'd us with his Blood; nor is the Cup of the Eucharist the Communication of his Blood; nor the Bread which we break, the Communication of his Body: And a little after he has these Words: *When therefore both the Bread broken, and the Cup mixed have partaken of the Word of God, they become the Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ, by which the Substance of our Flesh is increas'd, and of which it consists.* In the former Passage the Bread was made the Eucharist by the Invocation of God; but here it is by partaking of God's Word. They mutually illustrate and confirm each other. And does not all this make very much for the Necessity of

charistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia.

^e φαντασμα.

^f *Ibid. Lib. V. c. 2.* Sic autem secundum hæc videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neq; calix Eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis ejus est, neq; panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est. — Quando ergo & mixtus calix & fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur & consistit carnis nostræ substantia.

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Consecration ? Is not St. *Irenæus* to be look'd upon as a better and a safer Interpreter of the Meaning of the Apostles, than five hundred of our modern Criticks, who propose to themselves nothing more, than with their most wise Comments to raise Mists about what is clear and perspicuous ; when things are difficult and obscure, to make them more obscure on set purpose ; and to weaken and undermine whatever the Catholick Church has always look'd upon as firm and settled.

Origen in his *Commentary* upon St. *Matthew* ^e calls the Eucharist, *Bread sanctify'd by the Word of God, and by Prayer.* A little after which he proceeds in this manner : *And the Food sanctify'd by the Word of God and by Prayer, according to its material part indeed goes into the Belly, and is cast out into the Draught : but with regard to the Prayer made over it, according to the Analogy of Faith it becomes profitable.* Hence we learn that the Elements of Bread and Wine are not only consecrated by Prayer ; but (if we give any Credit to so great a Man as *Origen*) that all their spiritual Efficacy is deriv'd from their Consecration : for the Elements *with respect to the Prayer made over them*, to wit, that by which they are chang'd into the Body and Blood of Christ, *become profitable*, and sanctify the worthy Receivers of them. But *Origen* explains his Meaning yet more fully in the Words immediately following : *And, says he ^s, it is not the matter of the Bread, but the Word or Prayer said over it, which profits him that eats it not unworthily of the Lord.*

^e P. 254. Ἀρτον λόγῳ θεῷ καὶ ἐνλόγεισιν ἁγιασθέντα — καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρώμα διὰ λόγου θεῷ καὶ ἐνλόγεισιν, καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφαιρέσθονα ἐκβάλλεται, καὶ τὸ δὲ ἐπισημομένην αὐτῷ εὐχλῇ, καὶ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τὴν πίστεως ὠφέλιμον γίνεσθαι.

^s καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τοῦ ἄρτου, ἧς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτὸ εἰσημμένον λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτιν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὴν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίουσαν αὐτὸν.

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Next to *Origen* let us hear *St. Cyprian*, a wonderful Man, and a most strenuous Defender of the Authority of the Church, and of the Apostolick Traditions. This venerable Prelate compos'd a whole and that a very long Epistle ^h *concerning the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord*. It is the *lxxiii^d* Epistle in the Order of *Pameli*us. In that Epistle among many other things useful to be observ'd, there occur these, which make for our purpose. *Tet*, says he ⁱ, *because some either ignorantly, or in the Simplicity of their Hearts, do not do that, in sanctifying the Cup of the Lord, and in administering it to the People, which was both done and taught by the Lord Jesus Christ, our God, and the Author and Teacher of this Sacrifice*. And again: *From whence it appears, that the Blood of Christ is not offer'd, if there be no Wine in the Cup: and that the Lord's Sacrifice is not administer'd with a lawful Sanctity or Consecration, unless our Offering and our Sacrifice answer to the Passion*. And a little after: *And so in sanctifying the Cup of the Lord Water alone cannot be offer'd*. And again: *For if Jesus Christ our Lord and God is himself the High-Priest of God the Father; and he first offer'd himself a Sacrifice to his Father; and commanded that this should be done in remembrance of him:*

^h De Sacramento Dominici Calicis.

ⁱ *Edit. Amst.* p. 148. Tamen quoniam quidem vel ignorantèr vel simpliciter in calice Dominico sanctificando & plebi ministrando non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus Dominus & Deus noster, sacrificii totius auctor & doctor, fecit & docuit. P. 152. Unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici; nec sacrificium Dominicum legitimâ sanctificatione celebrari, nisi oblatio & sacrificium nostrum responderit passioni. Et p. 154. Sic autem in sanctificando calice Domini offerri aqua sola non potest. Et p. 155. Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus & Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris; & sacrificium Patri se ipsum primus obtulit, & hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utiq; ille sacerdos vice

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him : then that Priest does truly act in Christ's stead, who imitates that which Christ did ; and he then offers in the Church a true and full Sacrifice to God the Father, if he undertake to offer after the same manner, in which he sees Christ himself to have offer'd. What in this Passage the most holy Father calls *Sanctification*, St. Basil and Theodoret style *Invocation* ; which Word does very well explain that which St. Irenæus means by the *Invocation of God*, and *the Word of God*. We see the Carthaginian Prelate wonderfully agrees with St. Irenæus and Origen. One asserts, that the Bread and Wine is made the Body and Blood of Christ by *Invocation*, the other by *Sanctification*, which two Words do without all Controversy mean the same thing. I cannot but observe from St. Cyprian, that the Eucharist is call'd a *true and full Sacrifice*, which the Priest offers to God the Father ; and while he is offering it, acts in the stead of Jesus Christ himself our great High-Priest. And if the Case be so ; if the Eucharist is a true Sacrifice ; if as often as the Priest offers this Sacrifice, he acts in the stead of Jesus Christ himself ; what can be more plain and manifest, than that no Man ought to offer up this venerable Sacrifice, but he who is call'd of God ; but he who is ordain'd and consecrated after the lawful and ordinary manner ?

The same Doctrine concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is taught by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechises*. For, says he ¹, as the
Bread

Christi verè fungitur, qui id, quod Christus fecit, imitatur ; & sacrificium verum & plenum tunc offert in Ecclesiâ Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.

^k ἐπικλησις.

¹ Catech. p. 110. "Ὡς περ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος, καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς Εὐχαριστίας, περὶ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλησεως πρεσβυτηρικῆς τελεῆς ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος"

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Bread and the Wine of the Eucharist, before the holy Invocation of the adorable Trinity, were mere Bread and Wine; but after the Invocation is made, the Bread becomes the Body of Christ, and the Wine Christ's Blood: so, &c.

Most like to this is what *Theodore* teaches us in his ii^d Dialogue, entitled Ἀσύγχυσις, without Confusion. As therefore, says he ^m, the Symbols of the Body and Blood of our Lord are one thing before the Priest's Invocation; but after that Invocation, they are chang'd, and become another: so, &c.

From all these Testimonies it is abundantly manifest, that the Fathers of the II^d, III^d and IVth Centuries taught, that the Consecration of the Elements was necessary to their becoming to us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. It were endless to run through all the Fathers of the IVth Century. Who has not heard of that celebrated Saying of St. *Augustine* ⁿ: *The Word is added to the Element, and it becomes a Sacrament?* A kin to which is that in his Treatise concerning the Trinity ^o: *We only call that the Body and Blood of Christ, which being taken from the Fruits of the Earth, and consecrated with mystical Prayer, we duly receive to our Spiritual Health, in Memory of the Lord's Suffering for us.*

Who does not know, that in all the ancient Liturgies, which appear to have been compos'd in the

οἶνον λείδες, ἐπικλήσεως ᾗ γενομένης, ὃ μὲν ἄριστον γίνετο σῶμα χρεῖσθαι ὃ δὲ οἶνον αἷμα χρεῖσθαι, &c.

^m Ed. Rom. p. 38. ὡς περ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τῆς διωριστικῆς σώματος καὶ αἵματος ἀλλὰ ὡς εἰσι πρὸς τὴν ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μὲν ᾗ τὸ ἐπικλησιν μετεβάλλετο, καὶ ἕτερον γένετο, &c.

ⁿ Traß. lxxx. in *Johan.* Accedit verbum, ad Elementum, & fit Sacramentum.

^o De *Trinit.* lib. 3. cap. 4. Corpus & Sanguinem Christi illud tantum dicimus, quod ex fructibus Terræ acceptum, & prece mysticâ consecratum ritè sumimus ad salutem spiritualem, in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis.

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IVth, or perhaps in the III^d Century, there are contain'd Forms of Consecration, which are very full. See also the *Clementine Constitutions*, where ^P there is extant a most accurate Form of consecrating the Elements; the same, I make no doubt, with that which was always us'd by the Eastern Church: For amongst those deform'd Ruines of Antiquity, we find very many things, which wonderfully illustrate the most ancient Usages of the Primitive Church. Let me only explain the ancient Practice of the Church in the Words of St. *Justin Martyr*, who flourish'd in the Year of our Lord CXL, and is a most unquestionable Evidence of the Apostolick Traditions. In his ii^d *Apology* ^q we have these Words: *And, as I said before, we having done Praying, the Bread and Wine and Water is offer'd; and he that presides* (that is, the Bishop or Presbyter: *Tertullian* explains it by *Antistes*, *Prelate*, a Word of a very wide signification) *offers up Prayers, and likewise Thanksgivings, with the utmost Zeal and Fervour, and by way of Acclamation the People answer, Amen.* That which the most learned Father means is this: Prayers being ended, which the whole Assembly of Christians put up to God, the Bishop, or in his Absence the Priest, receiving the Elements, does with the greatest Ardor and Elevation of Mind (not hastily and without Meditation, as the Assembly of Divines have most ignorantly expounded this Passage) offer up Prayers and Praises to God; that is, does himself alone offer up the Prayer of Consecration to God the Father, which being ended, the People joyfully cry out, *Amen.*

^P Const. Clement. I. 8. I. 17.

^q *Apol. 2. p. 98.* καὶ, ὡς προσέφημεν, παυσανόντων ἡμῶν τὸ εὐχῆς ἀρῆσθαι προσφέρειν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπιδρυμῆν λέγων τὸ ἀμήν.

Plainly

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Plainly in the same manner, which does now obtain in the Church of *England* : for that the Form of Consecration was pronounc'd by the Priest alone, the People in the mean time with the greatest Devotion looking upon him to see him consecrate, is what we have learn'd from all Antiquity. And this does admirably illustrate that difficult Passage in *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians* ^r : *Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall be that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of Thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest ?* I am of Opinion with *Mr. Thorndike*, an Author most eminent for his Learning Judgment and Piety, that this Place is to be understood of the Form of Consecration. The Apostle shews in this Epistle, how absurd a thing it is, to make use of an unknown Tongue in offering up publick Prayers. *For when thou shalt bless*, says he, *with the Spirit*, that is, shalt consecrate the Elements by Inspiration ; (for I have clearly prov'd, that the Words ^r which we translate *Blessing, Invocation, Sanctification*, &c. do all mean the same thing) *how shall be that occupieth the Room of the Unlearned*, that is the *Layman*, *say Amen to thy giving of Thanks* ; that is, to thy Benediction, or Prayer of Consecration, to wit, when he does not know what is contain'd in that Form ? For which Reason the Layman neither can nor ought to approve or confirm thy Consecration with the accustomed Acclamation. This seems to me to be the Apostle's Meaning : however it is fit that every one should enjoy his own Opinion. The Fate of the Cause does not de-

^r 1 Cor. 14. 16. Ἐπεὶ εἰὼν εὐλογήσῃς τὰ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν ἢ τὸ πῶς τῷ ἰδιώτῃ πῶς ἔρεῖ τὸ Ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ Εὐχαριστίᾳ· ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις ἐκ οἷδε ;

^r εὐλογία, εὐλόγησις, ἐπικλησις, Sanctificatio, &c.

pend upon this Observation. I am very much mistaken if what I have said be not sufficient to persuade any learned and modest Man, and good Christian, that the Consecration of the Elements is necessarily requir'd, in order to the Bread and Wine's becoming to us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

II. I am now come to the second part of my Question, which is, that the Right of consecrating the Elements belongs to no Man but a Priest duly and lawfully ordain'd by a Bishop: And this I shall endeavour to prove, *1st*. From Reason; and *2dly*. Shall confirm my Reasons by the Authority of the Church.

I lay down this for the Foundation of my Argument, that the Right and Power of administering Sacraments can be deriv'd only from God: The Truth of this Proposition is demonstrated both from Reason, and from the actual Institution of Jesus Christ. For,

1. Let us consider with our selves what is the Nature, and Vertue, and End of a Sacrament. Jesus Christ instituted Sacraments in his Church, to be the Conveyances of spiritual Benefits to us; to confer Grace; and to procure Forgiveness of Sins to us miserable Sinners. From whence it follows, that no Man can consecrate these Sacraments, unless he has receiv'd Power to consecrate them from him, who alone is able to confer these spiritual Benefits: But God alone is able to confer these spiritual Benefits, therefore the Power of consecrating the Sacraments can be deriv'd only from him. What, I would fain know, can be clearer than this Argument? What can be more convincing?

2. This does likewise appear from the actual Institution of Jesus Christ. I should be very troublesome to the Reader, if I should run through all the

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the Passages of Scripture, in which Jesus Christ has committed the Government of his Church to a certain determinate Order of Men. I will content my self only to point out one or two of them : *As my Father hath sent me*, (says ^r our blessed Saviour to his Apostles) *even so send I you*. Hence it is that St. Paul affirms ^u himself to be *an Apostle* ; *not of Men, neither by Man ; but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who rais'd him from the dead*. And we read in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that ^{*} *He* (that is our blessed Saviour) *gave some Apostles ; and some, Prophets ; and some, Evangelists ; and some, Pastors and Teachers ;* that is to say, both certain extraordinary Ministers, only necessary for laying the Foundation of the Church ; and other ordinary ones, that were to continue to the end, without which the Church cannot subsist. But to what end, and for what purpose are these several Orders of Ministers instituted ? The Apostle does himself also evidently declare that : *For the perfecting of the Saints ;* says he ^w, *for the Work of the Ministry ; for the Edifying of the Body of Christ ;* that is, of the Church. And the Apostle subjoins a very good Reason, why Christ appointed these Orders of Ministers : *that* (says he ^x) *we henceforth be no more Children toss'd to and fro, and carry'd about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight of Men, and cunning Craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive ; lest being en-*

^r John 20. 21. καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς.

^u Galat. 1. 1. Παῦλ^{ος} ἀπόστολ^{ος} ἐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδ^ε δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν.

^{*} Eph. 4. 11. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔδωκε τὰς ῥ^{ας}, Ἀποστόλους · τὰς ῥ^{ας}, ποιμένας · τὰς ῥ^{ας}, ἑαγ^ογιστάς · τὰς ῥ^{ας}, διδασκάλους.

^w Ibid. v. 12. Πρὸς τὴν καθάρτισιν τῶν ἁγίων, εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ.

^x Ibid. v. 14. ἵνα μηκέτι ᾖμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι, καὶ περιεσώμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐν τῇ κυθείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης.

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tangled in the various Snares of Schismaticks and Hereticks, we should wander from the right way. Seeing therefore it appears so evidently, that Jesus Christ constituted divers Orders of Ministers in his Church for this very end, to feed the Faithful with sound Doctrine, to serve in the sacred Offices, and to build the Christian Church; who, I beseech you, that is not forsaken of common Sense, can make the least doubt, but that the Consecration of the Sacraments belong'd to these very Ministers, thus instituted by Jesus Christ? Who, I say, that is in his right Mind, can ever dream, that the Right of administering these sacred Mysteries could ever belong to the confus'd Multitude of the Faithful? When even that very Commission, or Power by which the Right of administering in things sacred is committed to the Clergy, does most fully exclude from these sacred Offices all other Persons whatsoever, though they be never so pious, never so learned, or well deserving. What therefore do they mean, who make such a noise for the Authority of Laicks in sacred Offices? Whence did the Laity receive this Authority? From whom? At what time? and in what manner? In what part of the New Testament, in what Archives of the Primitive Church does this Commission lie hid? Let them produce it. Why do they hesitate? In good truth the Cause of the Laity is quite hopeless, and has neither Reason nor Authority to defend it; and therefore good Men, they are forc'd to have recourse to Jestings, Railing, and Contumely, with which this new Oracle of the Laicks does every where abound.

But to return from this Digression. My first Proposition therefore remains unshaken; *viz.* that the Right of administering the Sacraments is deriv'd only from God. Hence it follows, that this Right can belong to none, but him that is call'd and ordain'd

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ordin'd of God, Miracles have been long ceas'd : and therefore we must proceed in the ordinary way. And from hence it likewise follows, that no Man is call'd of God, but he that is ordain'd according to the Rites and Customs of the Church. The Catholick Church neither does, nor ever did acknowledge any Ordinations to be firm and valid, but such as are Episcopal : This I have abundantly prov'd in my Dissertation concerning Episcopacy. And from all these Particulars taken together it is easy to collect, that the Right of consecrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist belongs to none, but Priests duly ordain'd by a Bishop.

Having laid this Foundation, and confirm'd it both by Reason and Scripture, let us proceed to Primitive Antiquity ; that by variety of Arguments this great and fundamental Truth may both be confirm'd and illustrated.

But before we produce the holy Fathers, it may not be foreign to my purpose to answer an Objection brought from Scripture, which our Sons of *Corab* frequently alledge, and in which they are wont egregiously to boast, as an Objection of very great Force. The Eucharist, say they, is substituted in the room of the Observance of the Passover : And for that Reason we cannot better learn who are the Ministers of this Sacrament, than by well considering, who were the Ministers of that Observance : For it cannot be doubted, but that the Laicks among Christians have the same Power and Authority in things sacred, and especially in the Administration of this Sacrament, which they had among the *Jews* in holy Functions, particularly in the Celebration of the Passover. But it appears, say they, most evidently from the very Institution of the Passover mention'd in the Old Testament, that the Celebration of the Paschal Supper did not belong to the Priests,

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Priests, but to the whole Multitude of the *Israelites*, to the Fathers of Families. From hence they argue most strenuously, that the Celebration also of the Lord's Supper, (which succeeded in the room of the Passover) appertains to all the Multitude of the Faithful; and that all the Laity have Right, both of consecrating the Elements, and of administering to themselves. I readily grant, that the Case is thus,* and that the Father of the Family did at his own Home sacrifice a Lamb, in the Name of all the Family; and that in that regard he retain'd the ancient Right of Priesthood, which belong'd to the First-born, or Fathers of Families. But unless I am very much mistaken, it is so far from following from hence, that our Laicks have a Right to administer the Lord's Supper, that the contrary will be very easily prov'd from it.

The Fathers of Families did at their own homes slay the Paschal Lamb, *viz.* because it was a private Sacrifice, instituted of God for that end, that it should be eaten in every Family. It was by no means of the Number of those Sacrifices, which were brought to the Temple, and offer'd up in a publick manner. The Paschal Supper did not any way belong to the publick Worship of the Temple; but was confin'd within the Walls of private Houses, and had all the Appearance of a private Commemoration. If therefore our most blessed Saviour had so instituted his Sacrament of the Eucharist, as that it should not be celebrated in publick Assemblies; but that every one should in his own private House administer it to himself and to his Family;

* That what is here asserted of the Passover, is to be confin'd to the times before the Institution of the Levitical Priesthood, see prov'd in the Advertisement concerning this and the foregoing Translation, at the end of this Appendix.

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there would indeed be some weight in this Argument. But since it evidently appears, both from sacred Writ, and from the constant Practice of the Catholick Church, that the holy Eucharist is to be accounted among the chief Offices of the publick Worship; the contrary in my Opinion does manifestly follow from it. It was our blessed Saviour's Will, that the Commemoration of his bloody Passion should have the chief Place in the publick Offices; and that it should have the Nature of a commemorative Sacrifice, far more noble than that typical and figurative one, made use of among the *Jews*. It was his Intent therefore without all doubt, that this publick commemoration should be celebrated by the publick Ministers of his Church; that this commemorative Sacrifice should be offer'd up by the publick Priests. It was necessary that the *Jews* should from their own Principles understand our Saviour thus: for their publick Sacrifices were slain by their Priests only. Nothing was here claim'd by the Laity, nothing by the Fathers of Families. Therefore the Argument drawn from the Paschal Supper is trivial, and of no Force. For there is a very great difference between the Paschal Supper, which was a private Sacrifice; and the Supper of the Lord, which is a publick Sacrifice, and claims the chief Place among the publick Offices.

To this may be added, that it appears from most express Passages of the Old Testament, that the Right of sacrificing the Paschal Lamb appertain'd to the Fathers of Families; whereas there is not the least Word of any such Power granted to the Laicks in the New Testament. This very great Power was by our blessed Saviour committed to the Apostles, by the Apostles to the Bishops, and by the Bishops to the Priests: but of any such Power ever entrusted with the Laity, we have not so
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much as heard the least mention. Nay the Primitive Church look'd upon the Right of consecrating the Eucharist to be so appropriated to Priests, that not only the Laicks, but even the Deacons could never arrogate it to themselves without the greatest Impiety.

That all this is most true, will appear by looking into the Testimonies of the holy Fathers concerning this matter.

And let St. Ignatius lead the way : In his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, he has this Passage ¹ : *Let that Eucharist be accounted valid, which is celebrated either under the Bishop, or under him, to whom the Bishop hath given his Commission.* And in his Epistle to the *Ephesians* he says ² : *Let no Man be deceiv'd : If any one be not within the Altar, (that is; if any one do not communicate with the Bishop) he is depriv'd of the Bread of God : for if the Prayer of one or two have so much Force ; how much more shall that of the Bishop and whole Church have ?* I shall content my self with these two Passages ; and from them it will be easy to make a Judgment, what was the Opinion of that most holy Martyr, concerning the Question before us. But that we may the better understand his Meaning, it will be necessary to call to Remembrance those Principles, which prevail'd in the times of St. Ignatius. The Blessed Martyr takes it for granted, that the Bishop administers upon Earth in the place of Jesus Christ, and is the Representative of the Divine ³ Word :

¹ Ep. ad Smyrn. p. 36. Ed. Usser. Ἐκείνη βεβαία Ἐυχαισία ἡ γινώσκω, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπίσκοπου ἔσται, ἢ ὅς τις αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.

² Epist. ad Ephes. p. 3. Μεδεὶς πλανᾷτω, εἰ μὴ τις ἢ ἐντὶς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὅς τις αὐτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνός καὶ διδύμου προσώπου τοσαύτην ἰσχύον ἔχει, πόσω μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης Ἐκκλησίας ;

³ Ὁ λόγος.

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He takes it also for gaanted, that none are Partakers of the spiritual Benefits, but such as are united to Jesus Christ our Head ; and that no Man is united to Jesus Christ in Heaven, but he that joins himself to the Communion of the Bishop, who is Christ's Representative upon Earth. This is the Reason, that in all his Epistles he affirms over and over, that these spiritual Benefits depend upon our Union with the Bishop : That no Baptism is valid, no Prayer acceptable to God, no Eucharist beneficial, and lastly no Matrimony good and valid, but what is perform'd within the Communion of the Bishop. From this Principle he argues against Schismatics, and maintains, that they are dismembred from Jesus Christ ; because they have forsaken the Communion of the Bishop. And from hence he likewise concludes, that their Sacraments are null and invalid.

Now from all this it appears,

1. That no Eucharist is true and valid, but that which is celebrated within the Communion of the Bishop : from whence it follows, that Laicks as such, and of themselves, have no Right to administer the Sacraments.

2. Whereas St. Ignatius uses this Expression, *Or under him, to whom the Bishop hath given his Permission :* Some Difficulty may seem to arise from these Words : for if the Bishop should permit a Layman to administer the Sacrament, would it then be valid ? Would it confer Grace ? This Difficulty will immediately vanish, if we consider the Practice of the Primitive Church. It was the Custom for all the Faithful dwelling in one City, to receive the Sacrament from the Bishop himself in the Cathedral Church, if that could be done, and the Church was large enough to contain all the People. But when, as the Multitude of the Faithful encreas'd, they

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began to be straightned, the Bishop gave leave to one or other of the Presbyters to celebrate the Eucharist in some Oratory. By this means the Unity of the Church was admirably consulted; and the meanest of the People by this Method were very well appriz'd, of how great moment it was to communicate with the Bishop. It is sufficiently manifest, that by *him, whom the Bishop permits*, St. Ignatius means a Priest: nay I will undertake, that there cannot be found so much as one Instance of a Bishop, that ever permitted the Power of consecrating the Sacrament, I do not say to a Layman, but even to a Deacon.

Thus we see very clearly, what was judg'd concerning this great Controversy by St. Ignatius, a Man truly Apostolick, and most familiarly acquainted with the Apostles themselves. Believe me, the least Sentence of this holy Martyr concerning Controversies of this Nature, is deservedly to be prefer'd before whole Volumes of the Moderns, though never so much skill'd in the Art of Criticism. For what does it signify after a great deal of Pains and much Industry, at last to find out, what *Salmasius, Daillé, Calvin, Beza*, and the rest of that sort of Men thought concerning the Point in dispute? For my part I must beg leave to follow venerable Antiquity. To proceed therefore with the Testimony of the Ancients.

St. *Justin Martyr* is a most full Evidence, that in his time, (*viz.* in the Year of our Lord CXL.) the Right of consecrating the Sacrament belong'd to the President^b or Bishop: it appertain'd to him^c to offer up Prayers, &c. but he says not one Word of the Consecrations of Laicks. If we go on to St. Cy-

^b πρεσβυτης.

^c εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπεω, &c. Apol. 2. cit. sup. p. cccclxxxviii.

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prian, the Light and Glory of the III^d Century ; how plainly, how fully, and how courageously does he declare for us? The most holy Martyr maintains ^d, that *the Eucharist is a full and true Sacrifice, and that it is offer'd to God the Father by the Priest, who administers upon Earth in the stead of Jesus Christ*. Is it possible that he, who made use of such lofty and sublime Expressions concerning the Sacrament, could so much as have the least suspicion of of any Consecration by Laicks? He must be a very great Stranger to the Writings of St. Cyprian, that can suffer any such thing to enter into his Mind.

The Sum therefore of all this Argument is this : Jesus Christ, when he instituted this holy Sacrament, consecrated the Elements of Bread and Wine by a solemn Form of Benediction, as it was usual among the *Jews* : he commanded the Apostles to do the same, which they saw him do. That the Apostles did most religiously observe this Command, cannot be doubted without Impiety : Hence the Cup is call'd by St. Paul ^e, *the Cup of Blessing*. That the Primitive Church most strictly follow'd the Example of the Apostles, all the Monuments of Antiquity do in the fullest manner assure us. Where ever we meet with any mention of the holy Eucharist, (and we meet with it very often) there we always read of Consecration, and that perform'd by a Priest : but not the least Syllable of Consecration by Laicks. From all which I argue, 1st. That Consecration is necessarily requir'd, in order that the Elements of Bread and Wine may become to us the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. 2^{dly}. That the Right of Consecration belongs to none but Priests.

^d Cypr. Epist. lxiii. cir. sup. p. cccclxxxv.

^e 1 Cor. 10. 16.

But here our Adversary takes me up very smartly? Why, says he, do you boast so wonderfully of the holy Fathers? Are not you asham'd of your self? Are not you conscious, that you impose upon the whole World? Have you so much forgot your *Tertullian*, whom you just now quoted, and endeavour'd to force him against his Will to give in Evidence on your side of the Cause? Let *Tertullian* therefore be call'd in again, whom alone of all the Fathers of the Church the Laicks think worthy to be read. I know very well, that in this one Author are contain'd all those Objections, which may any way seem to weaken our Opinion. Under him they always shelter themselves, and think themselves safe enough against all the Arguments brought from Antiquity, wherewith they are press'd by the Clergy. Let us then strictly examine this Writer, and weighing his Reasons on both sides, see what may be judg'd to make for us, and what against us. In the first place therefore I will produce those Passages, which are frequently cited by our Adversaries: and then seriously consider, what Force and Weight we ought to ascribe to them.

In his Treatise of *Exhortation to Chastity*, there is this Passage: *It is written: And hath made us Kings and Priests unto God, and his Father: The Difference between the sacred Order and the People was made by the Authority of the Church, and by the Honour sanctify'd by the Assembly of the Order: therefore where there is no Assembly of the Ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize, and are alone a Priest*

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^f *Tertull. de exhort Castit. cap. vii. Scriptum est, Regnum quoque nos, & Sacerdotes Deo, & Patri suo fecit: Differentiam inter ordinem & plebem constituit Ecclesie auctoritas, & honor per ordinis confectum sanctificatus: Adeo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est confectus, & offers, & tinguis, & Sacerdos es tibi solus.* Igitur si

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to your self. And a little after : *Therefore if you have the Right of a Priest in your self, where it is necessary ; you must needs also have the Discipline of a Priest, where it is necessary to have the Right of a Priest.* And in his Treatise concerning Baptism : *The High-Priest, says he^s, who is the Bishop, has indeed the Power of giving (Baptism) : and then the Presbyters, and the Deacons, yet not without the Authority of the Bishop, for the Sake of the Church's Honour ; which being preserv'd, her Peace is safe. Otherwise the Laicks would also have Right : for that which is receiv'd equally, may be equally given.*

These are those Passages of *Tertullian* so much talk'd of, which are urg'd with the greatest Vehemence, for the Authority of the Laicks in sacred Offices : But to these Evidences from *Tertullian*, as much as they may appear to make against us, there are very many things, which may be justly answer'd, viz.

1. Supposing that it evidently appear'd from these Passages, that there was nothing in the Christian Priesthood, but what in the Absence of the Priest might be administer'd by a Laick ; what would follow from thence ? To wit, that that was *Tertullian's* Meaning, that there was no proper and real Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity. But what, I desire to know, ought the Opinion of *Tertullian* alone to avail against the most stedfast Judgment of the whole Catholick Church ? Will any impartial Judge of things believe, that the Ima-

si habes jus Sacerdotis in temetipso, ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam Sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus Sacerdotis.

^s *Id. de Baptismo, cap. xvii.* Dandi quidem habet jus summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus : dehinc Presbyter & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie honorem, quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam Laicis jus est, quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest.

gination of one private Writer, and he uncorrect, of a fierce unruly Temper, and of a most luxuriant Style, is to be preferr'd before the Practice and Judgment of the whole Catholick Church?

In producing the Testimonies of the holy Fathers, it is of very great moment to distinguish nicely between those things, which they deliver to us as Historians, as Witnesses most worthy to be believ'd; and those which they collect by certain private Reasonings, which are to be esteem'd as their own Judgments. In things of the first kind we cannot refuse to give them Credit, without the greatest both Ignorance and Obstinacy: But with regard to the private Reasonings of the holy Fathers, we ought no farther to subscribe to them, than we find their Reasons of weight enough to persuade us. This Observation will be of the greatest use in reading all the Fathers, but particularly *Tertullian*, who seems to give too much Liberty to his luxuriant Wit. Good God! how very often does he stray from the Question? What light, trivial and empty stuff does he put off for Arguments? All that he writes indeed is elegant, copious and delightful; but in his Works you will find many, very many things, which want both force and weight. Do but just look over his Treatise *de Coronâ*, a beautiful Piece indeed, and adorn'd with all the Flowers of *African* Eloquence: but if you look for Arguments in it, he will wonderfully deceive you. Nothing sound, nothing solid, nothing that looks like an Argument does any where appear therein. Let us see therefore whether this new, and till now altogether unheard of Opinion concerning the Christian Priesthood, did not spring from *Tertullian's* most fruitful Brain, or was not wholly owing to his private Reasonings. That indeed is what I affirm. He brings Reasons in both Places, by which

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he endeavours to confirm this Opinion of his. I desire therefore that we may weigh his Reasons : for *Tertullian's* Authority in this Controversy ought to be just of as much weight, as his Reasons are found to be of.

In his *Exhortation to Chastity*, our *African* Writer argues from that famous Passage of *St. Peter* :
But ye are a chosen Generation, a Royal Priesthood, an holy Nation, a peculiar People ; that ye should shew forth the Praises of him, who hath called you out of Darkness into this marvellous Light. From these Words he collects, that the whole Christian People are a Royal Priesthood, and consequently that all the Ministeries of the Priesthood belong to them. Now if it can be clearly and evidently prov'd, that no such thing can be justly concluded from those Words of the Apostle, *Tertullian's* Authority [in this Particular] will fall to the Ground, and this new and ill-grounded Conjecture will vanish into Smoke. Let us try therefore : These Words of *St. Peter* are taken from a Passage in *Exodus*ⁱ, where God calls the *Israelites* a Kingdom of Priests, and an holy Nation. But if these Words in *Exodus* do not by any means prove, that there were no Functions so appropriated to the *Israelitical* Priests, as that the Laity could not usurp them without Impiety : neither will these Words in *St. Peter* prove, that the Christian People have any Right to administer the Functions, appropriated to the Priesthood amongst them. The Antecedent is manifest from all Experience, and from all the Monuments of Antiquity. Therefore nothing can be concluded

^h 1 Pet. 2. 9. ἡμεῖς ὃ, γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς πεποιήσιν· ὅπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τῷ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντι εἰς τὸ θαύμαζόν αὐτῷ φῶς.

ⁱ Exod. 19. 6. Βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον.

from St. Peter concerning the Authority of the Laicks in this matter. *Tertullian* therefore argues ill; he is mistaken; his Reasoning here is of no force; his Authority is of no power to persuade.

In the same Chapter this ancient Writer is not afraid to affirm ^k: *That where there are three Christians met, they are a Church, though they be all Laicks*; which is not only most false, but repugnant to the constant Opinion of the primitive Church, especially of that Age, wherein *Tertullian* flourish'd. St. *Ignatius* had before that time taught quite otherwise: so afterwards did St. *Cyprian*, St. *Jerom*, and all the rest that were conversant in Ecclesiastical Traditions: who all with one Consent instruct us, that the Church cannot be understood without a Bishop.

Let us proceed to the second Reason alledg'd by *Tertullian*, which we meet in his Treatise concerning Baptism, express'd in these Words ^l: *For that which is equally receiv'd, may be equally given*. But what is weaker and more absurd than this Proposition? It is not worth while to dwell upon the Answer to so trifling an Objection. I will only produce one Instance fetch'd from the *Jewish* Commonwealth. The *Israelitical* Priests receiv'd a Power of Sacrificing from God: but could they therefore equally give this Power to others? No such matter. All this is nothing but mere trifling, and has not the least weight in it. *Tertullian's* Reasons neither do, nor can prove any thing. I beg leave therefore to dissent from *Tertullian* in this Particular; and rather to follow Reason, than the

^k *Tertull. de exhort. Cast. ubi sup.* Sed ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet Laici.

^l *Tertull. de Baptism. ubi sup.*

Authority of a great Man, which has not the least Reason to support it.

St. *Cyprian*, who is in Age only forty Years inferior to *Tertullian*, affords us a most noted Instance of this matter. In his Vth Epistle, which after his Departure he sent to his Presbyters and Deacons, he admonishes them to use the greatest, both Care and Prudence in visiting the Confessors. He judges that the safest way is, that few should go to them at one time, and those privately, lest doing otherwise should give Offence. But let us hear St. *Cyprian*'s own Words: *Consult therefore, says he^m, and provide, that this may be done more safely, and with Caution, so that the Presbyters also, who there administer to the Confessors, may go every one by turns with each of the Deacons, because the Change of Persons, and Vicissitude of Comers gives less Occasion of Jealousy.* From this Passage of the holy Martyr, what I would prove is this; that in the Age of St. *Cyprian* the Consecration of Laicks was not so much as heard of: for if at that time this Custom had obtain'd, is it not a matter of wonder, that the Confessors were not allow'd to consecrate the Eucharist for themselves? What was the Cause why the Priests should with the greatest Danger of their Lives go to the Prison, visit the Faithful, and fortify and confirm them against the Terrors of Death, and the Threats of their Persecutors, with the most wholesome Sacrifice of the Eucharist, if the Laicks also had a Right to consecrate the Sacrament? Whence is it that St. *Cyprian* did no where exhort them, that when Necellity urg'd, and no

^m Consulite ergo & providete, ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit, ita ut Presbyteri quoq; qui illic apud confessores offerunt, singuli cum singulis Diaconis per vices alternent: quia personarum mutatio & vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam.

Priests were at hand, they should offer and consecrate for themselves? Whence is it, that in all the History of the Church we never read that Confessors, at the very Approach of Death, consecrated the Eucharist? But there are no Instances or Footsteps any where appear of such kind of Consecrations, even in Cases of the utmost Exigence. Whatever occurs in the holy Fathers concerning this Sacrifice, excepting only one obscure and very difficult Passage of *Tertullian*, persuades us of the contrary; and most evidently proves, that this Power did ever belong to Priests only. Is it not very agreeable to Reason, to argue that the Laity never had any such Power; because it is sufficiently manifest, that no such Power was ever exercis'd by them?

The next Argument by which I prove, that in the Opinion of the III^d Century Laicks had never any Right to consecrate the Sacrament, is taken from hence, that it appears that Deacons, the third Order of the Holy Ministry, were never endow'd with that Power. And this appears most evidently from the great *Nicene Council*, whose Authority was always of very great Esteem in the Christian Church. The Words of the Canon are these^a: *The Holy and Great Council was inform'd, that in some Places and Cities the Deacons gave the Eucharist to the Presbyters: A thing which neither Canon nor Custom allow'd, viz. that such as have not Authority to offer, should deliver the Body of Christ to those that offer.* The Canon does in most exprefs Words

^a Conc. Nic. Can. xviii. Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ μεγάλην Σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τίσιν τόποις καὶ πόλεσι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διακονοὶ διδόνασιν· ὅπερ ἔτε ὁ κανὼν ἔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσιν διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ χριστοῦ.

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deny, that Deacons ought so much as to deliver the Elements to Priests; and then alledges this Reason, that according to the Canons and Custom of the Church, it was unworthy of, and by no means became those, who had the Power of consecrating the Sacrament, to deliver the Eucharist to Priests, who were endow'd with this extraordinary Power. From this one Passage we understand, that the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council, Men venerable both for Age, Learning and Piety, and perfectly well acquainted with, and most tenacious of Ecclesiastical Traditions, had never so much as heard of Consecrations by Deacons, and much less by Laicks. It is indeed very wonderful, that this most ancient and pure Custom (as they loudly proclaim it) should in the best times, without any Contest, or the least Noise, have so wholly vanish'd throughout all the Christian World, that it was not only not made use of by any one, but that not so much as one of all those Bishops, assembled from all the Corners of the Empire, had been able to learn, even that there ever was any such Custom in the Church. From this one Testimony (it is so considerable and illustrious) we may not without Reason conclude, that the Power of consecrating the Elements in the holy Eucharist never belong'd either to Laicks, or to Deacons.

DIS-

DISSERTATION VI.

Of the Power of the Christian People in the Elections of the Clergy.

WHAT has been said in the foregoing *Dissertations*, is abundantly sufficient to persuade even the most obstinate, that there is a very great Difference between the Clergy and the Laity ; and that the sacred Functions are so appropriated to that Order, as that they cannot be usurp'd by Laicks without Rashness and Impiety. It remains now, that I add something concerning the Authority of the Christian People in the Elections of the Clergy ; lest any thing should seem to be wanting to my purpose. Our Adversaries do vehemently contend, that the Suffrages of the People are so necessarily requir'd in the Elections of Bishops and Presbyters, that if these Suffrages be either taken away, or diminish'd, no such Election ought to be accounted just and lawful. And this Conjecture of theirs they imagine is wonderfully confirm'd, not only from the Nature of the Christian Society, but also from divers Examples in the New Testament.

I assert therefore, that the People, or Multitude of the Faithful, had no proper Suffrages in the Elections of the Clergy : but whatever Power in this Particular they arrogated to themselves in the III^d or IVth Century, (and I do not deny that they arrogated very much) that all that, whatever it was, was done by the Indulgence and Favour of the Bishops, but by no manner of Right. And I am not afraid of undertaking to demonstrate this with the greatest Evidence and Perspicuity. For,

1. It appears most clearly from the sacred Oracles, that Jesus Christ committed the Care and Government of his Church to a certain determinate Order of Men. But concerning the Authority or Suffrages of the People, there does not appear the least Shadow of a Command. And indeed, as far as I can see, the very Designation of a certain peculiar Order for the Government of the Church does manifestly exclude the Laity from all Authority in matters Ecclesiastical. For pray consider: when any one delivers a Commission to a particular Person, is not he thereby suppos'd to have utterly excluded all other Persons whatever from the Power design'd in that Commission?

2. To whom the Power of the Keys is entrusted after a peculiar manner, to them also is committed the Power of governing the Church *in solidum*, (to speak in St. Cyprian's Phrase) that is, so to share the Government among them, as that each had a Right in the whole. This is manifest from thence, that the Power of governing the Church is in the Scripture particularly design'd by the Power of the Keys. It is a thing most evident, that the Power of the Keys was always committed to the Apostles apart from the People: From whence this also follows, that it was likewise apart from the People, that the Power of governing the Church was committed to the Apostles; and the Authority which the Apostles had receiv'd from Jesus Christ, they did also apart from the People entrust whole and entire to the Bishops. Therefore the Right and Authority of governing the Church belongs to the Bishops, without either the Power or the Suffrages of the People.

3. Though we look through the Epistles to *Timo-*
thy and *Titus* never so often, we shall be able to find nothing therein, which can by any means seem

to favour the Authority of the People in things sacred. The Apostle does most fully instruct *Timothy* and all his Successors, how they ought to behave themselves, both in inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures, and in consecrating Ecclesiastical Persons. But he says not the least Word, either of the Authority, or of the Suffrages of the People: Nay there are not a few things in these Epistles, which persuade the contrary. In the former of those to *Timothy*, the Apostle gives him this Caution^o: *Lay Hands suddenly on no Man, neither be Partaker of other Mens Sins*. If these Words are to be understood, as most allow, concerning the Ordinations of Presbyters, it may be safely concluded from them, that the full Power of Ordination is in the Hands of Bishops; for it were unjust, that all the Fault of a bad Ordination should be wholly thrown upon the Bishop, if in all Ordinations the People had at least an equal Authority with the Bishop, or perhaps even a greater than he.

There is no Precept therefore occurs in all the New Testament, by vertue of which the People can arrogate this Power to themselves. Let us now see, what Authority accrues to the Cause of the Laicks from the Examples, which are mention'd in holy Scripture. And believe me, we shall find that just as much as the other. For whereas,

1. It is said in the *Acts*^p of the Apostles, that St. *Matthias* was chosen into the Apostleship by the common Suffrage of the Church: I answer; That St. *Matthias* was both nominated and elected, neither by the People, nor by the Apostles, but by God himself, after an extraordinary manner. So

^o 1 Tim. 5. 22. χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθης, μηδὲ κοινῶς ἀμαρτίας ἀλλοθείας.

^p Act. 1.

that nothing can be gather'd from hence, which makes for either side of the Question.

2. It is confidently affirm'd, that the making of Deacons in the *Acts*⁹ is by the Apostles themselves, referr'd wholly to the People. On the contrary I reply, that only the Nomination of Deacons, but not by any means either the Election or Consecration of them, is in this Place ascrib'd to the Christian People. And farther I urge, that the Apostles granted this to the People, not by any Original or Divine Right, but by a certain peculiar Indulgence, which the Necessity of the time requir'd. Besides, I would ask those, who make this Objection, what their Opinion is, whether the Assembly of the Apostles could reject the Persons nominated to them by the Multitude, or could not. If they could not: there is an end of the Authority of the Apostleship. But if it be granted, that they could have rejected them: then it is in vain to contend, that any Right in Elections of the Clergy accrues to the People from this Place.

3. As to that doughty and formidable Argument taken from the Word *χαεγλοvia*, *Ordination*, I shall only answer these few things: They who make use of such Arguments, to wit, that are taken from the Triflings and Impertinencies of Grammarians, ought to be receiv'd only with Laughter and Contempt, and not vouchsafed any serious Answer. Let these empty Triflers go therefore, and either invent better Reasons, or give up their Cause as desperate.

4. Well; but, say they, the Primitive Church always granted this Authority to the Christian People: All the holy Fathers acknowledge this; and *St. Cyprian* (whom you will not deny to have been

very well acquainted with the Discipline of the Church) does more than once assert, that it depends upon a Divine and Apostolick Right. Let us go therefore, if you please, to the holy Fathers.

There are very ancient Footsteps of Ordination extant in St. Clement's Epistle to the *Corinthians*; where there is also mention of the Consent of the People. Let us hear his Words: *Such therefore, says he^r, as were appointed by them, (he means the Apostles) or afterwards by other eminent Men, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE WHOLE CHURCH, and have administer'd blamelessly to the Flock of Christ, with Humility, peaceably, and without Sordidness, and have Testimonials of their good Behaviour for a considerable time from all that know them, such Men we think to be unjustly depriv'd of their Ministry.* In the Primitive Ordinations (as this Apostolick Writer teaches us) the CONSENT^r of the People was requir'd. It is true: we do not deny it. But what, I beseech you, was this *Consent*? By the Word^r which we render thus, we cannot understand so much as Nomination, much less Election. St. Clement's Meaning therefore was this: that the Consent of the People was requisite in the Ordinations of the Clergy; viz. that they should give the Persons to be ordain'd their Testimony concerning their Lives, their Manners, and their Piety, (as is intimated in the Words immediately following) that the Church might suffer no Damage; and that the Bishops for want of such Information might not promote unworthy or impious Persons to so great Dig-

^r Clem. Ep. ad Cor. p. 100. τοὺς ἐν καλῶς αἰσθησίᾳ ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μετὰ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογιμῶν ἀνδρῶν, ΣΥΝΕΤΔΟΚΗΣΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΠΑΣΗΣ, καὶ λεισεργήσαντας ἀμέμπλως πρὸς τοιοῦτον τὸ χεῖρ^ς μὴ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἢ οὐχως καὶ ἀθανάτως, μεμαρτυρημένους τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τότε καὶ δικαίως νομίζοντες ἀποβαλέμεν τὴν λεισεργίαν.

^r ΣΥΝΕΤΔΟΚΗΣΙΣ,

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nity. That this Power belongs to the People, I most readily acknowledge; and it is most fully own'd by the Church of *England*. But if our Adversaries imagine, that any thing farther can be extorted from this Passage, in truth they are miserably mistaken. *St. Clement* is wholly on our side of the Question.

In *St. Ignatius's* Epistles (as well as I remember) there is nothing concerning the Consent of the People. And no Man can ever believe, that a greater Power than this was allow'd to the People by him, who ascrib'd so plenary an Authority to Bishops in all Ecclesiastical Offices.

St. Irenaeus, that Glory of the City of *Lyons*, yields the clearest Testimonies to the divine Original of Episcopacy; but as far as I have been able to observe from a repeated Perusal of the Works of this most learned Father, he says not one Word concerning Ordinations.

Let us come therefore to *St. Cyprian*, in whom, and almost in him only, our Adversaries place the Support of their Cause. Having therefore with the greatest Diligence and Integrity examin'd into the Works of this most holy Prelate, I will clearly and ingenuously set down what was his Opinion concerning the Question before us.

And in order to this End I will do these three things.

1. I will describe the Method of Ordination practis'd in the times of *St. Cyprian*.

2. I will enquire what in the *African* Style is to be understood by the Word *Suffragium*, Suffrage.

3. I will prove, that *St. Cyprian* had Power to ordain without the People.

1. I begin with the Method of Ordination, as it was practis'd in *St. Cyprian's* time; and I will

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give it you in his own Words. In his lxviii Epistle according to the Oxford Edition, speaking ^c of Novatian, he says: *And when he had sent Messengers to us into Africk, desiring to be admitted to our Communion, here from a Council of very many of us Bishops, who were present, he receiv'd this Sentence, that he had begun to exclude himself out of the Church, and that it was not lawful for any of us to receive him to Communion, who, when Cornelius his Bishop had been ordain'd in the Catholick Church by the Judgment of God, and the SUFFRAGE of the Clergy, and OF THE PEOPLE, attempted to erect a profane Altar, and set up an adulterous See, and offer sacrilegious Sacrifices in opposition to the true Bishop.*

And in the Epistle immediately foregoing: Nor, says he, *let the PEOPLE flatter themselves, as if they could be free from the Contagion of the Sin, while they communicate with a Bishop who is a Sinner, and GIVE THEIR CONSENT TO THE UNJUST AND UNLAWFUL EPISCOPACY OF THEIR PRELATE.——WHEN THEY (the People) ESPECIALLY HAVE THE POWER EITHER OF CHOOSING WORTHY BISHOPS, OR OF REFUSING SUCH AS ARE UNWORTHY. Which ve-*
ry

^c Ep. lxviii. p. 177. Et cum ad nos in Africam Legatos misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hic a Concilio plurimorum Sacerdotum, qui præsentes eramus Sententiam retulerit; se foris esse coepisse, nec posse à quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui Episcopo Cornelio in Catholicâ Ecclesiâ de Dei judicio & Cleri ac PLEBIS SUFFRAGIO ordinato, profanum Altare erigere, & adulteram cathedram collocare, & sacrilega contra verum sacerdotem sacrificia offerre tentaverit.

^u Epist. lxvii. p. 171, &c. Nec sibi PLEBS blandiatur, quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, & ad injustum atq; illicitum præpositi sui Episcopatum CONSENSUM SUUM COMMODANS.—— QUANDO IPSA (Plebs) MAXIMÈ HABEAT POTESTATEM VEL ELIGENDI DIGNOS SACERDOTES, VEL INDIGNOS RECUSANDI. Quod & ipsum videmus de divinâ auctoritate descendere, ut SACERDOS

ry thing also we see is deriv'd from Divine Authority, THAT THE BISHOP BE CHOSEN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PEOPLE BEFORE ALL THEIR EYES, AND BY THEIR PUBLICK JUDGMENT AND TESTIMONY BE APPROV'D OF, AS WORTHY AND FIT (for that sacred Office;) *as in the Book of Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, saying: Take Aaron (thy Brother) and Eleazar his Son, and bring them up unto Mount Hor, (in the Sight of all the Congregation) and strip Aaron of his Garments, and put them upon Eleazar his Son; and Aaron shall be gather'd unto his People, and shall die there. God commands a Priest to be made in the sight of all the Congregation; that is, he instructs and shews them, that the Ordinations of Priests were not to be celebrated, but with the Knowledge of the People, who were to be there; that in the presence of the People, either the Crimes of the bad might be detected, or the Merits of the good be proclaim'd; and the Ordination be just and lawful, which should be try'd by the SUFFRAGE and Judgment OF ALL.*—— For which Reason that is to be diligently kept and observ'd according to Divine Tradition and Apostolick Observation, which is also observ'd among us, and through almost all the Provinces,

CERDOS PLEBE PRÆSENTE SUB OMNIUM OCULIS DELIGATUR, ET DIGNUS ATQ; IDONEUS PUBLICO JUDICIO AC TESTIMONIO COMPROBETUR; sicut in Numeris Dominus Moyſi præcepit, dicens: Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum, & Eleazarum filium ejus, & impones eos in montem coram omni Synagogâ, & exue Aaron stolam ejus, & induc Eleazarum filium ejus, & Aaron appositus moriatur illic. Coram omni Synagogâ jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit & ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsenſe vel delegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur; & sic ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ OMNIUM SUFFRAGIO, & judicio fuerit examinata.—— Propter quod diligentèr de Traditione Divinâ & Apostolicâ observatione servandum est & tenendum, quod apud nos quoq; & ferè per provincias

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ces, that in order to the due Celebration of Ordinations, in the City for which a Bishop is to be ordain'd all the nearest Bishops of the same Province meet, and a Bishop be chosen in the presence of the People, who fully know the Lives of all the Candidates, and have experienc'd the Behaviour of each of them by their Conversation. Which also we see to be done among you in the Ordination of our Collegue Sabinus, that the Dignity of Bishop is conferr'd upon him, and he ordain'd in the place of Basilides, by the Suffrage of the whole Fraternity, and by the Judgment of the Bishops, who were assembled in your presence, and had wrote Letters concerning him to you.

To this purpose also is that of Origen: *Although, says he ^w, the Lord had given Command concerning the Appointment of the High-Priest, nay although the Lord had chosen him, yet the Congregation also is assembled: FOR THE PRESENCE OF THE PEOPLE IS REQUIR'D IN THE ORDINATION OF A BISHOP, that they all may know and be assur'd, that one who is the most excellent among all the People, one who is the most learned, the most holy, and the most eminent in all Vertue, that such a one is promoted to the*
Epif-

vincias universas teneretur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique convenient, & Episcopus deligatur Plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit & unius cujusq; actum de ejus conversatione perspexit. Quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio, Episcopatus ei deferretur, & manus ei in locum Basilidis imponeretur.

^w Orig. in Levit. viii. 4. Licet Dominus de constituendo Pontifice præcepisset, & Dominus elegisset, tamen convocatur & Synagoga. REQUITUR ENIM IN ORDINANDO SACERDOTE PRÆSENTIA POPULI ut sciant omnes & certi sint, quia qui præstantior est ex omni populo, qui doctior, qui sanctior, qui in omni virtute emi-

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Episcopal Dignity: and this IN THE PRESENCE OF THE PEOPLE, least any one should afterwards retract, or have any scruple in the matter. And this is what the Apostle commanded in the Ordination of a Bishop, saying: Moreover he must have a good Report of them which are without, &c.

In these Passages both *St. Cyprian* and *Origen* do very clearly describe to us the most ancient Method of Ordination. And it was perform'd after this manner: When any See was vacant, all the Bishops of the Province, or at least such as were nearest, met together, and chose and consecrated to the vacant See a Person of known Learning and Probity of Manners, recommended by the Consent and Testimony of the People. Therefore neither *St. Cyprian*, nor *Origen* do ascribe to the People any other part in this matter, than that of giving their Testimony: by which means it was admirably provided, that no unlearned or impious Person should unawares steal into that most sacred Office; Therefore, says *St. Cyprian*, *the Bishop is chosen in the Presence of the People, before all their Eyes, that by the Judgment and Testimony of all he may be approv'd of, as worthy and fit for the sacred Office.* And *Origen* attests the same thing; for he says, that *the Presence of the People is therefore requir'd in the Ordination of a Bishop, that they all may know and be assur'd, that one who is the most excellent among all the People, one who is the most learned, the most holy, and the most eminent in all Vertue, is promoted to the Episcopal Dignity.* And

eminentior, ille eligitur ad sacerdotium; & hoc ASTANTE POPULO, ne qua postmodum retractio cuiquam, ne quis scrupulus resideret. Hoc est autem quod & Apostolus præcepit in Ordinatione sacerdotis, dicens: Oportet autem illum & testimonium habere bonum ab his qui foris sunt, &c. 1 Tim. 3. 7.

to this purpose he cites that Precept of the Apostle ¹: *Moreover he must have a good Report of them which are without.* From whence it is sufficiently evident, that in the Judgment of *Origen*, nothing else belongs to the People in this matter, but their Testimony and Consent.

But here it is wont to be urg'd by those, who defend the other side of the Question, that Bishops were chosen by the Suffrages of the People; and that in the Age of *St. Cyprian* the Suffrages of the People were always requir'd to a just and lawful Ordination: and that this Suffrage of theirs must of Necessity mean something more, than either their Testimony, or their bare Consent. Therefore the whole Controversy comes to this, what according to the *African* Style is to be understood by the Word *Suffragium*, *Suffrage*, of which *St. Cyprian* makes such frequent use, where he mentions any thing concerning Ordinations.

2. Let us see therefore what *St. Cyprian* meant by the Word *Suffragium*. And from hence, if I am not much mistaken, it will appear still more clearly and evidently, that the *African* People never had Suffrages which were truly elective.

In his Treatise concerning the Vanity of Idols, he has this Expression ²: *They deliver'd him to Pontius Pilate, with violent and obstinate SUFFRAGES, requiring his Crucifixion and Death.* That is, the wicked *Jews* did with most importunate Requests and united Clamours beseech *Pilate*, that *Jesus Christ* might be crucify'd. What, had the People of the *Jews* an equal Authority with *Pilate*? Could *Pilate*

¹ 1 Tim. 3. 7. Δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μαρτυρίαν καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξωθεν.

² De Idol. Vanit. p. 16. Edit. Amst. Pontio Pilato tradiderunt; crucem ejus & mortem SUFFRAGIIS violentis & pertinacibus flagitantes.

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determine nothing, especially in Capital Causes, without the Suffrages of the Accusers? No such matter. It is very easy to understand what St. Cyprian means by *Suffrages* in this Place.

In his lxxiii^d Epistle are these Words²: *For that which some say, as if what was said by the Apostle St. Paul, belong'd to the SUFFRAGE of Hereticks, &c. Suffrage of Hereticks! What Suffrage, I beseech you, does he mean? No doubt he means their Opinion, Consent, and Judgment.*

It is rashly therefore, and unlearnedly, or perhaps against their own Knowledge, that the wretched Disciples of *Erastus* contend, that St. Cyprian, such and so great a Man, is on their side of the Question, as one who frequently asserts, that Bishops were elected by the *Suffrages* of the People: for the Word *Suffragium* in St. Cyprian has a far different Meaning from what they pretend. Nay I shall not fear to affirm, that this Word in the *African* Dialect denotes nothing else, but a mere simple Testimony. Let the Reader consult these two Passages following, and weigh and compare them well together, and I make no doubt but he'll be of my Opinion: *And Cornelius, says he³, was made a Bishop by the Judgment of God, and of his Christ, and by the Testimony of almost all the Clergy, by the SUFFRAGE of the People, who were then present, and by a College of ancient Bishops, and good Men, &c. And again: None, says he, would move any thing against the College of Bi-*

² *Epist. lxxiii. p. 204.* Quod enim quidam dicunt, quasi ad Hæreticorum SUFFRAGIUM pertineat, quod dixerit Apostolus Paulus, &c.

³ *Epist. lv. p. 104.* Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei & Christi ejus judicio, & de Clericorum penè omnium testimonio, de Plebis, quæ tunc affuit, SUFFRAGIO, & de Sacerdotum antiquorum & bonorum virorum collegio, &c. *Epist. lix. p. 129.* Nemo adversum Sacerdotum Collegium quidquam moveret; nemo

Bishops; no Man after the divine Judgment, after the SUFFRAGE of the People; after the Consent of the Fellow-Bishops would make himself a Judge, not now of the Bishop, but of God, &c.

3. It remains that I prove, that St. Cyprian did without the People ordain Ecclesiastical Persons.

In his xlth Epistle he recommends to the Clergy and People of Carthage Numidicus, a most glorious Confessor, who ^b bore in his Body the honourable Marks of the Lord Jesus Christ, and was ordain'd by St. Cyprian: For, says he ^c, *I desire you may know, that we were admonish'd and instructed by the divine Condescension to add Numidicus a Presbyter to the Number of the Presbyters of Carthage, that he may sit with us among the Clergy, being render'd illustrious by the most splendid Brightness of his Confession, and sublime with the Honour of Vertue and Faith, &c.*

In his xxxixth Epistle he acquaints the same Clergy and People, that Clerinus an eminent Confessor was by him chosen into the lesser Order of Reader in the Church: *Rejoice therefore*, says he ^d, *and be exceeding glad, when you read our Letter, wherein I, and my Collegues who were present, send you Word, that our Brother Celerinus, equally glorious for his Vertues and good Life, is added to the Number of our*
Cler-

post divinum judicium, post populi SUFFRAGIUM, post coepiscoporum consensum; judicem se jam non Episcopi, sed Dei faceret, &c.

^b Galat. 6. 17.

^c Epist. xl. p. 78. Nam admonitos nos & instructos sciatis dignatione divi, ut Numidicus Presbyter adscribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in Clero, luce clarissima confessionis illustris, & virtutis ac fidei honore sublimis, &c.

^d Epist. xxxix. p. 76. Exultate itaq; & gaudete nobiscum lectis literis nostris, quibus ego & collegæ mei, qui præsentibus aderant, referimus ad vos, Celerinum fratrem nostrum, virtutibus pariter & moribus

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Clergy, not by the Suffrage of Men, but by the Favour of God.

His xxxviiith Epistle is also written to his Clergy and People, and begins thus: * *In Ordinations of the Clergy, most dear Brethren, we are wont first to consult you, and by common Counsel to weigh the Manners and Merits of each Person: but there is no need of waiting for human Testimonies, where we have already Suffrages which are divine. Our Brother Aurelius, an illustrious young Man, already approv'd of the Lord, &c. Almost to the End of the Epistle: Know therefore, most dearly beloved Brethren, that this Person is ordain'd by me, and my Collegues who were present.*

From this one Epistle these following Particulars are very easily deduc'd:

1. That in Ordinations of the Clergy St. Cyprian was always accustomed to consult the People, and to desire their Judgment and Testimony.

2. That the most holy Martyr consulted the People in this Case for no other end, but to weigh the Manners and Merits of each Person by common Counsel, and by that means the better to know their Course of Life.

3. That St. Cyprian did not think even this so necessary, as that without it no Ordinations might be accounted legitimate; but that when the Necessity of the times requir'd it, it is certain that without either the Advice, or Testimony, or Suffrage of the People, he both nominated Persons to be admitted

moribus gloriosum, Clero nostro non humanâ suffragatione, sed divinâ dignatione conjunctum.

* In Ordinationibus Clericis, Fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare: sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina Suffragia; Aurelius frater noster, illustris adolescens, à Domino jam probatus, &c. — Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, à me & à Collegis, qui præsentibus aderant, ordinatum sciatis.

into

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into the Clergy, and having nominated elected them, and consecrated those he had thus elected.

And now let us look back upon the most ancient Method of Ordination; let us consider likewise in what a loose Sense the Word *Suffragium* is used by St. *Cyprian*; and lastly let us reflect, that sometimes St. *Cyprian* himself did both elect and consecrate Readers, Deacons, and Presbyters without the Knowledge of the People: And after all this we shall very easily perceive, that there is nothing to be found in the Epistles of that learned Father, which will either confirm the Power of the People, or lessen the just Authority of Bishops. From all which it is most evident, that in St. *Cyprian's* time, the People had no Suffrages, which were truly elective.

But here it may not be amiss to produce the Words of the most learned Bishop *Beverege*, which very fully express my Sense of this matter: Having consider'd what St. *Cyprian* says on this Occasion, he adds ^f, *It appears therefore, that the Right of Election belongs to the Bishops, the Testimony, Consent, and Approbation of the Election to the People. Therefore the People sometimes propos'd a Person to be chosen to the Bishops; but the Bishops did not always choose the Person propos'd to them by the People: and therefore the whole Determination of the Election was in the Power of the Bishops: insomuch that we may read of many Ordinations and Elections of Bishops, per-*

^f Annot. in IV Can. Con. Nic. Jus igitur electionis ad Episcopos præsentibus, Testimonium autem, consensus, & electionis comprobatio ad Plebem pertinuit. Plebs igitur Episcopis eligendum nonnunquam proponebant, sed Episcopi à Plebe propositum non semper eligeabant; ac proinde totum electionis arbitrium penes Episcopos erat: usq; adeò ut multas legere sit Episcopales ordinationes & electiones etiam celebratas ab Episcopis sine Plebe, à Plebe autem sine Episcopis nullas.

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form'd by Bishops without the People; but of none by the People without Bishops. Thus the whole matter is admirably compriz'd in a very few Words by that great Man, than whom no one was more conversant in Ecclesiastical Traditions.

And yet as clear and manifest as all this is, it may be still more fully illustrated and confirm'd by a remarkable Passage in Lampridius, in his Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus: And because, says he^e, we have happen'd to mention the publishing of the Emperor's Orders; when he had a Mind, either to put Governours over Provinces, or to make Presidents, or to appoint Procurators, that is Receivers, he propos'd their Names, exhorting the People, that if any one had a Crime to alledge against any of them, he should make evident proof of it; and if he did not prove it, he should undergo capital punishment. And he said that it was hard, when that was done by the Christians and Jews in proclaiming those, who were to be ordain'd their Priests, that the same should not be done with respect to the Governours of Provinces, to whose Care were entrusted both the Fortunes and Lives of Men.

On this Passage the learned Casaubon has the following Note^b: The Writings of St. Cyprian are full of Testimonies of this Custom; as when in his xliii^d Epistle

^e *Hist. Aug. Scriptor. Edit. Hanov. 1610. p. 351. cap. 45. Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset, vel Rectores Provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebar, hortans Populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret poenam capitis: dicebatq; grave esse, quàm id Christiani & Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in Provinciarum Rectoribus, quibus & fortunæ hominum committerentur & capita.*

^b *Hist. Aug. Scrip. Ed. Par. p. 130. Plena sunt beati Cypriani scripta testimoniis hujus moris, ut cum Epistola xliii. scribit: In ordinan-*
dis

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Epistle he writes thus : In Ordinations of the Clergy, most dear Brethren, we are wont first to consult you ; and by common Counsel to weigh the Manners and Merits of each Person. But out of many places of St. Cyprian, which make for this purpose, I will produce one, by which it may be understood, both what is to be meant by proclaiming such as are to be ordain'd Priests ; and how well the Christians and Jews are by the Emperor Alexander here join'd together with respect to the Observance of this Custom. Thus therefore having related how Eleazar the Son of Aaron was made Priest : God, says he, commands a Priest to be made in the sight of all the Congregation ; that is, he instructs and shews them, that the Ordinations of Priests were not to be celebrated, but with the Knowledge of the People, who were to be there ; that in the presence of the People, either the Crimes of the bad might be detected, or the Merits of the good be proclaim'd : and the Ordination be just and lawful, which should be tried by the Judgment of all.

If therefore any Credit may be given to *Casaubon*, a Man of great Skill in all kinds of Learning, *St. Cyprian* means nothing else by the Suffrage of the People, but their Consent, Testimony, and Approbation.

dis Clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores & merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare. Sed ex pluribus Cypriani locis qui huc faciunt, unum afferemus, ex quo potest intelligi, & prædicari Sacerdotes quid sit, & quàm benè Christiani & Judæi in observatione hujus moris ab Alexandro jungantur. Sic igitur ille postquam retulit, quomodò Eleazarus Aaronis filius Sacerdos fuisset creatus : Coram omni Synagogâ, inquit, jubet Deus constitui Sacerdotem : id est, instituit & ostendit Ordinationes Sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsentē vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur : & sit ordinatio justa & legitima, quæ omnium suffragio & judicio fuerit examinata.

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In the vith Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon*, this Publication of Names is call'd ἐπικηρυξις, *Notification by a publick Crier*. The Canon provides¹, *That none be ordain'd absolutely, (or without a Title to any particular Church) either Priest, or Deacon, or to any one whatsoever of the Ecclesiastical Orders; but that his intended Ordination be first publicly notify'd in the Church of the City or Village, or in the Chapel or Monastery.* To wit, that all such may be recommended by the Testimony of the People, and either their Crimes be detected, or their Merits proclaim'd. The Laity had always this Power; and the same Power is allow'd them by the Church of *England*. We really congratulate them this Authority in the Elections of the Clergy; and earnestly desire them to make use of the greatest Integrity in a matter of such mighty Importance. How magnificently would the Church of *England* triumph, if all of us, as well Clergy as Laity, would with united Forces endeavour, that no one distinguish'd for his Impieties, no one defil'd with the Pollution of a vicious Life, no one notorious for foul and infamous Crimes should prophane the sacred Dignity of the Priesthood. Here is abundantly room enough, for the Zeal of the Faithful to exert it self with the greatest Advantage. But they who assume to themselves a greater Power, who claim a Right both of nominating and electing; all these, believe me, have no regard to Piety, and to the Honour of the Church, and to the Salvation of Souls; but only sacrifice to Ambition, and a wicked Desire of Rule.

¹ Μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖν, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὅμως τινά τ' ἐν τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι· εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίου ἢ μοναστηρίου ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἀποκηρύττῃτο.

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Thus in my Opinion I have sufficiently prov'd, that the Laity had never any truly elective Suffrages in the Elections of the Clergy during the II^d and III^d Centuries: but that a plenary Authority in all such Elections appertain'd to the Bishops. The People sometimes propos'd a Person to the Choice of the Bishop; but the Bishop very often rejected the Person they propos'd. Therefore nothing can be gather'd from the Monuments of the Primitive Church, that makes for the Cause of *Erastianism*, which the numerous Spawn of *Socinus* do with so much Industry endeavour to propagate.

Yet it ought not to be deny'd, that at length in the IVth Century the Power of the People in the Elections of Bishops encreas'd prodigiously, and exceeded all Bounds. Of this licentious Power of the People the most holy Fathers do very frequently complain. St. *Jerom* in his Ist Book against *Jovian* has these Words * : *Sometimes the Judgment of the common People is wrong; and in approving Bishops every one favours his own Manners, and seeks not so much for a good Bishop, as for one like himself.* And this is abundantly confirm'd from the ii^d *Apology* of St. *Athanasius*, and St. *Gregory Nazianzen's* xixth and xxth *Epistles*. Hence it very often came to pass, that Persons most unworthy, remarkable neither for Learning nor Piety did, what with the importunate Clamours of the common People, and the too great Indulgence of the Bishops, both invade, and miserably defile the sacred Offices of the Church. And this great Mischief daily spreading, there were various Provisions made against it.

* *S. Hieron. Lib. i. adv. Jovian. p. 41. Tom. 2. Edit. Frob. Nonnunquam errat plebis vulgiq; judicium, & in Sacerdotibus comprobandis unusquisq; suis moribus paret, ut non tam bonum, quam sui similem quærat Præpositum.*

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I. I shall never be persuaded to believe, but that the ivth Canon of the Council of *Nice* has relation to this matter. The Words of it are these ¹: *A Bishop ought to be ordain'd especially indeed by all the Bishops, who are in the Province. But if that be difficult, what tthrough some urgent Business, or the Length of the Journey hindring them, yet three Bishops at least ought by all means to meet together, and first receiving by Letter the Consent and Agreement of those that are absent, there to celebrate the Ordination. But in every Province the Authority or Confirmation of what is done, shall belong to the Metropolitan.* In this Canon two things are provided: 1st. That all the Bishops of the Province, or three at least, in case of the utmost Necessity, be present at the Ordination of a Bishop. 2^{dly}. That the Confirmation of the Ordination thus administer'd should belong only to the Metropolitan of the Province. But concerning the Suffrages or Judgment of the People, there is not the least Word mention'd; for all which the venerable Fathers meant was, that the Levity and Insolence of the giddy Multitude being suppress'd, Ecclesiastical matters might be manag'd only by Ecclesiasticks.

The *Nicene* Council was succeeded by that of *Laodicea*: for that the Synod of *Laodicea* was held after the General Council of *Nice*, is most manifest from hence; because it makes mention of the *Pho-tinian* Hereticks, who arose after the times of the *Nicene* Council: This Synod affords us two Canons, which make for my purpose. They are the xii and

¹ Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς ᾖ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἢ ἅπαντες τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ Σύνοδος, συμφήσαντων γινώσκων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ Συνθιθεμένων διαγγραμμάτων, τότε καὶ χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι. Τὸ δὲ κύριον τῶν γινώσκων διδόντος καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τὸ Μητροπολίτη.

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xiiith in these Words ^m : *That Bishops ought to be appointed to the Government of the Church by the Judgment of the Metropolitans, and of the neighbouring Bishops : and that they ought to be such as have been long approv'd by the Word of Faith, and by the Dispensation of right Doctrine.* And Can. xiiith. *That the People are not to be allow'd to make choice of those, who are to be employ'd in the sacred Function.* I am of Opinion with the most illustrious *Peter de Marcâ*, that this Prohibition ought not to be extended to Persons of Honour, and great Men, but was made only for the common People. Yet from this Canon we learn at least these following Particulars ; that the greatest Disturbances were occasion'd by the People's Authority in the Elections of Bishops ; insomuch that the Council found it necessary, utterly to abolish this corrupt and unjust Practice, and wholly to exclude the Multitude from all both Consent, and Testimony, and Approbation. From hence it may also with the greatest Perspicuity be collected, that the Multitude of the Faithful had not by divine Right, either Suffrage or Testimony in the Elections of Bishops : For if this Power had belong'd to the People by Divine Right, it could never have been extinguish'd by a Synod, and that especially by a particular Synod. We are most clearly taught by this Canon, what was the Opinion of the Prelates even of the IVth Century, concerning the licentious Power of the People.

3. But all this will be still farther confirm'd by the Council of *Antioch* ; the xviiith Canon of which

^m Conc. Laod. Can. xii. Περὶ τῆς, καὶ ἐπισκόπους κείται τῇ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῇ πλείστῃ ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅντας ἐκ πολλῶν δεδοκιμασμένους τε καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πίστεως, καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ πολλοί.

Ibid. Can. xiii. Περὶ τῆς, μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπαι τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιᾶσθαι τῇ μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν.

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runs thus ⁿ: *If any one that is ordain'd a Bishop, do not come to the Diocese for which he is chosen, not through his own Fault, but either because the People refuse him, or for any other Reason, occasion'd by no Fault of his; he shall enjoy both the Honour and the Function, provided he give no Disturbance to the Affairs of the Church where he abides. And he shall wait for the Determination which a full Synod of the Province shall make upon the Judgment of his Case.*

What, I desire to know, are we to think of this Canon? It makes little, in my Opinion, for the Power of the Laicks. Nay it most evidently demonstrates, that the Church of the IVth Century did not so much as dream of this Right of the Laity, whether Divine or Original, or whatever other Title they are pleas'd to honour it with. The Council commands in express Words, that a Bishop duly ordain'd by the Bishops of the Province, and confirm'd by the Metropolitan according to the ancient Canons, ought to remain a Bishop, and perform the Episcopal Functions, though the Laity make never so much Opposition. This was the Method of the Elections of the IVth Century. But afterwards the Metropolitans obtain'd a much larger Power, not without a very great Advantage to the Church. They appointed a Synod of Bishops in their own Churches: hither they summon'd the Bishops; and by their common Counsel set Pastors

ⁿ Εἰ τις χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς παρικήαν μὴ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς ἣν ἐχειροτονήθη Ἐπίσκοπος. ἔ. διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἢ τοι διὰ τὴν λαοῦ ἀρτίτησιν, ἢ δι' ἐτέραν αἰτίαν ἐκ ἧς αὐτὸς γενομένη. τὸν μέλειεν τὴν τιμῆς καὶ τὴν λειτουργίας, μόνον μηδὲν παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐνθα αὖν συνάσσοιτο. ἐκδέχεσθαι δὲ τὸν, ὃς αὖν ἢ τὴν ἐπαρχίας τελεία σὺνδος κείνῃ τὸ παρὲς μὴν θέσῃ.

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over the Churches. To this purpose is that of St. Gregory Nazianzen^o: *Ye have call'd me to the Metropolis, I suppose, to take some Consultations about a Bishop.* Hitherto also the People had Power to propose a Person to be ordain'd, and to desire the Bishops to set him over them. But the Nomination and Election belong'd only to the Metropolitan in Council with his Provincial Bishops. Nay without the Metropolitan's Leave they had not Power to take to themselves so much as a vacant Bishop (as the Canonists speak.) This we are most plainly taught by the xvith Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, in these Words^r: *If any vacant Bishop shall come into a vacant Church, and by stealth invade the Throne, without leave of a full Synod, he ought to be ejected, though all the People, whom he has invaded, have chosen him for their Bishop. Now that is call'd a full Synod, in which the Metropolitan Bishop is also present.* And this very Canon is quoted by the Fathers of the Council of *Chalcedon*, in the xith Session, in which the Cause of *Bassianus* is pleaded.

This full Power in Elections remain'd in the Metropolitans to the time of the Emperor *Justinian*; so that they elected Bishops without the Consent or Testimony of the People. But it is beyond the Limits of my purpose to follow it any farther. It is sufficient for me to have shewn the Practice of the II^d and III^d and IVth Centuries; that from thence we may clearly discern, what Power in Elections

^o Greg. Naz. Epist. xxiii. κεκληκατε ημας ἐπὶ τῇ Μητροπολιν, ὡς οἶμαι, περὶ ἐπισκόπου τι βεβηλόμενοι.

^r Εἰ τις Ἐπίσκοπος ὁλοῶν, ἐπὶ ὁλοῶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ ῥήσας, ὑφάρπαξοι τὸ θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τελείας τῶτον ἀπέκλητον ἔσθ', καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὃν ὑφάρπασεν, ἐλοιπο αὐτόν. Τελείαν δ' ἐκείνην ἔσθ' (ὕνοδον, ἢ συμπαρασι καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης.

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of Bishops was allow'd to the Christian People, even in the purest Ages of the Church: and for what Reasons it was necessary, as that Power encreas'd daily, and became insolent, first to restrain it, and at last wholly to abolish it.

From all this History of the Primitive Church, these following Particulars do most evidently appear :

1st. That in the most ancient times of the Church, the People had no Suffrages, which were truly elective.

2^{dly}. That all that Power which they afterwards exercis'd, was not deriv'd from any divine or original Right ; but from the Leave, and Indulgence, and corrupt Remissness of the Bishops.

3^{dly}. That the Church did for most just Causes, and by a most just Authority, abrogate this tumultuary Method of Ordaining, and restrain the mad Rage of the People within its proper Bounds.

The CONCLUSION.

This is what I thought fit to say concerning these most important Controversies. What Judgment others will make of what I have said, it is neither easy to conjecture, nor safe to enquire. And yet I am not unwilling to believe, at least I am apt to flatter my self, that what has been here said will not displease such as are impartial Judges, and true and orthodox Sons of the *Church of England*. Upon a serious Review of these *Dissertations*, I have been able to find nothing in them, which is not abundantly confirm'd, both by the Holy Scriptures, and by the most ancient and uncorrupt Judgment

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ment of the Catholick Church. For which Reason I am willing to hope, that the sound and entire part of the Christian World, who are addicted to no Parties, and have Christ and his Church only at Heart, will be of my Opinion, and with their Suffrages readily confirm all that I have said.

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N^o. 9.

Dr. Thomas Jackson, in his ii^d Book of Comments upon the Apostles Creed, n. 5. c. 4. p. 188. Edit. 1673.

Obey them that have the Oversight of you, &c. Heb. 13. 17. What manner of Submission, or what kind of Obedience doth he here exact? Only *Spiritual*, will the carnal Gospeller reply. But *what manner of Obedience is this Spiritual?* The *least* of all others? It is doubtless *in their Esteem*, which *fear no loss, but what is sensible for the present; or know not the vertue of any thing but what is palpable: Unto all such to be Spiritual is all one as to be Invisible; and to be Invisible is all one as not to Be at all.* This is the last Resolution of most Mens Conceit of all *Spiritual Authority* in our Times. But such as dread the Majesty of that *Invisible God*, and fear to grieve his Holy Spirit, will be *most* afraid of contemning *Spiritual Authority*. Disobedience to it, though *in a Prince*, is as hateful to the King of Kings, as the Sin of Witchcraft: For no Subject is more bound to obey his Prince in *Civil Actions*, than his Pastors in *Spiritual*. He that said, *Touch not mine Anointed*; said also, *Do my Prophets no barm*. Of Princes it is said by the Apostle, *He that resisteth them, resisteth God*; To Pastors it was said, (by the *Wisdom* of God, by whom Princes reign) *He that beareth you, beareth ME; he that despiseth you, despiseth ME; and he that despiseth Me, despiseth HIM that sent Me.* And elsewhere, *Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted: whose Sins ye retain, they are retained.* These are *Prerogatives of Priests*: and were not esteemed as *Words of Course or Formality* in the ancient and primitive Church.

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Ibid. n. 6. p. 189.

Unless the Flock, for their parts, had been bound to *strict Obedience*, Usurpation of Lordship over them had not been so easy; especially when there was no Power beside the *pastoral Staff* to keep them under: nor could their Pastors have had any such Opportunity to attempt it, as might justly occasion these *Caveats* from these two Apostles, [*i. e. St. Peter and St. Paul*] which by their [*own*] moderate Carriage had prescribed a contrary Example to their *Successors*.—— The first Mischief which befel her [*i. e. the Church*] in her Prime, was from the want of due Reverence, and awful Regard of Ecclesiastical Injunctions and Constitutions. Hence did Heresies spring in such abundance; Satan had sown their Seeds in proud Hearts, and the Civil Magistrates Facility to countenance every *prating Discontent*, or *forth-putting Vocalist*, in preaching what he list, though contrary to his [*spiritual*] Governours Constitutions, was as the Spring-Sun to cherish and bring them forth.

Book II. ch. viii. n. 5. p. 210.

—— Nor do *spiritual* Governours, in demanding Obedience to such [*Injunctions or Constitutions*] as their Inferiors suspect to be against God's Law, oppose Human Authority to Divine, or desire Men to obey them rather than God, as some frivolously have objected. Indeed the least Probability or Suspicion of disobeying *God*, should make us refuse to obey *Man*, in case our Disobedience unto Man redounded *only* to Man, and not to God. But inasmuch as Christ hath said, *He that beareth Thou, beareth me*, Disobedience unto spiritual Governours is Disobedience unto *Christ*, yea unto *God*.

Preface

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Preface to Dr. Jackson's xth Book of Comments on the
Apostles Creed, §. 9. Edit. 1654.

And here now, besides what is said above of the great Excellency of *Christ's Priesthood*, the Entertainment of three or four Meditations doth render me wonder-struck at four sorts of Men, most active in this busy Age. 1. All such as think it a Piece of their Christianity to loath and despight the Name of a PRIEST, as of some pernicious Vermin bred out of a putrid *Jewish* Carcass; whereas it signifies neither less nor more, than a Person entrusted (and who is sufficient for that thing!) with some *part* or *Branch* of *Christ's Priesthood*, which is here *on Earth* to be managed and executed for the Benefit of Mankind; even of him that so hates the Name. 2. That the Bishop of the ancient *See Apostolick* should, by virtue of such a dim Commission as cannot be read without Spectacles of Phantasy made at *Rome*, grasp at all in gross, as if *all* Power, which *Christ himself* doth not *personally* exercise in the Heavenly Sanctuary, was to pass and be derived by Imposition, or under the Signature of *his* Hand, and to be shared and dispenced at *his* Discretion. 3. That these our Brethren in Christ (if yet they will allow us to call them *Brethren*, which have well-nigh given over to say *Pater Noster*) who so zealously hate *Innovations*, should contrary to the Church-Practice of *Fifteen* Ages together, not only (1.) take upon them to *Ordain* or Commissionate Men to execute part of *Christ's Priesthood*; and (2.) to *Censure* Offenders, without Consent of *that Order*, which hath so fair a *Patent* to shew, and so long *Prescription*, some while for the *sole* Power, always for the *main Stroke* in both: but even (3.) to *Censure* and *Excommunicate* some *Persons* of *that Order*; and (4.) the

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very Order it self—— which hath in effect proved the cutting off that goodly Bough, whereof themselves were Branches, &c. 4. That the *Volunteers of the People*, who have improved the former Transgression of removing the ancient *Church-Marks*, which our Fathers had set—— to a *Total Demolition*; casting off the *Sons* who had cast out their *Fathers*, and the *Branches* which had pluckt up their own *Roots*; and so succeeding both as *Augmenters* and *Revengers* of the Sin: especially that any among them which pretend to the *Fear of God*, and *Love of our Great High-Priest*, should not scruple at all to *execrate* all *Consecration* of Persons to serve in *Christ's stead*, and yet dubb themselves *Officers*, when (as God knows) they are as far from *Abilities* to discharge, as from *Authority* to undertake the *Duty*.

Book X. cb. lvi. n. 4. p. 306. Edit. 1673.

We his [*Christ's*] *Priests*, or *Ministers*, may upon *Confession* made unto us, either in *General*, or in *particular*, *absolve* his *People* from their *Sins*; for this *Authority* he hath given us, [*Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted: whose Sins, &c.*] Yet unless he by his *Spirit*, or sweet *Influence of Grace*, say unto the *Soul* whom we *absolve*, as he sometimes did unto the *Man sick of the Palsy*, *Be of good cheer thy Sins be forgiven thee*, our *Absolution* is but a *Complement*; although without our *Absolution* he do not in this sort *absolve* his *People* oftentimes from their *Sins*. We may *consecrate* the *Elements of Bread and Wine*, &c.

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Book XI. ch. xxxviii. n. 7. p. 690.

The Men that seek to be most contrary to the *Romish* Church, and are most forward to judge her for enlarging the Prerogative of the *Priesthood* beyond its ancient Bounds, do *the same things* she doth by *Equivalency*, and run to the same End by a quite contrary way.— He that robs God of his Honour, doth *the very same thing* and no other, which an Idolater doth. Now they are said in Scripture to rob God of his Honour, and to commit an Abomination *more* than Heathenish (for the *Heathen* do not spoil their Gods) which defraud him of his *Tithes* and *Offerings*, which were due unto the *Priest* for his Ministration and Service in God's House. But they rob God of his Honour more immediately and more directly, which despise or contemn his *Ambassadors*, not in Word only, but in taking that *Authority* from them, which *he* hath expressly given unto them; and, which is worst of all, in seeking to alienate it unto them, over whom he hath, in matter of Salvation, appointed them Guides and Overseers.

An

An ADVERTISEMENT concerning the two preceding Translations, of *Isaac Casaubon de Libertate Ecclesiasticâ*, and of *Mr. Hughes's Preliminary Dissertations*.

I Need say but very little concerning the former of these Translations. Having undertaken it at the Command of the Reverend Dr. *Hickes*, (for whatever he condescends to request, though in his usual obliging manner, will always have the Authority of a Command with me) after I had almost finish'd it upon the late *Amsterdam* Edition in Folio, which is very uncorrect, especially in the *Greek* Quotations, I had an Opportunity of consulting the Author's own Edition, printed in the Year MDCVII. in Octavo, and of verifying from thence many of the Corrections I had already made; though neither is that Impression without Faults. As to the Author's Citations, those of them which I had convenience of examining, though not easily found for want of more particular References, yet appearing when found to be faithfully set down, I was the less concern'd to enquire into the rest; and contented my self to give the *English* Reader only a Translation of most of them.

But as to *Mr. Hughes's Preliminary Dissertations*, (for the Insertion of which into this *Appendix* I had no more than the Permission of Dr. *Hickes*; having been engag'd in that Translation by another) I found the Errors of the Press so many, and the

Ne-

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Negligence of those, whom I suppose the Author employ'd in transcribing the Citations, so great, that I thought it necessary to take the Pains of examining them all, excepting some few, which I was not able to find, what for want of References in some Places, and through the Uncorrectness of them in others ; and a few also, for which I had not the Convenience of Books. And when I had taken this Pains, I judg'd it would be, both for the Advantage of the Book, to put down all the Citations in the Margin, as I had corrected them from the Authors themselves ; and also for the Benefit of the Reader, to give him them sometimes more fully, than the learned Author thought it necessary to do ; who wrote only to such, as are suppos'd to be well enough acquainted with the Books he cites, to be usually able from the least Sentence of them, to understand what they are alledg'd to prove : whereas those who are Strangers to these Authors, cannot so readily enter into the Force of such Arguments, without also seeing some part of the Context.

And because the learned Author has actually divided this Work into *Six Dissertations*, though for want of distinguishing them a little more in the Impression, the Whole does rather seem no more than One ; and the Reader is for some time at a loss, why the Title is express'd in the Plural : Therefore I thought it convenient to make this Division more perspicuous ; and by adding the proper Figures to his Subdivisions, where they are often wanting, to render his Method, which is very good, more apparent to the Reader at the first sight : for whose farther Benefit I also judg'd it not amiss, to prefix by way of Plan to the whole Work, the Contents of each *Dissertation*, as we see done by *Casaubon* him-

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himself before that Piece of his, which I have translated.

One Passage in the vth Dissertation, *p.* cccxcvii. may be liable to Misconstruction; where the Author, in Answer to an Argument for Lay-Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, brought from the first Institution of the Sacrifice of the Passeeover, in the room of which this Sacrifice and Sacrament succeeds, may seem to own too much, when he grants, that the Passeeover was appointed to be sacrificed in private Houses, and by the Fathers of Families. But what he there asserts, must be confin'd to the times before the Institution of the Levitical Priesthood, when the Fathers of Families were Priests, and their own Dwellings were all the Temples they had: for after the Levitical Priesthood was instituted, the Paschal Lamb was sacrificed neither privately, nor by the Fathers of Families: but the Place of celebrating this Feast was one, where all the People could meet, which ever since King *David's* time was *Jerusalem*: and the Ministers of this Sacrifice were the Priests and the Levites. Of both these Facts we have this undoubted Proof, *viz.*

1st. With regard to the Place: In the xvith of *Deuteronomy*, (ver. 2. & 5.) there is this Command: *Thou shalt therefore sacrifice the Passeeover unto the Lord thy God—— in the place which the Lord shall choose to place his Name there.—— Thou mayest not sacrifice the Passeeover within any of thy Gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* Accordingly we read in the ii^d Book of the *Chronicles*, (ch. xxx. 1.) that *Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote Letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the House of the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the Passeeover unto the Lord God of Israel.*

And

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And (*cb. xxxv. 1.*) that *Josiah kept a Passeeover unto the Lord in Jerusalem*. And to omit many Instances of the like Nature in *Josephus*, we find in *St. Luke*, (*ch. ii. 41, 42.*) that it was *the Custom of this Feast, to go up to Jerusalem every Year*. And in compliance with this Custom, that our blessed Saviour himself, when but yet a Child, was carry'd thither by *his Parents*, who went to Jerusalem every Year at the Feast of the Passeeover. Thus much with regard to the Place. And then,

2dly. With respect to the Ministers of this Sacrifice, we may observe in the Passeeover of *Hezekiah* above-mention'd, that the Priests and the Levites were chiefly concern'd in the Celebration of it. *The Priests* (says the Text, *2 Chron. xxx. 16.*) *sprinkled the Blood, which they receiv'd of the hand of the Levites*. And (*ver. 17.*) *The Levites had the charge of the killing of the Passeeovers*. So also at *Josiah's* Passeeover, we read, (*2 Chron. xxxv. 10, 11.*) that *the Priests stood in their place, and the Levites in their courses*—— and they killed the Passeeover, and the Priests sprinkled the Blood from their Hands, and the Levites slayed them. For the same Reason probably which was given before, (*cb. xxix. 34.*) because *the Priests were too few; so that they could not slay all the Burnt-Offerings: wherefore their Brethren the Levites did help them*. Of this latter Passeeover *Josephus* says, (*Antiq. Jud. Lib. X. cap. 5.*) *ἐκάςτῳ τῶν ἱερέων ὕψιστον τοῖς ὄχλοις*, that each of the Priests administred to the People. Hence the learned *Grotius* observes, that when *Cestius* inquir'd what was the Number of the *Jews* who assembled at *Jerusalem*, the Priests resolv'd him in that matter, by giving him the exact Number of Lambs and Kids sacrific'd there at the Passeeover, which (says that excellent Commentator) they could

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could not have done with that Exactness, if themselves had not been present at the Sacrifice. See *Grot. Annot. in Matt. xxvi. 18.*

Though therefore what the learned Author here asserts, that the Passeeover was sacrificed by the Fathers of Families in their own Houses, must be confin'd to the times before the Institution of the Levitical Priesthood; yet that is so far from diminishing, that it apparently augments the Force of his Argument: for while this Sacrifice was thus administer'd by the Fathers of Families, those Fathers of Families were the Priests: and ever since the Institution of the Levitical Priesthood, only the Levitical Priests were the Ministers of it: So that there is not the least Appearance of Lay-Administration in the Paschal Sacrifice, nor consequently the least Pretence for it in the Eucharistical (which succeeds in the room of that) to be drawn from the Paschal: but on the contrary, because the Passeeover was always sacrificed by Persons set apart for sacred Offices, and by no others; it hence follows, according to our Adversaries own Argument, that the holy Eucharist, which was instituted in the place of the Passeeover, ought also to be administer'd only by such, as are appointed to that and other sacred Functions of God's Worship, and not to be profan'd by Lay-Hands.

Before I conclude this *Advertisement*, it may be expected I should give some Account of the learned Author of these excellent Dissertations: but as the Dissertations themselves do abundantly shew, what a great Loss the Church of Christ in general, as well as in particular the Church of *England* has had in the too early Death of one, who at those green Years was so able a Champion for both: So I am oblig'd

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in Justice as well to his Memory, as to all that have a due Regard to it, to leave the Performance of this Work, which is not more necessary to be done, than I am incapable to do it as it ought, to a much abler Hand, which to my great Satisfaction I hear, has already undertaken it.

22: 9: 49

FINIS.

The chief ERRATA in the two preceding Translations, are :

PAGE cxlvi. l. 9. r. *the sacred Order*. P. cxlvii. l. 24. for *have* r. *having*. P. cxlviii. l. antepenult. for *Constantine* r. *Constantius*. P. clxvii. l. ult. dele *is*. P. clxxxvi. l. 17. r. *Samosata*. P. ccv. l. 8. for *τῶν* r. *τῆς*. P. ccxxvii. l. 10. for *to* r. *in*. P. ccxlv. l. 5. from the bottom, for *the* r. *a*. P. cclxxx. l. 6. for *Day of the* r. *the Day of*. P. cccxxxv. Note. l. 2, 3. r. (according to Rigaltius's Edition) *coimus ad Deum, quasi manu factâ precationibus ambiamus*. P. cccxl. l. ult. r. *Χυρίχθαις*. P. ccclxiii. l. 1. r. *Christ*. And l. 7. for *us* r. *as*. P. ccclxv. l. 20. r. *Romans*. P. ccclxix. l. 11. for *to* r. *in*. P. cccxxvii. l. 24. r. *who ever*. And l. 30. for *this* r. *these*. P. cccxcii. l. 17. r. *Daille*. P. cccxcv. Note. l. 2. r. *manuum*. P. cccxcvi. Note. l. 1. r. *ὁ ἡρώδης ὁ ἑρῶδης*. P. cccxcviii. l. 18. dele *with*. P. cccxvi. l. penult. for *hunc* r. *tunc*. P. cccxxxiv. Note. l. 1. r. *Novell. Instit. 83. Præf. sect. 3.* P. cccxxxvi. l. 1. r. *Power*. P. cccxxxviii. Note. l. 5. r. *ἐκδυνάμεις*. P. cccxl. Note. l. 5. r. *ἡρεῖαν*. P. cccxliii. l. ult. r. *consueris*. P. cccxliv. l. 9. for *the* r. *a*. P. cccxlv. l. 7. for *Cafe* r. *Cause*. P. cccxlv. l. ult. r. *ἐλάλουν*. P. cccclx. l. 10. r. *says*. P. cccclxi. Note. l. 1. inferre *T. 2. p. 227.* And l. 4. r. *condonandaq; delicta*. P. cccclxii. Note. l. 1. r. *tanquam Hæretici*. P. cccclxxvii. l. 10. for *add* r. *and*. P. cccxcix. l. 9. dele *of*. P. cccxcv. Note. l. 10. r. *detegamur*. P. cccccxx. l. 19. r. *Celerinus*.

A
SUPPLEMENT
OF
ADDITIONS

To the THIRD EDITION of
Dr. *HICKES's* Two Treatises
OF
The Christian Priesthood,
AND OF
The Dignity of the Episcopal Order.

(N. 1.)



*The Letter to the Author of the Rights, pre-
fix'd to the Two former Editions of this Book,
but casually omitted by Mistake in the Third
Edition.*

To the Author of a Book falsely entitul'd,
The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted.

S I R,

WHen I began the following Preface, I did
not intend to make it so long, at first
only designing to make a few Remarks
upon your Book, to give the Reader some *Specimens*
of your arrogant and sophistical way of Reasoning

A

in

in some Instances, and then leave him to judge of the rest. But when I came to consider one thing, *that* led me on to another, which I still thought requir'd an Answer; and so step after step I was obliged to traverse your whole Book. I must therefore desire you and my Readers, of whom I am sure you'll be one, to consider my Preface, rather as another Book than a Preface; and to that end I have set the *Contents* of it before it, as Writers commonly do before their Books. Could I have foreseen it would have been so long, I would have made it a Book by it self; but however I think it is all one to the Reader and the Interests of Truth, whether he hath an Answer to your Book in a joint or a separate Treatise; and those who think it not worth the while to read such an Answer under the Title of a Preface, would, I believe, have as little mind to read it, if it were publish'd singly in a distinct Book.

When you please, *Sir*, to make a Reply, I hope you'll put your Name to it, as I have put mine to this Book; and thereby shew the World, that you are neither ashamed nor afraid to own what you have written in your Book of the *Rights* or the Preface to it, or to appear in the defence of them. *Ashamed* you ought not to be for discovering a *Craft*, I mean the *Craft* of *Priests*, who, if you write Truth, have bubb'd and cheated the World, at least ever since the Priestly Office was divided from the Regal; nor ought you to be *afraid* of publishing wholesome and seasonable Doctrines, to deliver Mankind from the Slavery of an usurped Power, under which, if Men will believe you, it hath been so long in *Aegyptian* Bondage. But if the World should be so blind and ungrateful, as to persecute their *Deliverer*, would not your Sufferings carry a Reward of great Glory with them? And would it not be for your everlasting Honour to be a *Confessor*

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essor for detecting such Errors as you pretend to refute: Pray, Sir, remember that *Socrates*, who died for one great Truth, hath had not only Statues erected, but Medals struck for the Honour of his Memory; and by his Sufferings hath left such a glorious *Idea* of himself in the Minds of Men, that his Name hath been transmitted to Posterity, like the Pictures of Saints, with a *Glory* about it; and to this Day is not mentioned, but with such Honour as is usually paid to the Memories of such excellent Men, as were or endeavour'd to be Reformers of their Country and Benefactors to Mankind: Sir, remember his great Example, and fear not at a venture to publish your Name, that it may live for ever, and be always venerable with his, who attempted to deliver his Country, *truly Priest-ridden*, from the Religious Slavery and Impositions of crafty Priests. Take courage, then, Sir, and let the World know your worthy Name, that it may be immortalized with that of Mr. B/—'s, and T—'s, and A/—'s, and S/—'s, and other such *Hero's*, whose Principles are cited in the *Rehearsal* and in the *Ax laid to the Root of Christianity*, that you may be as glorious in your Ashes after you are dead, as one of them already is, and the rest, Mr. *Asgill* not excepted, will in a little time be.

But, Sir, you have other Reasons and more convincing, why you need not much fear to own what you write by Name, as I have done here. But Shame and Fear set apart, Generosity and the Laws of Combat seem also to require you to put your Name to what you write. For otherwise I and your other *Antagonists* must engage against you with disadvantage, and combat you, as some are said to have fought with *Ghosts*, seeing only your Weapon and the Glitterings of it, but not the Hand that wields it; which is thought so unequal and

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unfair, that very able and skilful Writers of Controversy have told their Adversaries in their Answers, that if they reply'd, they would take their Replies for nothing, unless they published them with their Names.

I am sure I have more reason to be afraid of *owning* what I have written, than you; for if those who have a larger Sphere of Conversation than I, tell me truth, there are now too great Numbers of almost all Ranks and Conditions, who will revile me, and persecute me, and say all manner of Evil and with all Bitterness against me, for the sake of those old, I had almost said *antiquated* Principles, which I have endeavoured to defend against you and do me all the Mischief they can. But none of these things move me; for I put my trust in God, whose Institutions and Truths, I think, they are, which I endeavour to maintain against you and all others, who give themselves the Character of *Men of large Thoughts*, and value themselves as *Free Thinkers*; and who delight to misrepresent all Principles, which are uneasy to Flesh and Blood and contrary to Worldly Interests, as *unnatural*; and make such a Clutter and Din among us with the *Natural Rights* and Liberties of Mankind. I am almost old enough to write an History of the Rise and Progress of *Latitude*, were it worth the while, in my own time; and I have now liv'd so long, as to see the *Comble* of it in almost an utter waste of all Principles; *Latitude*, the Source of all Mischief, having scarce left any one Principle, but this, *that there is no Principle*, nor any Creed, but that *One-Article Creed*, which I have been told one Libertine said was the Creed of your Club, *viz. I believe all that I can.*

These, *Sir*, as we find from your Book, are the Men, who hate the Clergy above all Mortals, and therefore love to dress them up in the *Bear-skins*
of

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of terrible and odious Names, to make them frightful and hateful to the People. These are the Men, whose Oracle you are, and whose Party-Language you speak, calling us, as you think very finely, *High-Church, High-flyers, and Enslavers of Mankind*. But, *Sir*, to let you and your Party see, how little I am concerned at those Names, let me tell you I glory in them, and here make no difficulty to profess to be all that they truly import. I am for the *Height*, as well the Breadth, and Length, and Depth of the Church, that is built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, *Jesus Christ* himself being the chief Corner-stone. I am as much for the highest Pinnacle of it as any other part, tho' it may be you would throw me down headlong from it, if you could, as the *Jews* did *St. James* from the Battlements of their Temple. I also profess to be an *High-flyer*, whose Endeavour is to fly upon the Wings of the old Principles, which you ridicule, as upon the Wings of Angels, to my Saviour, *to the General Assembly, to the Church* (the High-Church) *of the First-born, who are enrolled in Heaven, and to the Spirits of Just Men made perfect*. And as to the last and most hateful Name, you'll find by my Answer, I am, as I long have been, one of those whom you miscall *Enslavers of Mankind*, by those strict, holy, and Primitive Doctrines, with which he that made us hath been pleased to limit the Passions and Actions of Men, and restrain the Lusts and Liberties of Flesh and Blood.

You see, *Sir*, I have made a frank Confession to you, and therefore you ought not to reproach me or be angry with me for my Error, if it be my unhappy Error. *First*, Because I confess it; and *Secondly*, because I have enslaved my self by the narrow rigid Doctrines of it, as much as I have endeavoured to enslave all other Men. *Sir*, I farther protest to

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you, that as my Flesh and Blood is of the same Nature with yours; so I have had, and still have as natural Desires to be as much at liberty from the severe and sturdy old Principles, as you. Nay, I will farther confess to you and all the World, that my first Notions, for want of knowing better, had too much of *Latitude* in them; and that since I espoused the Principles I now defend, the *Law in my Members*, as the Apostle calls the Inclinations of Flesh and Blood, would have me throw them off, as so many Manacles and Fetters; but the *Law of my Mind*, which I take to be superior, will not let me do it, but commands me to go through the straight Gate, and walk in the narrow Way to Heaven. This, *Sir*, is my unfeigned Endeavour upon Conviction, which I cannot overcome; this is my Profession, which I must still own, and if you will have it so, *my Craft*, *my very Priestcraft*, by which I am not yet ashamed to declare, I have, as much as I was able, endeavoured, in your sense, to *enslave Mankind*, and *deceive the People*; but which in my own Judgment is to set Men free from Sin, which Heathen as well as Christian Writers have always declared to be the greatest Slavery of Mankind. Pity me therefore, *Sir*, and all *High-flyers*, as a sort of poor *hide-bound* Mortals, that perhaps (by Complexion, or Education, or I know not what other evil Fate) are *made for Slavery*, rather than abuse us. Methinks Men of your *large Souls* should have more Humanity, more Compassion for us wretched *narrow-soul'd* Men, than to expose us, as you have done throughout your whole Book, to be baited by the People, who, if they could believe the High-Church Clergy to be such, as you have represented them to be, must needs say of them, as the Jews said of St. PAUL, *Away with these Fellows from the Earth; it is not fit that they should live.* *Sir*, I now take leave of you,
not

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not only with as much Respect as the Church of England can, but any other Church since the Apostles time, had you written your Book in it, possibly could have had for you; with as much Respect as your Father, were he living, would have for you; with as much Respect as the *most famous* University where you were bred, and the *flourishing* College, in which you have eat so much Founder's Bread, can have for you: In short, Sir, I take leave of you with as much Respect as my High-Church Principles will suffer me to give you, and with all that Respect subscribe

Your most faithful Friend
and Servant,

Geo. Hickes.

(N. 2.)

In the Account of the Third Edition, p. 38. l. 19.

After *have said on that Subject*, add, and I think it very proper and pertinent to add the Tract of * *St. Ephraim Syrus de Sacerdotio*, as I find it in the Latin Translation of his Works by *Gerardus Vossius Tungrensis*, which I had not met with before. *St. Ephraim*, as he was a most Holy, so he was a most Learned Man, and the Wonder not only of *St. Basil the Great*, but of the *Greek and Syrian Churches* in the Fourth Century, and to those Additions, &c.

(N. 3.)

In the Prefatory Discourse, p. lxxvi. l. 23.

After *and on the Bench*. add, This Reflexion touches the Honour of Almighty God, who chose

* See (N. 17.) of this Supplement.

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Saul for King out of the smallest of the Tribes of Israel, and out of the least of all the Families of that Tribe, 1 Sam. 9. 21. He also made David his Successor, a King of a Shepherd; and I do not doubt, but the Author of the Rights thinks a King a more Honourable Person than a Priest. It also casts Pharisaical, &c.

(N. 4.)

Ibid. p. lxxviii. l. 18.

After himself and others. add, I suppose that had the Great Socrates been a Christian, and liv'd in the Time of this Gregory, who was of Noble Extraction, he would not have rejected him from the Priesthood, because he was no better than a Stone-cutter's or Statuary's Son. As for Synods, &c.

(N. 5.)

Ibid. p. lxxix. l. 22.

At these Words (for he was a great Impugner of the Arians) Marg. Not. Orat. 25. ad Arianos.

(N. 6.)

Ibid. p. lxxxvi. l. 17.

After to be spoken of. add, Gregory Nazianzen's 25th Oration and Arsenius's Hand are enough to justify the most severe Speeches of them, without reciting their barbarous, &c.

(N. 8.)

Ibid. p. cviii. l. 11.

After mournful Occasions, add, and even to cover their Coaches and Chairs, so that not a Brass Nail shall appear; and if the Lord Marshall hath Power to order the same for all Peers, as we see it often done;

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done; shall it be such an intolerable Imposition in our Spiritual Governors to command the People, who ought to be Obedient to them, to Cloath themselves in a manner suitable to Times of Penitence, &c.

(N. 8.)

Ibid. l. 25.

After *Festivity and Joy?* add, Such Commands of our Spiritual Governors are so far from being Tyrannical Impositions, that their Authority wou'd bear them out, if They shou'd upon such Occasions command the People to cloath themselves with Sackcloth, to testify their Humiliation, Vileness, Sorrow, and Abhorrence of their Sins. *But without any, &c.*

(N. 9.)

Ibid. p. cxx.

At the bottom of the Leaf, after *abditis judicaturus*, read, *Cypr. de Lapsis, Edit. Oxon. p. 128, 129.*

(N. 10.)

Ibid. p. cxlviii. l. 36.

After *as Lord-Mayor*: add, Surely the Civilian knew, that among the * Romans,

* Instit. lib. 1. Tit. 12. § 4. de Dignitate. *Filius-familias si militaverit, vel si Senator vel Consul factus fuerit, remanet in potestate Patris. Militia enim vel Consularis dignitas de Patris potestate Filium non liberat.*

(N. 11.)

(N. 11.)

In the Christian Priesthood asserted, p. 58. l. 34.

At these Words (*hoc est quod facies in Altari.*) read this Marginal Note :

Jo. Saubertus de Sacrificiis, cap. i. p. 10, 11. Facere autem simpliciter hoc loco significat ποιῆναι sive ποιῆσαι, agere, peragere : Quanquam apud Veteres nuda hæc Vox sæpe etiam pro sacrificare sumatur. Plautus in Rud. III. IV. 4. Tun' Legirupionem hic nobiscum Dis facere postulas? Strobilus apud eundem : Mulsi congialem plenam faciam tibi Fideliam. Id adeo tibi faciam. Aul. IV. II. 15. Leonidas apud eundem : Jam nunc secunda mihi facis. Asin. II, IV. 89. Varro I. de R. R. c. I. Proverbiū adducit : Dii facientes adjuvant. Laberius : Bidentes propter viam facere. Agellius : VESTALEM FACERE PRO POPULO ROMANO. Lib. i. c. XII. Virg. Cum faciam Vitulā pro frugibus. Ecl. II. v. 77. Juven. Pro populo faciens. Sat. IX. v. 117. Ovidius :

Nos faciamus ad annum

Pastorum Dominæ grandia liba Deæ. lib. 4. Fast. v. 775.

Atque ita Facere idem erit quod Reddere, sive quæ Deus postulavit, sive χάρις, i. e. pro beneficiis gratum animus, sive pro peccatis placulares, quo sensu existat l. faciendi 173. ff. de V. S. Vel idem, quod dare, aut solvere. Vid. l. 218. ff. eod. Confer insuper Alciatum Lex. Plaut. voc. Facere, & Brissonium in form. Inde quidam Pontificis nomen deducere laborant à posse & facere, i. e. sacrificare. Apud Græcos similia verba sunt ποιῆναι ac ποιῆσαι, i. e. & facere & sacrificare. Hom. Odys. O. Theocr. Idyll. XXV, & XXVIII. Scholiasta Theocriti doctissimus Zacharias Calliergus ad Idyl. β. quod inscribitur φαρμακὸν τετρα, πὸ ποιῆναι καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ἑλεγον ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ γινώσκον. λέγει δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς καίεν ἀπλῶς, καὶ ἐν οὐκ ἐν πιδνωτὶ καὶ ἐν δὲ οὐκ ἐν πιδνωτὶ. Eodem intellectu tam apud Sacros quam Profanos Authores aliquando reperiri voces ποιῆναι & ποιῆσαι aliquot Exemplis evincit magnus Bossius Præceptor atque Parvulus meus. Exerc. I. de Pont. Max. c. 1.

(N. 12.)

Ibid. p. 145. l. 15.

Instead of making the Sign of the Cross upon the Ἀῶρα, read, impressing the Sign of the Cross upon the Bread.

(N. 13.)

(N. 13.)

Ibid. p. 151. l. 12.

Thus many of the Roman Laws imagine a Child
* in the Womb to be born, and a Man who lives
or dies in † Captivity, &c.

[Marginal Note.] * *Tit. Digest. de divers. Reg. juris Antiq.*
187. *Siquis pregnantem Uxorem reliquerit, non videtur sine*
liberis decessisse. Justin. Instit. Lib. 1. Tit. 13. § 4. ———
Posthumi pro jam natis habeantur.

[Marginal Note.] † *Inst. lib. 1. Tit. 12. § 5.* *Postlimi-*
nium fingit eum, qui ab hostibus captus fuerit, in Civitate semper
fuisse. So by the Ancient Roman Law Parents emancipated
their Children by Imaginary Venditions, which Justinian calls
Fictionem pristinam. *Inst. Lib. 1. Tit. 12. § 6. de Emanci-*
patione.

(N. 14.)

Ibid. p. 159. l. 27.

I define a Sacrifice thus : || a Sacrifice, &c.

[Marginal Note.] || To the same Purpose *J. Saubertus de*
Sacrificiis, cap. 1. p. 13. *Sic definitio Sacrificium, sacram &*
externam Actionem, quâ res quæpiam externa à certis personis
loco ritibusque certis ad finem certum Dñi aut Deorum loco ha-
bitis consecratur & obferebatur.

(N. 15.)

Ibid. p. 198. l. 23.

After, and he answered them : add, This is ob-
served by the Son of Syrach, in Ecclesiasticus, ch. 45.
ver. 6, 7, 15, 16. He exalted Aaron an holy Man
like unto him, even his Brother, of the Tribe of
Levi. An Everlasting Covenant he made with him,
and gave him the Priesthood among the People.
Moses consecrated him with holy Oyl. This was
appointed unto him by an everlasting Covenant,
and to his Seed so long as the Heavens should re-
main; That they shou'd minister unto him, and
execute

execute the Office of the Priesthood, and Bless the People in his Name. He chose him out of all Men living to offer Sacrifices to the Lord, Incense and a sweet Savour, for a Memorial, to make Reconciliation for his People.

(N. 15.)

In the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, from p. 60. l. 35. to p. 61. l. 6. read thus, *Pastori grex adherens*. Plebs in the Roman Law, signifies all Ranks of People, as distinguish'd from the *Senators*; so *Caius F. l. 6 ad l. 12. Tab. l. 237. Plebs est ceteri Cives sine Senatoribus*. And in the Legal Sense, I doubt not, but the Holy Father us'd the Word for all Ranks and Conditions of People, as distinguish'd from the Clergy, whose Diocesan Assemblies are call'd *Synedria* by *St. Ignatius*, i. e. in his Syrian Phrase *Sanhedrims*, *Senates*; so that in those times it was thought no Arrogance to make the same Distinction of Men in the Church that was in the State, which *Theophilus Ant. de jure Person.* expresses thus: *Et circa Personas cum dicimus, hic συγκαλητικός Senatorius est, aut ex Plebe: ὁ δὲ εἶνα συγκαλητικός ἐστίν, ἢ ἰδιώτης*. Besides, if the Enemies of the Priesthood please, they may as well inveigh against us for calling our People our *Flocks*, as the Apostle did; for *Flock* is a Word, which distinguishes the People from their Spiritual *Pastors*, as much as the Word *People* distinguishes them from their *Priests*, or the Word *Plebs* from the *Clergy*, their *Ecclesiastical Senators*. This Distinction between the Clergy and Laity is also plainly to be seen.

No. 17.

Ibid. p. 63. l. 16.

After *præcedit in Laicis* add, This Distinction is also to be read in *Origen's Vth Tract upon Matth.*
of

The Dignity of the Episcopal Order. 13

of the *Basil* Edit. 1571. p. 38. *Christum autem Ecclesie Caput esse, non ego, sed Apostolus intellexit: Sacerdotes autem rationabiliter possunt dici Ecclesie Oculus, quoniam & speculatores habentur; Diaconi autem ceterique Ministri, manus. — Populum autem esse Pedes Ecclesie, &c.* You may also find, &c.

(N. 17.)

*Sancti Patris Nostri EPHRAEM SYRI,
Diaconi Ecclesie Edessena Religiosissimi de
Sacerdotio.*

*Interprete & Scholiaste Gerardo Vossio Tungrensi.
Colonia 1616.*

O Miraculum stupendum! O potestas ineffabilis! O tremendum Sacerdotii mysterium, spirituale ac sanctum, venerandum & irreprehensibile, quod Christus in hunc mundum veniens, etiam indignis impertitus est: Genu March. 26.
posito lachrymis atque suspiriis oro, Mar. 14.
ut hunc Sacerdotii thesaurum inspi- Luc. 22.
ciamus, thesaurum, inquam, his, qui Joan. 13. &
eum dignè & sanctè custodiunt. Scu- 1 Corinth. 11.
rum siquidem est refulgens & incomparabile, turris
firma, murus indivisibilis, fundamentum solidum ac
stabile, à terrâ ad axem usque Cœli
pertingens: Quid dico, fratres, excel- Sublimitas Sa-
sos illos axes contingi? imò in ipsos cerdotii.
Cœlos Cœlorum sinè impedimento atque labore a-
scendit, & in medio Angelorum simul cum spiriti-
bus incorporeis facile versatur. Quid dico in medio
supernarum Virtutum, quin & cum ipso Angelorum
Domino atque Creatore, datorèque luminum, fami-
liariter agit? Et quantum vult, confestim quæ po-
stulat, facile & suo jure quodammodo impetrat.
Non desisto, fratres, laudare & glorificare illius dig-
nitatis

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*Sacerdotalis
dignitatis pro-
funditas.*

nitatis profunditatem, quam nobis, no-
bis, inquam, Ada filiis sancta elargita est
Trinitas, per quam mundus salvatus est,
& creatura illuminata, per quam montes & colles,
rupes & valles, illustri ac venerandâ politiâ Sancto-
rum, inquam, monachorum, impleta
sunt. Quemadmodum & Propheta

Esaiæ 42.

*Sacerdotii ef-
fectus multi-
plices.*

Esaias sonorâ voce reboat, dicens: Quo-
niam de vertice montium vocem suam
daturi sunt homines in gloriam & lau-
dem Dei altissimi. Hâc quoque impietas
à terrâ sublata est; hâc, & continentia

in terris commoratur. Hâc & Diabolus, è cœlo deci-
dens subactus est. Lascivi vasa facti sunt sanctificata,
& fornicatores casti & impolluti. Insipientes verita-
tis & iustitiæ duces facti sunt, & im-

1 Cor. 15.

Ephes. 2, 4, 5.

Coloss. 2, 3.

Heb. 2, 5, 9, 10.

brobi boni ac pii. Per hanc & mor-
ris potentia destructa est, & inferni vi-
res propalam deperditæ, ipsaque Ada
maledictio exterminata est atque solu-

ta & cœlestis thalamus apertus est & adornatus. Per
hanc quoque humana natura, licet humilis atque ab-
jecta, cum Virtutibus incorporeis adæquatur. Quid
dicam? Quid eloquar? aut quid laudibus efferam?
Excedit quippe intellectum, & orationem, omnemque
cogitationem, donum altitudinis dignitatis Sacerdo-
talis. Et sicut arbitror, hoc est, quod Paulus, quasi

Rom. 11.

*In vulgo non ad-
ditur (incom-
prehensibilis.)*

in stuporem mentis actus, inuit, excla-
mans: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ
& scientiæ Dei incomprehensibilis!
quàm incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia
ejus, & investigabiles divini viæ ejus?

Altivolans è terrâ in cœlum nostra postulata Deo ce-
lerimè desert, & Dominum pro servis suis depreca-
tur. Intendamus igitur mentem, fratres, clarè ac
liquidò ad mysticam hanc formidabilèmq; narra-
tionem; quoniam absque venerando & divino Sacer-
dotio remissio peccatorum mortalibus non conceditur.

Attendite

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Attendite, fratres; vos etenim pietatis amatores
 estis, qui humen doctrinae Christi contemplamini.
 Hæc sunt, quæ prius tenuiter de mysterio frumenti,
 nec non Sacerdotum unionem inter se obtinent.
 Palmes & frumentum sunt velut pedisquæ, at
 Sacerdotium est naturâ liberum. Ceterum ubi tria hæc ut simul sint, inter
 sese concordiam inierint: tum supra
 thesauros offert Regi, unumquodque
 virtutem propriorum fructuum, in o-
 dorem suavitatis, Palmes præcedit
 sanguinem, similiterque frumentum,
 purum hunc panem. Sacerdotium verò
 audacter e terrâ sursum in cælum vo-
 litans, ascendit ad Deum, donec ipsum
 contueatur invisibilem, procidentique ante excelsum
 thronum, instanter pro servis orat Dominum, la-
 chrymas & gemitus conservorum deportans, propri-
 æque similiter Domino ferventem deprecationem
 simul & pœnitentiam offerens, misericordiam & in-
 dulgentiam à Rege misericorde postulans, ut Spi-
 ritus sanctus pariter descendat, sanctificetque dona
 in terris proposita: cumque oblata fuerint tremenda
 mysteria immortalitate plena, prævio Sacerdote ora-
 tionem pro cunctis faciente, tunc animæ accedentes,
 per illa tremenda mysteria macularum purificatio-
 nem accipiunt. Cernitis, pii, quomodo hæc duo non
 operentur in terrâ, nisi cœleste advenerit suffragium,
 sanctificetque dona. Vides, homo, illustrem mi-
 raculi editionem, cernis sublime sacrificium, quàm
 facile sordes animarum eluat. Bene-
 dicitur Salvator, qui fecit in terris su-
 perillustre hoc & purgativum donum,
 in gratia Sacerdotes illuminans, ut fi-
 cut luminaria in mundo luceant. Po-
 pulus qui ante nos erat, cornu olei fe-
 rens, ad Sacerdotium promovebatur:

*Nota pulcher-
 rimam trium
 in divino my-
 sterio & unionem.*

*Sacerdotii li-
 bertas atque
 sublimitas.*

Math. 26.

Joan. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Reg. 16.

Isa. 5.

Ezech. 45. 46.

nos

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nos verò servi inutiles Dei benedicti,
 non cornu, non oleum sensibile sumi-
 mus, sed ipse qui est brachium ex-
 cellum atque tremendum, ex coelo
 descendens, suum nobis, per imposi-
 tionem manuum, donat spiritum, qui ignis instar
 venit super Apostolos. O potestas in-
 effabilis, quæ in nobis dignata est ha-
 bitare per impositionem manuum sa-
 crorum Sacerdotum! O quàm mag-
 nam in se continet profunditatem for-
 midabile & admirabile Sacerdotium!
 Felicem illum, qui in hâc ipsâ dig-
 nitate administrat purè & irreprehen-
 sibiliter. Petrus dictus Cephas, qui
 aliquando captus est ad littus maris,
 quippe à magno testimonium accepit
 pastore: Quia super hanc petram
 ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, per Sacer-
 dotium, & claves regni coelorum ac-
 cepit, tamquam dignus. Similiter
 autem & Paulus, qui prius quidem persecutor erat,
 hoc quoque charismate habitus dignus, celer uni-
 versum terrarum peragravit orbem, prædicans an-
 nuntiansque resurrectionem mortuo-
 rum. Ceterum revertamur ad justum
 Abel, qui in initio creationis sacer-
 dos factus est; discamusque ex ipso,
 quando in principio victimam suam sacrificavit Deo,
 nonne ignis ex coelo descendens, ipsius sacrificium de-
 voravit? Quando enim obtulit Deo
 de primogenitis gregis sui, ut inquit
 Scriptura, respexit ex coelo Deus san-
 ctis in oblationem Abel, in sacrificium verò Cain re-
 spicere non bene ei complacuit. Rursus
 autem & Noe, qui in arca salvatus est,
 quando cessavit aqua, sed etque supra
 in Monte Ararat, hujus quoque fuit
 mune-

2 Tim. 1.

Ibidem.

Magna Sacer-
 dotii profun-
 ditas.

Joan. 1.

Matth. 4.

Marc. 1.

Luc. 5.

Matth. 16. 18.

Act. 9. 12. 17.

18. 19. & 20.

Rom. 10. & 15.

Gen. 4.

Heb. 11.

& Joan. 3.

Ibidem.

Gen. 8.

In Monte Ara-
 rat.

muneris particeps, obtulitque Deo sacrificium purè in odorem suavitatis ; unde & cum ipso pactum statuit Redemptor, de non amplius diluvio inducendo super terram, sanctam quoque illi dans benedictionem crescendi & multiplicandi. Adspicis mirabile Sacerdotii opificium. Vides primum sacerdotem Abel, in priore creatione, quo pacto ignis coelitus in terram deciderit, propter irreprehensibile ejus sacrificium ; Cernis iterum Noe sacerdotem venerandum, in secundâ creatione, quomodo pactum cum ipso statuerit Dominus. Hoc quoque & Abraham reputatus est dignus, ut illius foret particeps, Deoque offerret dilectum Isaac, & sacrificaret viscera propria. Ibi ostendit ei Deus miraculum magnum, Christi scilicet generationem in planta Sabec, in iestu incrementum, ipsamque benedictionem, quâ ipse benedixit : In femine enim tuo, inquit, benedicentur tribus omnis terræ. Quin & hoc ipso munere divinus Moyses habitus dignus, ascendit in montem Sina ad Deum, accepitque legem ; unde quoque facies ejus glorificata est, ut videretur sole pulchrior. Similitérque Aaron hoc eodem dignatus, legatione pro peccatis populi apud Deum functus est ; Moyses enim & Aaron in Sacerdotibus ejus. Similiter etiam Phinees in hoc verè honorabili Sacerdotio, mortem à populo ejus prohibuit. Isaïas quoque eodem amictus, in igne exauditus est, Sacerdotésque infamiæ jugulavit gladius. Discamus igitur Fratres, quoniam magna est & multa, immensa ac infinita ipsius Sacerdotii dignitas. Gloria unigenito, gloria & soli bono, illud suis præbenti discipulis, per sanctum suum Novum Testamentum, ut & ipsi nobis

Gen. 9. & 27.
ac Isaïæ 54.

Gen. 27.

Gen. 22.

Planta Sabec.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 26. 28.

Exod. 19. 24,

33, & 34.

Psal. 98.

Psal. 105.

Isa. 1. 2. 44. 5.

& Psal. 103.

Matth. 26.

Joan. 13.

2 Tim. 1.

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per impositionem manuum suarum super dignos, exemplum demonstrent. Cuncti ergo honoremus, cuncti hâc venerandi Sacerdotii sublimitate decoratos prædicemus beatos; certò scientes, quòd si quis amicum Regis amet, hunc ipsum multò amplius à rege amari. Quocirca amemus

Sacerdotes Dei amandi & honorandi.

Matth. 10.

Mar. 9.

Sacerdotes Dei, siquidem amici ipsius sunt boni, & pro nobis ac mundo deprecantur. Honora Sacerdotes, Christi mandatum exple, quod dicit: Quoniam qui prophetam cum gaudio recepit in nomine prophetæ, mercedem prophetæ accipiet. Quod si de illo, qui Sacerdos est, ignoras, dignusne an indignus sit tantâ sublimitate,

Similitudo pulcherrim.

tu ob præceptum ipsius Christi, cave despexeris. Etenim sicut fulgidissimum aurum licet luto contaminatum, non percipit detrimentum, neque speciosissima margarita ex contactu quarundam immundarum specierum: Ad eundem modum, nec Sacerdotium ab ullo sordidum redditur, quantumvis etiam indignus sit is,

Bonorum Sacerdotum præmia.

Malorum Sacerdotum pena.

Aliud Exemplum.

qui illud suscepit. Porro si quis ad hanc dignitatem velut dignus repertus sit, in eaque sanctè & irreprehensibiliter ambulârit, vitam & coronam immarcescibilem sibi ipse conciliat. Sed si indignè quis hanc ipsam sibi usurpare sit ausus, tenebras is sibi exteriores, judiciûmque absque misericordiâ consciscit. En aliud tibi exemplum, ô homo, ne tu indignè audeas & arroganter obrepere ad sublimitatem Sacerdotii, cum non bene sibi complaceat Deus purus in arroganter ordinatis. Nosce quid miseri illi sunt passi, qui olim restiterunt Moyfi & Aaron, suâque temeritate ausi sunt impudenter atque præ-

Levit. 9, 10.

fractè sacrificare Deo; nonne ignis è cœlo devoravit omnes, adversum quos
in

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in profundum supra se sunt aufi. Rurſus autem & Maria Prophetiſſa Dei, quòd brevi quodam ſermone Moyſi de Sacerdotio impropere- ret, talem ei reprehentionis notam ſtatuit Altiffimus, ut tota leproſa ſeptem diebus ejiceretur extra caſtra. Idcirco hæc nunc, ô fratres, purè adminiſtrare, imitantes Moyſen & Aaron, atque Eleazar. Conſidera pios Sacerdotes, quomodo in ipſo Sacerdotio ſacrilega hoſtium caſtra ſint ul- ti: Hoc poſſidens Moyſes, manus ad Deum ſuſtulit, vulneravitque Amalec plagâ incurabili. Hoc quoque circumami- ctus Abraham reges in fugam vertit. Hoc ornatus Melchiſedech, Abrahæ be- nedixit electo, benediſtione eximiâ. Dignatus es, frater, ſublimitate Sacerdotii; ſtude complacere illi qui te elegit, ut ſis ipſi miles puritate, & juſtitiâ, ac ſapientiâ divinâ, illuſtri- que virginitate. Eſto fervens æmula- tor, ut temperans Joſeph, ut caſtus ut Jeſus Nave, hoſpitalis ut Abraham, paupertatis amator ut Job, indulgens ut David, & mitis ut Moyſes. Erran- tem reducito, claudum confirma, erige cadentem, ſuc- curre infirmis, & alia his ſimilia. Ego verò obſtupesco, fratres dilecti, ad ea quæ ſoliti ſunt quidam inſipientum audere, qui impudenter ac temerè ſeſe conantur ingerere ad munus Sacerdo- tii aſſumendum, licèt non adſciti à gratiâ Chriſti, ignorantes miſeri, quòd ignem & mortem ſibi accumulent. Non dico tibi homo, non ſolùm non ſacerdotium temerariè aſſumendum: ſed neque cæterorum quidpiam, ex vafis verè venerandi cultûs divini, contingendum. Siquidem legiſti quid paſſus ſit Oza, eo quòd arcam Dei tetigiffet. Hujus tu ſemper memineris,

*Aliud Exem-
plum.*

Exod. 15.

Num. 12.

Pſal. 105.

Exod. 17.

Judith 4.

Gen. 14.

Heb. 7.

Gen. 39.

Job 1, 2.

2 Reg. 2. &

Num. 12.

*Contraingerer-
tes ſe temerè
ad Sacerdota-
le
munus atque
indignos.*

2 Reg. 6.

1 Paralip. 13.

dilecte

Num. 4. dilecte frater, horribilis verbi Dei ex-
 Isai. 66. celsi, ore Isaia prophetæ pronuntiati :
 Super quem requiescam ego nisi su-
 per mansuetum, humilem, tranquillum, & trementem
 sermones meos? Hujus, inquam, semper memineris
 vocis, & attende ut possideas thesaurum, animum
 tranquillum, quo possis spiritaliter in Metropolin
 I Tim. 2. Hierulalem supernam ascendere, spiri-
 I Pet. 1 & 5. taliâque sacrificia Regi Deo inaccessiblei
 offerre, ubi texuntur coronæ immarcescibiles & in-
 corruptibiles, ibique tu coram Angelis à Christo co-
 roneris coronâ immortalitatis, ipsèque cum super-
 nis illis choris hymnum victoriæ decantes Sanctissi-
 mæ Trinitati, in sæcula seculorum. *Amen.*

*Scholia & Variæ Lectiones G. Voslii Tun-
 grensis.*

DE dignitate atque præstantiâ sacerdotii, si
 alios adhuc graves Auctores requiris, plura
 apud S. Joan. Chrysoft. reperies, qui libros sex de
 Sacerdotio conscripsit, lectu in hac materiâ dignissi-
 mos: extant inter ejus Opera, tom. 5. post illas 80.
 ad pop. Antioch. homilias. De quo argumento, i-
 dem Chrysoft. licet non ita ex professo, agit hom. de
 verbis Esaia, ac 14. in 2. Cor. moral. ibi: nam etsi
 æquum, & hom. 10. in primam ad Thessal. ac tertia
 in Act. & ad Hebr. ult. in hunc locum: Ipsi pervi-
 gilant, quasi pro vobis rationem reddituri, &c. De
 cujus etiam dignitate, vide apud eundem Chrysoft.
 in Psal. 117. & in Psal. 131. ubi in quanto honore
 ac reverentiâ sit habenda Sacerdotalis dignitas, quan-
 tàmque reprehensionem ac poenam mereantur inhono-
 rantes illam, abundè elucescit omnibus. Quibus ista non
 suffecerint videre quoque poterunt aliud insigne Gra-
 corum lumen Gregor. Nazianzenum cognomento
 Theo-

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Theologum, præsertim in apologet. oratione primâ, quæ incipit in Billiana translatione: Victus sum, idque agnosco & fateor, subditus sum Domino, &c. ubi inter alia, quanta Sacerdotii dignitas, quæq; Sacerdotis professio sit, docet; & qualem Episcopum quoque esse oporteat, &c. Oratio prolixa est, sed digna quæ legatur; post quam, ejusdem etiam Carmen vide, tom. 2. quod incipit: O qui sacra Deo offertis, non tincta cruore, &c. Hujusq; dignitatem ac præcellentiam inter alios, ab Ignatio celebratam habes, in epist. ad Smyrnenfes potissimum, ac ad Heronem, nec non à Cypriano, lib. 1. epist. 3. & lib. 3. epist. 9. ac Leone Mag. præsertim in Epist. 87. ad Episc. Africanos, &c.

In monte Ararat.] Ita Septuaginta Interp. Gen. 8. Cæterum in vulg. Latin. requievisse arca super montes Armeniæ legitur. Verum quomodo hic legamus, parum referre videtur: nam Armenia hebraicè dicitur Ararat, quod maledictionem tremoris sonat. Quamquam tamen hic Ephraem potius Ararat, videatur velle esse nomen montis illius, super quem arca Noe in Armeniâ requieverat. Quod etiam confirmat S. Chrysost. hom. 26. in Genesim.

In plantâ Sabec.] Ita habent Septuag. Gen. 22. quod in Latin. vulg. non ponitur. Interpretatur autem hoc vocabulum τὸ σαβὲκ ἐπηρμένον, id est, elatus, five erectus: unde quidam etiam pro eo ὄρεδιον, hoc est, altus vel rectus, ediderunt, ut per arietem in plantâ rectum five erectum cornibus, ut est Gen. 22. intelligatur ibi typus seu figura Crucis Christi, &c. De quo vide Scholia Græca in allegatum caput Gen. in novâ Rom. editione Græc. veteris Testamenti juxta Septuaginta Interp. Cæterum Syrus hic noster Ephræm in Serim. in Abraam et Isâac, per τὸ φυτόν τὸ τῷ σαβὲκ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐρμηνεύεται. id est, remissionem seu liberationem, per plantam Sabec, interpretatur; ut eo denotetur Crux Christi, quæ mundum à peccatis liberavit, vitamque præbuit. Nam sicut aries ille cor-

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nibus harena in plantâ Sabec, mysticâ liberavit Isaac; sic Agnus Dei manibus in Cruce distensis, suspensusque, non solum hominem, sed universum mundum à morte & inferno liberavit. Sic in Abraam & Isaac, ibi Ephraim, unde plura in hunc locum require. Et huc ferè alludit Elias Cretensis Metropolit. nomen Sabec interpretans, in suo Comment. in priorem invektivam in Iulianum Apostat. in illa verba Nazianzeni: Abraam, dum vocaretur, ac filio præter ætatem donaretur, &c.

In semine tuo benedicentur tribus omnis terræ.] Sic legitur hic apud Ephraim. At Gen. 26. est: Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ. Et Gen. 28. Et benedicentur in te & semine tuo cunctæ tribus terræ. Gen. autem 12. In te benedicentur universæ cognationes terræ. & Act. 3. cap. in semine tuo benedicentur omnes familiae terræ. In quibus lectionis varietatem observa & concilia,

(No. 18.)

(N. 18.)

A LETTER from the Reverend Mr. J. M—N
to Dr. GEORGE HICKES, concerning some
Passages in his Christian Priesthood; with
Dr. HICKES's ANSWER.

Reverend SIR,

Decemb. 22d, 1713.

HAVING had the Happiness to see, and with
great Pleasure and Satisfaction to peruse,
your Judicious and Learned Work of *The Christian
Priesthood*; I hope you'll not think it a Presump-
tion, that I entreat you'll be so kind, as to give me
Satisfaction in what I entertain a Doubt about,
contain'd in that Piece. If you'll condescend to
gratifie me herein, it will be resented as a great
Favour by,

SIR,

Your humble Servant,

J. M—N.

What I then desire to be inform'd in is, What
Reason induces you to interpret in p. 255. *Jews and
Synagogue of Satan*, in Rev. 2. 9. & 3. 9. of Chri-
stians and False Heretical Christians and their
Churches. The Reason I ask you is, because the
Learned Mr. Dodwell (a Master in every Argument
he undertakes, by the Acknowledgment even of the
Learned Bishop of Salisbury) p. 96, of his *Occa-
sional Communion*, says, after quoting these two
Places, " These can hardly be the Ebonites, but the
" *unbelieving Jews*: The Βλασφημία, Apoc. 2. 9.
" ————— and their *Persecutions*, v. 9, 10.
" are rather Notes of those *Jews*, who did not own

“ the Name of *Christ*, than of the *Christian Ebio-*
 “ *nites.*” And point-blank elsewhere says, *p. 129.*
 “ The *Jews* themselves (how much Zeal soever
 “ they pretended for the *Law of God*) yet are
 “ taken by *St. John* for the *Synagogue of Satan.*”
 And for Confirmation of his Assertion quotes these
 same Places, and then gives his Reason in the
 same Page and the following, *p. 130.* why they
 must be really, as he says, *p. 131. Jews by Ex-*
 “ *traction*, or as he varies it again, *p. 133.* were
 “ indeed *Jews* by *Extraction.* His Words are,
 “ There could hardly be any at this time, who
 “ who could find in their Hearts to *pretend* to be
 “ *Jews*, if they were *not*, but they who *glory’d* in
 “ that *Name.* Nor were any likely to *glory* in that
 “ *Name*, but they who were *Jews by Extraction*,
 “ when the very *Name* expos’d them to a *Tax* to the
 “ Temple of *Peace* at *Rome*, the same which had for-
 “ merly been paid to their own Temple at *Jerusalem*,
 “ which *Tax* was exacted with great *Rigor* in this
 “ Reign of * *Domitian*, under whom *St. John* receiv’d
 “ his *Revelations* in his Exile at *Patmos*, when
 “ withal they had not only incens’d their *Roman*
 “ *Proteſtors* against them by that *Rebellion*, which
 “ God was pleas’d to make the *Occasion* of inflicting
 “ the *Vengeance* themselves had imprecated upon
 “ their own Heads, but thereby expos’d themselves
 “ defenceless to the old *Rancors* and *Resentments*
 “ of their neighbouring *Nations*, who took this
 “ Occasion, as *Josephus* shews, under pretence
 “ (no doubt) of gratifying the *Romans*, to wreck
 “ the utmost of their own *Malice* against them.
 “ At such a time, I say, as this was, they could
 “ have been no other but *Jews by Extraction*, that
 “ could shew themselves so zealously ambitious of
 “ so hateful a *Name*, which had nothing to re-

* *Sueton. Domitian.*

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“ commend it but the Glory of their Ancestors.” And indeed, how can we think, that any Christians at that time of day should be fond of that Name, when they abstain’d from applying it to themselves at the time when *Tertullian* wrote his *Apology*, which was a Name then so hateful and abhorred, that he tells us they did not communicate with ’em so much as in Name. His own Words, *chap. 21.* are, *Neque de consortio nominis cum Judeis agimus.* And I think I may say from the *Can. Apost. 7 & 8*, whene’er they commence their Date, they were a detestable People; and were in no better Grace with the Christians at the Council of *Nice*, as I gather from these Words in *Constantine’s Epistle to the Churches*, wherein he informs ’em, That all there assembled consented that the most sacred Solemnity and Feast of *Easter* should by all Men, in all Places, be celebrated on the self-same Day. I give you the Words of Dr. *Hanmer’s* Translation of the *Eccles. Hist. of Socrat. Scholast.* because I have not the Historian’s own. “ Your Minds should in no wise participate, neither in any thing have Fellowship with the wicked Ways of Lewd Persons. ——— We have nothing common with Murtherers of Fathers, and such as have put their Lord and Master to Death.” So that I think is very probable which Mr. *Dodwell* says, and we may conclude with him, and assert as he does, *p. 134.* Plainly therefore they were *Jews by Extraction*, who are call’d by St. *John* the *Synagogue of Satan*, and said by him to *lye* when they pretended to be *Jews*; and not Christians, and false Heretical Christians, and their Churches, as you make ’em to be. For as he adds, which has its Weight with what went before to establish his Opinion. “ The Name of a *Synagogue* supposes them so, when they had now no other *Publick Worship* but in their *Synagogues,*

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“ *gogues*, after the *Desolation* of their *Temple*. So
 “ also do their mentioned *Blasphemies* against the
 “ *Christians*, of which we have so many Instances,
 “ even in the *Scripture History*.”

I design'd, when I first set Pen to Paper, to have troubled you no farther at present; but a few Particulars more, which I also desire to be satisfy'd in, occurring to my Memory, I will be bold to ask you,

Why you reckon *saying Prayers at putting on every Vestment in Robing of the Priest, and making the Sign of the Cross upon the Δωρα*, among the Instances of the bad Additions, which have crept into the ancient Liturgies, as you do *p. 145*. Pray wherein consists the Naughtiness and Corruption of a short Prayer, made by the Priest at the putting on of every Garment? Do not even *Protestant* Divines advise Persons to spiritualize the Actions and Occurrences of Human Life, even the most common? So in the *Second Volume of The New-Year's Gift*, under the Title of *Ejaculations for the Day*, at apparelling, when apparell'd, at washing the Hands, the Mouth and Eyes, at beholding the Face in the Glass, at going forth of the House or Chamber, as one travels or walks by the Way, when the Clock strikes, or we see the Hour of the Day, as one ascends an high Place, or goes to Church, when on an high Hill, at going to read or meditate, when one hungers or thirsts, &c. there are proper Ejaculations compos'd for devout Souls on these Occasions. Do you condemn them as bad? If not, why do you count the Prayers of the Priest at Robing so? If at any time fit to Pray when Apparelling; sure then, when the holy Garments are put on in order to celebrate the Tremendous Sacrifice, it cannot be reckon'd in it self a bad thing at every Vestment to say a pious short Prayer

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Prayer or Ejaculation: He that allows the former Ejaculations, sure cannot consistently disallow of the latter, I should think, as such. And if you approve of this Custom, which has crept in to be added to our Private Daily Prayers; I don't see how you can condemn the other, which has crept in to be added to the Publick in the Liturgies. And,

As for *making the Sign of the Cross upon the Δωδεκα*, if it be lawful and fit to make it at all, as I believe no body who has any Veneration for Antiquity, can deny but it is; What other time more proper, than that wherein the Priest blesses, consecrates, and offers 'em? For if the Virtue of what the Priest does with respect to them be in any sort owing to the Cross, as sure it is (it being the Instrument design'd by Providence for *Christ* to die on, by whose Blood shed there alone we have access to the Father with them) by what Token can we better signify that, than by this Sign? And what more fitting Time? Especially can there present it self any fitter Season for it, than when the Priest makes the Representative Sacrifice of *Christ's* Body broke and Blood shed on the Cross? If ever it be fitting, sure then, this salutary Action having its Foundation entirely from what was done on it, and a Sign so well expressing it. Why a bad Addition *per se* to *make the Sign of the Cross upon the Δωδεκα*, when our whole Religion is specified by the Holy Ghost by that Name, and when to dedicate a Child to God at Baptism (as our Church does) by the same, is not thought to be so? Signs are altogether as Significant as Words: And if we offer an Infant to God by this Sign, why not the Δωδεκα? I desire and should be glad to have your Reasons, why you count these things bad and corrupt Additions.

I have

I have now done when I have ask'd you, why in recommending the *Education of a Daughter* to the Dutcheſs of *Ormond*, you (to enhance the Value of it) ſhewing her, that it was free from ſome *Romiſh* Superſtitions, particularly tell her to this purpoſe as I beſt remember, for I have not the Book by me, *ſhe will find there no Direction to pray for the Dead.* Do you reckon *prayers for the Dead* a Corruption in the *Roman Church*? By this it appears to me you do. But I muſt confeſs, that I took you to be of a quite different Opinion, and that your Sentiments about 'em were the ſame with *Mr. Thorndike's*, viz. *That the Reformation of the Church will never be according to the Rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholick Church of Chriſt in particular.* From this Paſſage, p. 22. of the *Appendix*, annex'd to the *Dignity of the Episcopall Order*, I thought (I ſay) you gave in to him, or other wiſe you would not have quoted it: But by what you ſay to this Religious Lady, it ſhould ſeem to be that you are of another mind. Pray be pleas'd to reconcile me this ſeeming Contrariety to your ſelf: For you do not, to the beſt of my Remembrance, ſpeak of the Author's not directing to pray for 'em after a *corrupt* Way, but of not directing to pray for 'em *at all*; which, I think, fairly ſuppoſes you are againſt praying for 'em *any way*.

Dr.

Dr. HICKES'S ANSWER.

Reverend SIR,

London, Ormond-street,
April 19th, 1714.

I AM very glad that you read my Books of the *Christian Priesthood* with so much Pleasure and Satisfaction, and I thank you for communicating your Observations and Doubts to me.

In the first Place you ask me, what induc'd me to interpret *Jews* and the *Synagogue* (or Assembly) of *Satan*, in Rev. 2. 9. & 3. 9. of *Christians* and *false Heretical Christians*? And the Reason you give is, because Mr. Dodwell, in the 96th Page of his *Occasional Communion*, thinks that those Places are not to be understood of *Christians*, but of *Jews* by *Extraction*. I never read Mr. Dodwell's Book of *Occasional Communion*; but if I had, I see no reason why I should have gone against the common Opinion of Learn'd Interpreters, and prefer'd that of Mr. Dodwell. I knew him very well, and have as much Veneration for his Memory, upon the account of his great Piety and Learning, as any Man who survives him. But, Sir, he had two human Infirmities, which are too often incident to Great Men. One of them, which was very prejudicial to himself, consisted in an Eagerness to speak all in Social Discourse, and a sort of Impatience to give others their Turns to interpose and reply in Conversation upon Subjects of Learning with him: But this Infirmary of not giving Time to other Learned Men of speaking what was requisite for him to hear, did not proceed from any Arrogance of Temper or conceited Opinion of himself, but from a Fecundity of Conceptions, from a vast and long continu'd reading upon all Subjects,
which

which made it natural to him to ease his Mind of that Multitude of Notions, of which it was big, and with which it always seemed to be overcharged as with a mighty great Weight. The other was an unhappy Love and Affectation of *Nostrums*, by which I mean singular Notions and Opinions, both of his own and of ancient Church Writers, which were not the Doctrines of the Ages in which they lived. This is evident from his Notion of the *Jerusalem Supremacy*, in his Book *de Nupero Schismate Anglicano*; from his Discourse upon St. Cyprian *de Paucitate Martyrum*, since fully answered by the Learned Benedictine *Ruinartus*; and from his Opinion of the *Sethites* or Posterity of *Seth* (whose Souls he saith were Angels, in a Discourse upon a Sermon printed by Mr. *Leslie* of *Marriage within the Communion*) and from others, which might be named in his Book of *The Natural Mortality of the Soul*. Wherefore, Sir, you need no longer be surprized, that I did not follow Mr. *Dodwell's* Interpretation, had I read it, as you suppose I did; because I know he was apt to have Singular Opinions with his great Learning, and because for that Reason I never embrac'd any of his Opinions purely as his, but as they appeared to me probably or certainly true. And tho' the Bishop of *Sarum*, as you observe, did with great justice acknowledge him to be a Master in every Argument he undertook; yet that same Bishop differ'd as much from him in his Opinions as any Man whatsoever, even in his Opinions which had not the least Tincture of Singularity, but such as were generally taught and received: But this Opinion of his, for not following of which you ask me to give you a Reason, looks a little like one of his Singularities, and seems to me not sufficiently supported with his Arguments; which if they were such, as made his Interpretation more probable than mine, I would willingly retract it for his. But.

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But, Sir, before I consider them, let me ask you, why you think it so strange that *Jews* in the *Revelations*, which is a prophetic Book, shou'd signify *Christians*, and the *Synagogues of Satan* Christian Hereticks or false Christians and their Churches? Mr. *Dodwell* himself, in his *Discourse of the one Altar*, owns the *Christians* to be the mystical *Israel*, and *Christianity* the mystical *Judaism*; and therefore I can see no reason, why *Jews* and the *Synagogue of Satan* should not signify Christians and Christian Hereticks and their Churches, in a prophetic Book, which is full of Similitudes, and Figures, and Allusions to the *Jewish* Constitution and the Books of the *Old Testament*, proper to the prophetic Style. Why should not *Jews* allegorically signify *Christians*, as well as the seven golden Candlesticks be a Symbol of the seven Churches; or *Balaam* be a prophetic Figure of those, who tempted the mystical *Israel* to eat things offer'd to Idols, and to commit (Spiritual) Fornication? So the woman *Jezebel* in the prophetic Style denotes the same wicked Christians. And what think you of the other like prophetic Phrases and Expressions, as of the new *Jerusalem*; a Sea of Glass; Lion of the Tribe of *Judah*; the Smoak of the Incense for the Prayers of the Saints; of Temple; Altar; and Censer; of sealing the twelve Tribes; of Silence in Heaven for the space of half an hour; of Angels for Priests; of *Michael* for *Christ*; of the Trumpets; of *Babylon* the great; not to mention others? It is as reasonable, I think, to understand *Jews* in the allegorical Sense, as the other Words and Expressions, for what they are us'd to signify in the prophetic Style.

These things being premis'd, I now proceed to consider the Learned Mr. *Dodwell's* Arguments for the literal against the mystical Sense of *Jews* and the *Synagogue of Satan* in *Rev. 2. 9. & 3. 9.* Those Arguments

guments I perceive by you are two. *First*, the Name of *Synagogue*, which supposes them to be Jews by *Extraction*. And *Secondly*, their *Blasphemies*.

First as to the Word *Synagogue*, it was commonly us'd in the Apostolick Age for Christian Assemblies. St. James 2. 2. Ἐάν γάρ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν. So St. Ignatius, who was St. John's Disciple, in his Epistle to St. Polycarp, Πικνότερον συναγωγῶν γινέσθωσαν. And so Clemens Alexandrinus, who wrote in the Second Century, Stromat. lib. 6. p. 633. Ἡ τὴν λόγους δυνάμεις, ῥῆμα Κυρίου φωτεινόν, ἀλήθεια ἐρανόθεν ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐκκλησίας ἀφιγμένη, διὰ φωτεινῆς τῆς προσευχῆς, διακονίας ἐνήργη. But afterwards the Christians in detestation of Jews and Jewish Synagogue turn'd συναγωγὴ into συναῖξις, as learn'd Men have observ'd; tho' it continued sometime longer to be us'd, as in the interpolated Epistle of St. Ignatius ad Trallianos, Χωρὶς πρεσβυτέρων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκ ὧν, ἡ συναῖξις ἁγίων, ἡ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων. So he paraphras'd the Words of the genuine Epistle, Χωρὶς τῶν (Bishops, Priests, and Deacons) ἐκκλησία ἡ καλεῖται. So it was us'd in the Compound παρεσυναγωγὴ against the Montanists and Novatians for the Meeting of Hereticks and Schismatics, to signify that they were not true Christian Assemblies but the Synagogues of Satan.

Then as for the Argument taken from the word *Blasphemy*, to prove that by Jews must be understood Jews by *Extraction*, it is far from being conclusive, because in the Apostles time there were so many sorts of Simonian afterwards call'd Gnostick Hereticks, who taught Blasphemous Doctrines, of whom you have an Account in Irenæus, and from him in Eusebius, and in St. Austin de Hæresibus ad Quodvult Deum, and of which Hereticks St. John 1 ep. cap. 2. v. 18. is to be understood in the following words: As you have heard that Antichrist shall

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shall come, even now there are many Antichrists. Likewise in cap. 4. v. 1. Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they are of God; for many false Prophets are gone out into the World. But more especially there were two Blasphemous Heresies taught by the λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί, as *Justin Martyr* calls those Antichristian Spirits, who called themselves Christians, but in truth and reality were not Christians, but caus'd both the Name of *Christ* and Christians to be blasphem'd. These two Heresies much infested the Church in *St. John's* time. The first were the *Docetæ*, who denied the Humanity of *Christ*, teaching that he was a Man only in Shew and Appearance, but not in reality; and to them it was that *St. John* alludes 1 ep. cap. 1. v. 1, 2, 3. And in cap. 4. after the first verse before cited, he says *Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is of God. And every Spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh is not of God: and this is that Spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the World.* Was it any wonder then, that our Lord should say to the Apostolical Prophet, *Write these things to the Church in Smyrna, I know the Blasphemy of them who say they are Jews (that is in the propheticall Style Christians) and are not, but are the Synagogue of Satan? The Synagogue of Satan, because it is plain from the Apostle, that they were Christians who kept separate Meetings from the Church: For after he had said in the Verse cited before there are many Antichrists, he says, They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us.* I believe you will not
C deny

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deny, but that the Assemblies of those Antichrists and false Prophets among Christians were deservedly called by our Lord the *Synagogues of Satan*, as well as with great Propriety of Speech. And the whole Epistle of St. Ignatius (who was Contemporary with St. John) to the *Smyrneans* wholly relates to these Antichristian and *Blasphemous* Hereticks; as where he says, Ἐγὼ ὃς καὶ μὲν τῷ ἀνάνησιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα, καὶ πνεύματι ὄντα, &c. In that Epistle he calls those Hereticks Wild Beasts in Mens Shape, because they devour'd the Flock: Περσυλάσω ὃ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς θηρίων τῆς ἀνθρωπομορφῶν. And as he thus warn'd his People against them, so he charges them with *Blasphemy* in these Words: Τὶ γὰρ με ὠφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸ ὃ κέρον μὲ ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΕΙ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκόφρον; He likewise tells them, that they abstained from the Holy Eucharist and the Prayers used at it, because they did not confess it to be the Flesh of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, which suffer'd for our Sins; which surely was *Blasphemy* in Practice as well as in Principle: Εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχον, &c. In his Epistle to the *Ephesians* he calls them Οἰκοφθόρες, Corrupters of Families; and says they shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. He calls their Doctrine διαβόλος βοτάνη, the Sallad of the Devil, and therefore their Assemblies must needs have been the *Synagogues of Satan*; and says, that both those who taught it, and those who heard it, were to go into Everlasting Fire. And because they called themselves Christians, and in truth were not, he says in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, Πότον ἐν ὅτι μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι. It is fitting for Men not only to be called Christians, but to be so indeed. In his Epistle to the *Philadelphians* he compares their Doctrines to poisonous Plants, of which *Jesus Christ* had no care, because they were not the Plantation of his Father:

And

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And in his Epistle to the *Trallians* he compares their Doctrines to Exotic Plants and deadly Poison mix'd with Honey, and says they caused the People of God to be blasphemed or evil spoken of; ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγας ἀφρονας τὸ ἐν Θεῷ πλῆθ' ΒΛΑΣΦΗΜΗΤΑΙ. And that they kept separate Meetings, which were the *Synagogues of Satan*, is plain in all those Epistles from the Charges he gives the Flock to stick to their Bishops and Presbyters, particularly in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*: Φύγετε τὸ μωροσμόν, καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας· ὅπως ὃ ποιμὴν ὄσιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρὸς βλάστα ἀκολουθεῖτε. Then he adds, For there are many plausible Wolves, which captivate the Comers unto God with deadly Pleasure, but they have no place in your Unity. And in his Epistle to the *Trallians*: Φυλάττετε ἐν τοῖς τοιαύτοις. Τῷτο ὃ ἔσαι ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιομύοις, καὶ ἔσιν ἀχωρεῖσιν Θεῷ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τῷ διατάγματι τῷ Ἀποστόλων. Ὁ ἐντὸς δυσίασηρς ὢν, καθαρὸς ὄσιν· ὃ ὅς ἐκτὸς ὢν, καὶ καθαρὸς ὄσιν· τῷτ' ὄσιν, ὃ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου πρὸς τῶν τι, ἔστω καὶ καθαρὸς ὄσιν τῇ συνειδήσει.

The other Heresy that infested the Church in the time of *St. John*, was that of the *Ebionites*, who denied the Divinity of *Christ*, asserting him to be λιτόν, κοινόν, καὶ μόνον ἄνθρωπον, a pure, common Man, and only Man, which you will grant to be a very *blasphemous* Doctrine against our Saviour. Most of them also held, that he was begotten by ordinary Generation; and all of them agreed in rejecting the Epistles of *St. Paul*, whom they call'd a Defiler of the Law and all the *Mosaical* Rites and Ceremonies, which they taught were to be observ'd as necessary to Salvation: And therefore it is no wonder, that our Saviour speaking of them in the Vision to *St. John*, said, *I know the Blasphemy of them who say they are Jews (that is Christians) and are not, but are the Synagogue of*

Satan. I suppose it was to these Hereticks that St. John alluded in his First Epistle, where he expressly asserts Christ to be God, as in *cap. 3. v. 16.* where he says, *Hereby perceive we the Love of God, in that he laid down his Life for us: And cap. 5. v. 20.* where he says, *We know that the Son of God is come, and ————— in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal Life: And also cap. 2. v. 23.* where he says, *Who-soever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father; to which we may add the following Words, which are in the Vulgar Latin and many ancient Greek Copies, and which in our Bibles are printed in a different Character, But he that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.* St. Ignatius also in many Places points at these Blasphemous Hereticks; as in his Epistle to the *Smyrneans*, where he calls Christ τ Θεόν, and has this Expression, δ οξα τ Θεῷ. In his Epistle to *Polycarp* he calls the Deacons δ ιακόνες τ Θεῷ: In his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, ϵ ν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἢ ἐν ἡμῖν Θεὸς ἡμῶν, and λαβόντες Θεῷ γινώσκιν, ὃ ὅτιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς: And in his Epistle to the *Romans*, καὶ τῷ σιν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν. He also alludes to them in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, where he warns his Flock not to live καὶ Ἰουδαϊσμόν, which he tells them was to deny the Gospel and Jesus Christ his Eternal Word; for, as *Eusebius* observes *Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 22.* they did not acknowledge the Pre-existence of Christ, nor that he was Θεὸς λόγος καὶ σοφία, God the Word. St. Ignatius in the same Epistle says, It is absurd to own Jesus Christ, and to Judaize: And in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians* he tells them, that if any Body would teach them *Judaism*, they should not hear him, because it was better to be taught *Christianity* by a *Jew*, than *Judaism* by a *Christian*; but if either *Jews* or *Christians* spoke not aright

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aright of *Christ*, they were in his account but as Statues and Sepulchres of the Dead: And so proceeds to exhort them not to dispute with those *Judaizing Hereticks*, but to do all things *κατὰ Χριστοῦ*, according to the Doctrine of *Christ*. Wherefore, Sir, since the *Ebionites* held such *Blasphemous* Doctrines, as in truth and reality were to deny *Jesus Christ* and the Gospel, our Blessed Lord had great Reason to bid the Apostolical Prophet say to the Bishop of *Symrna*, Rev. 2. 9. *I know the Blasphemy*, &c. and in like manner to say to the Bishop of *Philadelphia* (where these Hereticks also infested the Church) Rev. 3. 9. *Behold, I will make them of the Synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie: I will make them to come and worship before thy Feet, and to know that I have loved thee.*

But, Sir, to conclude my Reply, to *Blaspheme* (you know) signifies to speak Evil against another, or to speak or assert such things as are reproachful or injurious to any Person, or what diminishes or derogates from the Fame, Worth, Honour, or Dignity of another Person. So *St. Paul* was said to *Blaspheme* the High-Priest, because he called him *whited Wall*; and so *Naboth* was accus'd of *Blaspheming* God and the King; and our Saviour was several times charg'd with *Blasphemy* by the *Jews*, for saying he was the Son of God, and by Consequence God. So *St. Paul* says, that he compelled the Christians to *Blaspheme*; that is, to deny *Christ*, and curse him as an Imposture. And as we read in the Acts of *St. Polycarp*, when the Proconsul bid him reproach *Christ*, the Holy Martyr answer'd, *I have serv'd him 86 Years, and he never did me any wrong, and how then can I Blaspheme my King, who is my Saviour?* And *Justin Martyr* in one of his Apologies tells us, that *Barchochebas* the Jew commanded the Christians to be tormented

mented, who would not deny and blaspheme Christ. So those Christians who led ill lives or taught false Opinions, are said to cause the Name of God and Christ to be blasphemed, as the Apostle told the Christian Jews, Rom. 2. 24. where he says, *For the Name of God is Blasphem'd among the Gentiles through you*; that is, through you who make your boast of the Law and rest in it. So St. Paul, 1 Tim. 6. 1, says, *Let as many Servants as are under the yoke, count their own Masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and his Doctrine be not blasphemed*. And so in his Epistle to Titus, he commands the younger Wives to be exhorted to be sober, chaste, obedient to their own Husbands, that the Word of God be not blasphemed. And so St. Paul tells Timothy, that he had deliver'd Hymeneus and Alexander, who had made Shipwreck of the Faith, unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme. Hence damnable Doctrines and Heresies came to be called Blasphemy in the Christian Writers, and such as taught them were said to blaspheme; and therefore no conclusive Argument can be taken from the word Blasphemy in the fore-cited Text, to prove that by Jews were meant Jews by Extraction, since so many Christian Hereticks in the time of St. John, and in particular the Docetæ & Ebionites, held such Doctrines as were Blasphemy and a Reproach to God and Christ.

You also ask me, why I reckon saying of Prayers at putting on every Vestment in robing of the Priest, and making the Sign of the Cross upon the *Δοξολογία*, among the bad Additions which have crept into ancient Liturgies, as I do, p. 145. In Answer to the former I desire you, Sir, to consider, that there are many things, which are simply good and lawful in themselves, but are inconvenient; and as far as they are inconvenient and inexpedient, so far they are

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to be condemn'd and esteem'd bad. Such I account-
ed saying of Prayers at putting on every one of
the Priests Vestments in the Greek Church, be-
cause I thought the Observation of that Rite favour'd
too much of Formality and Superstition, of which
in latter Ages that Church hath been very guilty.
For there may be Excess as well as Defect in De-
votion, and too many as well as too few Obser-
vances, and even too many as well as too few Pray-
ers: And therefore to speak to you after your own
manner, supposing we were not to wear our
Gowns and Cassocks but in the Church, would you
be for prescribing our Priests so many several Forms
of short Prayers at putting on our Cassocks, Gird-
les, Gowns, Surplices, and distinguishing Habits of
our Degrees? And would you not think that Man
superstitious, who would bind himself to say a se-
veral Prayer at the putting on of his Shirt, Doub-
let, Breeches, Stockings, Shoes, Night-Gown or
other Gown, Hat, Gloves, Band or Cravat, and
at looking on his Face in the Glass while he dress'd
himself, and at washing his Hands, Mouth, and Eyes,
before he went to his solemn Morning Prayer, and
then at going out of his Chamber? And what
would you think of a Man, whose common Pra-
ctice was, instead of saying Grace once, to say
Grace at laying the Table Cloth, at setting on the
Bread and Salt, and so severally at every Dish that
was serv'd at his Table? For my part, I should
condemn that Practice as Superstitious and burthen-
some, and looking too like the *Opus Operatum*;
tho' I could not deny but consider'd simply in it
self it was lawful, tho' very inconvenient, and by
Consequence to be disprov'd. Or lastly, what would
you think of a Man that should be so superstiti-
ous, as to say a Prayer at the paring of his nails,
or at every time he trimm'd, or comb'd his Head?
And because you instance in praying when the

the Clock strikes, would you encourage a Man to say an Ejaculatory Prayer at every time he heard the Clock strike Twelve, in walking from the Tower to Westminster-Abby, as I have often heard it, walking between them, strike in Churches and private Houses about ten times? And for my part, I should not have given Directions for that sort of Practice, which are in the second Volume of the *New-years Gift*, for the Reasons I have already mention'd. And I pray you to consider, whether a Man who oblig'd himself to say so many Ejaculatory Prayers at rising, and dressing, and going out of his Chamber, and afterwards out of his House, and at getting on Horse-back in order to a Journey, and at every time he heard the Clock strike by the way, or going up a high Mountain, or passing over a River, and at his Meals and Refreshments, as aforementioned: I say consider, whether such a Man might not be justly charg'd with Superstition; and by Consequence, tho' the saying so many Prayers simply consider'd may be said to be good in it self, yet I think as a Superstitious Usage it is to be condemn'd.

As for *making the Sign of the Cross upon the Δωρα*, I freely confess that I have given you just Occasion for the Observation you have made upon that Expression. For instead of *Δωρα* I should have put in *Bread*, and instead of *making* I should have said *impressing*, and then the Expression would have been, *impressing the Sign of the Cross upon the Bread*; or as I intend to alter it, *impressing so many Signs of the Cross upon the Bread, as there are to be pieces for Distribution among the Communicants*. It was that Custom of the Greek Priests, which I had in my Eye, which occasion'd me to say, *making the Sign of the Cross UPON and not OVER the Δωρα*: For as I utterly dislike the use of any material Crosses made of Wood, Stone, or Metal, &c. in religious Worship,

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or any permanent Signs of the Cross of Christ; such as are emboss'd, inlaid, impress'd, or painted upon or in any matter: So I disapprove the impressing of Crosses upon the Eucharistical Bread, as being very Superstitious, and not to be found in antient Practice. But as for the transient, aërial, and vanishing Signs of the Cross, which in the pure antient times were us'd in Religious Worship; I very much approve of the use of them, as we do in Baptism, and as I would have done in anointing the Sick with Oil, and Persons confirm'd with Chrism, were we so happy as to have those primitive Religious Rites and Usages restor'd.

In answer to your last Question I do assure you, that I am heartily of Mr. Thorndike's Opinion, and as truly zealous as you may imagine he was, for *praying for the dead* who depart in the Faith and Fear of God and in the Peace of the Church; and if you consult my Dedication of the *Advice for the Education of a Daughter*, you will find from the whole Passage, that my observing there was no Direction in the Book to *pray for the Dead*, cannot with any Ingenuity be understood, but for *praying for the Dead* in the Popish Sense, according to the Practice of the Church of Rome. The whole Passage is as follows: *He nowhere directs them to pray before Images, or to call upon Saints or Angels, or to pray for the Dead, or to get Indulgences, or wear Relicks, or use Beads.* I believe very few Readers will think, that in this Passage by *praying for the dead* I meant praying or offering in the Primitive Sense, and according to the Practice of the Antient Church, as we read in Tertullian, and St. Cyprian, and Eusebius, who tells us they prayed for Constantine the Great after his Death. Therefore, Sir, I assure you I have not chang'd my Mind as to *praying for the Dead*, but have lately given a publick Testimony of my Opinion for it, in a Preface

42 *A SUPPLEMENT of ADDITIONS to, &c.*
face to a Book entitul'd, *Some Primitive Doctrines*
restor'd, or the Intermediate or Middle State, &c.

Before I conclude, I cannot but tell you, that I am
glad my Labours are so acceptable to you and that
most worthy Gentleman Mr. W—; and that I think
my self very much oblig'd to you for reading my
Books with such a Critical and discerning Eye.
I thank you heartily for it, and wish all my Rea-
ders would do me the same Favour and Honour;
and had I the Conversation of more such Learned
and Ingenious Gentlemen as you and Mr. W—,
it would be a mighty Benefit and Satisfaction
to

22:9:49

Your most affectionate

and faithful Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

